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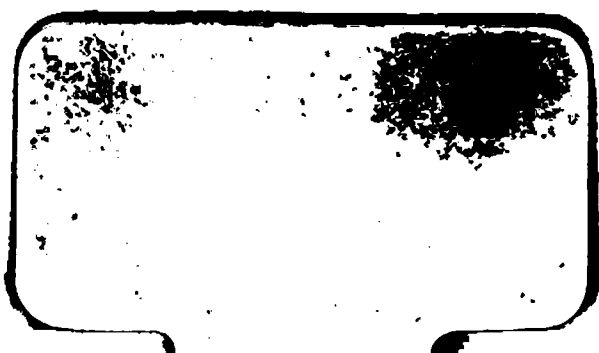
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**LARCHER'S**  
**NOTES ON HERODOTUS.**

**EDITED BY**

**W. D. COOLEY.**

**LONDON :**  
**GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,**  
**ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.**

# LARCHER'S NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

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HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

COMMENTS

ON THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS,

WITH A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

P. H. LARCHER,

FORMERLY MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, &c.



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NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS, BY  
WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:

WHITTAKER & CO.; LONGMAN, BROWN, & CO.; DUNCAN & MALCOLM; AND  
J. G. F. & J. RIVINGTON. OXFORD: J. H. PARKER.

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1844.



# NOTES ON HERODOTUS.

## MELPOMENE. IV.

II. 1. Τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα. *Inserting those (tubes of bone) into the mares.* Homer<sup>1</sup> calls these people Galactophagi, that is to say, feeders on milk, and Hippomolgi, milkers of mares.

“ I both saw and heard myself, at Basra,” says M. Niebuhr<sup>2</sup>, “ that when an Arab milks a female buffalo, another thrusts his hand and arm up to the elbow into the vulva of the animal ; and they pretend to know from experience, that being thus excited, she yields a greater quantity of milk. This method greatly resembles that practised by the Scythians.”

[A similar practice with cows was ascribed to the Hottentots by Peter Kolben<sup>3</sup> ; but it must be remembered that this author’s ‘ Description of the Cape of Good Hope ’ has been pronounced by the Abbé de la Caille<sup>4</sup>, who visited South Africa a few years later, to be no better than a tissue of fables.]

2. Τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον. *The portion of the milk which floats on the top.* This is cream. It is rather remarkable that there is no term either in Greek or in Latin to express this substance. Fortunatus, who lived in the sixth century, has used the word ‘crema<sup>5</sup>’; it is derived from ‘cremor,’ which the Latins employed to signify the gluten which floats on water in which grain has been macerated.

III. 3. Τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν. *Having dug a wide ditch.* The Tauric Chersonesus is surrounded on all sides by the Euxine Sea, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, except a narrow neck which separates the gulf Carcinites from the Palus Mæotis : and there,

<sup>1</sup> Homer. Iliad. XIII. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Description de l’Arabie, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Descr. of the Cape, &c. vol. I. p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Journal d’un Voy. p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> V. H. Fortunati Poëmat. X. xiii. 2.



I apprehend, the trench which Herodotus mentions must have been cut. It began at a place called Taphræ, where at the present time we find the town of Perecop, which, according to the Abbé Briet, signifies in Tataric, 'a ditch.' The Emperor<sup>6</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us, that in his time this canal was filled up. The mountains of which Herodotus speaks were within the confines of the Chersonesus Taurica; there are none beyond.

IV. 4. [Οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέοντες τῷ γινομένῳ, ἔφευγον. *They, terrified at this proceeding, took to flight.* A similar story is related in the Chronicles of Novgorod<sup>7</sup>. The citizens of this place were once absent from home seven years, beleaguering a Greek town. Their wives in the mean time, impatient of such delay, and despairing of their husbands' return, cohabited with their slaves. These, on the return of their masters, at first made a show of resistance; but when the latter, laying aside their arms, attacked them with whips, they fled in consternation to a place still called in the 16th century Chloppigrod, or Slaves' Castle.]

V. 5. Σκύθαι λέγουσι ὡς εἶναι. *The Scythians say that, &c.* This is an Atticism, as to which the reader may consult Stephens, de Dialectis, p. 138. This treatise is to be found in the Appendix to his Thesaurus.

6. Νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων. *The most modern of all nations.* Justin says<sup>8</sup> that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Egyptians. This assertion is in express contradiction to Herodotus, and is equally opposed to probability. The descendants of Noah were not likely to have quitted the fine climates of Asia to explore the dreary regions of the north, till the soil of the former could no longer suffice for their nourishment.

7. [Τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργίταον. *Whose name was Targitaus.* This first man of Scythian tradition is identical, according to Von Hammer<sup>9</sup>, with Turk, the supposed ancestor of the Turkish race, and with the Togharma of Scripture<sup>1</sup>.]

8. Τούτων δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λειπόξαιν, &c. *He had three sons, &c.* M. Pelloutier<sup>2</sup> calls these three princes, Leipoxain, Arpo-xain, and Kolaxain. He adds, in a note, that this termination 'xain' seems to come from 'sahn,' the 'sohn' and 'son' of the Teutonic and the English: as Anderson, the son of Andrew; Johnson, the son of John, &c.

M. Pelloutier seems to me to be in error both in his text and in his note. In his text he gives these three proper names in the accusative case, as he has found them in the Latin versions, without referring to

<sup>6</sup> Constant. de Administ. Imper. xlii.

<sup>7</sup> Herberstein, in Ramusio, vol. II. p. 166, A.

<sup>8</sup> Justin. Hist. II. i. p. 57, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Gesch. d. Osman. I. p. 1. See also

Rennell's Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 73.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis x. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Histoire des Celtes, vol. I. p. 136.

the nominatives Lipoxais, &c. This mistake has led him into another, namely, to search in the English and Teutonic languages for the termination 'xain,' a termination of the accusative case, the nominative of which ends in 'xais,' and the genitive in 'xaios.'

But this trifling error, and some others of a similar nature, which I may have occasion to point out in the notes upon this book, do not detract from the general merit of M. Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes*, which is a very curious work, distinguished by sound learning and deep research.

VI. 9. Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐνόμασαν. *The Greeks called them Scythians.* Herodotus says that these people called themselves Scoloti, but that the Greeks gave them the name of Scythæ. In all probability<sup>3</sup> they gave them this name from their skill in archery; the Greek colonies established on the borders of the Euxine Sea having afforded them an opportunity of remarking this peculiarity, and also of acquiring their language. At the present day, in Lithuania, 'szauti' signifies 'jaculati,' 'jaculatore.' From this word are derived 'szaudu,' which we find in Constantine Szyruidus, and which signifies, 'I draw the bow,' 'I shoot arrows,' and 'szaudikie,' which means an arrow. In Livonia, Finland, Courland, and Lapland, 'skytta,' 'kytta,' or 'kyt,' is an archer. The ancient Prussians, according to Prætorius, 'in orbe Gothico,' called an archer 'szythi.'

This appears to me a more probable account than that of M. Pelloutier<sup>4</sup>, who derives this word from 'ziehen,' which signifies to travel, or run about, because these people were Nomades.

[The derivation of the name of the Scythians here offered, from Bayer, connects that people with the Germanic race. The old Norse word 'skyta', the Swedish 'skjuta,' and the English 'shoot,' all point out, according to this etymology, the meaning of the name Scythian, given to the inventors of the bow and arrow<sup>5</sup>. But the resemblance between 'skyta' and Σκύθης is more apparent than real. The letter k in the northern languages is generally softened before e, i, and y; thus, in our language, the word 'skirt' was originally pronounced 'shirt;' 'skiff,' in like manner, was identical with 'shipf' or 'ship;' and 'kirke' with 'church.' There is no reason for believing that the Greek κ ever lost its hard sound, whatever may have been the case with the χ. To derive Σκύθης from 'skyta' is to reason, therefore, on as false an analogy as we should exhibit in deriving 'Scot' from 'shot.'

According to Eichwald<sup>7</sup>, the name Scythian or Scyth is identical with Tschúd or Chude, which is the name given by the Russians to the ancient possessors of Siberia, or to a supposed great people, the reputed authors of the barrows and other rude monuments found

<sup>3</sup> Bayer in Comment. Acad. Petrop. tom. I. p. 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. I. p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm's *Deutsche Gramm.* I. p. 568.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. lvii.

<sup>7</sup> *Alte Geogr. d. Casp. Meers.* p. 249.

throughout that country. There still exists in the north-west of Russia a people of Finnish race, and called Tschúd<sup>8</sup>. This explanation of the name has an appearance of nature and likelihood: it is nevertheless not wholly free from objection; for the Russian epithet Tschúd being of comparatively modern date, might be not unreasonably suspected of being derived from the ancient name Scythus.

Erman thinks<sup>9</sup> that Σκύθης may be derived from the Russian verb 'skitátjsja,' to rove or wander about; and as he found some religious congregations in Russia styled 'skití' (in the singular 'skit'), he supposes that this term originally signified 'hordes,' and was in that sense applied to the Scythians.]

VII. 10. Ἔτεα δὲ σφί χιλίων οὐ πλείω. *Their age is not more than a thousand years.* The Persian troops were nearly worn out by the siege of Babylon, which was tedious and sanguinary. It was necessary to allow them an interval of repose. The expedition against the Scythians required fresh levies and preparations, and those on a large scale, as Darius, aware that that people did not till their lands, knew that he must carry with him all necessary provisions. Five years will not be too long a time to assign for these preparations. I have therefore been induced, in concurrence with Petavius, to fix this expedition in the year 508 before our era. From this it will follow, that, according to their own account, the origin of the Scythians must be dated in the year 3206 of the Julian period, 1508 years before the vulgar era. If we adopt the opinion of the Greeks of Pontus, the Scythians are less ancient; and can date their origin only from the year 3360 of the Julian period, 1354 years before our era.

This is all the authority we can collect as to the origin of the Scythians, and this is not very satisfactory; but, in default of better, we must content ourselves with it. Isidore of Seville, however, who died A. D. 636, has thought proper to date the migration of this people in the time of Sarag, great-grandfather of Abraham. Messenius, in his work entitled 'Scandia illustrata,' has contented himself with copying this author. Liscander fixes the same epoch in the time of Abraham; and Roderic Zanthius, about the time of Gideon. M. Pougens, after quoting these discordant authorities, adds<sup>1</sup>, "that it is difficult to find in the histories of Greece, Rome, or Sweden, a more notable migration of the Goths into Egypt, into Greece, and into the Indies."

A fine collection of authorities certainly; the most ancient of which is 560 years posterior to the Christian era, and the others only of the last century.

11. Μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. *They go for it every year.* Had Herodotus meant only that the Scythians offered considerable sacrifices

<sup>8</sup> Sjögren, Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersb. 1830. I. p. 272.

<sup>9</sup> Reise um die Erde, I. p. 218.

<sup>1</sup> Essai sur les Antiquités du Nord, &c. p. 59.

to this gold, he would have been content to say *θυσίησι μεγάλησι μετέρχονται*, as he has said in VI. lxix. *ἐπεὶ τέ με λιτῇσι μετέρχεται*. M. Wesseling is of opinion that *μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος* signifies, that the kings had this gold brought to them every year. I think he is in the right, and I have therefore followed his interpretation.

12. *Ὅσα ἂν ἵππῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. As much as he can ride round in one day on horseback.* This was formerly the method of rewarding merit. “*Dona<sup>2</sup> amplissima Imperatorum ac fortium civium, quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset.*”

At proceres . . . . .  
Ruris honorati tantum tibi, Cipe, dedere,  
Quantum depresso subjectis bubus aratro  
Complecti posses ad finem solis ab ortu<sup>3</sup>.

“Cum illi ob virtutem et bene gestam Rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuisset<sup>4</sup>.” [Add to these authorities the example of the reward bestowed on Horatius Cocles<sup>5</sup>.]

13. *Ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων. From the pouring of feathers.* These feathers are nothing else than flakes of snow, which fall in great abundance in that country, as we shall find lower down (xxxix.).

VIII. 14. *Οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες. Who inhabit the borders of the Euxine Sea.* In the Greek simply, ‘those who inhabit the Pontus.’ Herodotus and most of the ancients understand by *Πόντος* the sea in general; and we are to take it as applying to the Euxine Sea, only when the sense and accompanying circumstances so limit it, that is to say, when our author speaks of countries in the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. He here speaks of the Scythians, and of their country situated on the borders of that sea. Circumstances therefore require that by the ‘Greeks of Pontus,’ we should understand the Pontic Greeks, in distinction from the Greeks of Greece.—DE LA NAUZE.

15. *Ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς. Driving away Geryon’s herds.* The Latin has ‘Geryonis vaccas agentem.’ This is a misconstruction. The Ionians use the feminine with the name of the animal to signify a flock or herd. *Ἡ ἵππος*, is cavalry; *ἡ ὄνος*, is a herd of asses. *Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες πάσας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐκθηλύνουσι τῇ προφορᾷ, τὰς ἵππους, καὶ τὰς ὄνους, καὶ τὰς βοῦς λέγοντες<sup>6</sup>.*

16. *Ἐξω τοῦ Πόντου. Beyond the Pontus.* This is true with respect to the Græco-Scythians.

17. *Ἐξω Ἡρακλητῶν στηλέων. Beyond the pillars of Hercules.* We must not believe that it was the Greek Hercules who gave name to

<sup>2</sup> Plin. XVIII. iii. vol. II. p. 97. lin.

19.

<sup>3</sup> Ovidii Metamorph. XV. v. 616.

<sup>4</sup> Senec. de Benef. VII. vii.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. Hist. Rom. II. v.

<sup>6</sup> Etymol. Mag. p. 473. lin. 34.

this place, whatever the Greek fables say on the subject. The Phoenicians, who frequented these coasts, carried thither, with their commerce, the worship of their Hercules. "The temple of Hercules, which is seen near the pillars," says Appian<sup>7</sup>, "appears to me to have been founded by the Phoenicians; and this god is still adored there, after the manner of that people. This is not the Theban Hercules, but that of the Tyrians." This is also the opinion of Arrian<sup>8</sup>, and is consistent with probability.

IX. 18. *Τίνα Ἐχιδναν. A monster.* M. Pelloutier<sup>9</sup> calls this monster 'Siren.' But Homer represents the Sirens as very lovely women. The scholiasts give them wings, as does Servius<sup>1</sup> and Hyginus<sup>2</sup>. But the same Hyginus<sup>3</sup> also says, that their lower parts, i. e. their feet, were like those of fowls, and in this he is confirmed by Fulgentius.

Diodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster<sup>4</sup>, and describes it as Herodotus does; but he makes it to have been a mistress of Jupiter, by whom he had 'Scythes,' who became celebrated, and gave his name to the nation.

19. *Ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες. When they shall be grown up.* On this passage consult the learned note of Valckenaer, to which nothing need be added. I take this opportunity, however, of correcting Hesychius at the word *τρόφις*: instead of *εὖ τεθραμμένος*, we should read *ἐκτεθραμμένος*, which is a very trifling alteration. *Εὖ τεθραμμένος* signifies 'well fed, fattened;' *ἐκτεθραμμένος*, 'adult.'

*Πικροὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦξετ' ἐκτεθραμμένοι<sup>5</sup>.*

'When you shall have reached the age of puberty, you will come and punish them.' 'Venietis enim acerbi istis, adulti.'

X. 20. [*Ἐτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας. Even at the present day the Scythians carry phials at their belts.* A small statue or figure of amber was found at Kertch a few years ago, which was thought to illustrate this passage<sup>6</sup>. It represented a man in the Scythian dress, holding in one hand a quiver full of arrows, and in the other a drinking-cup shaped like a horn.]

XI. 21. *Θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην. The people of the Cimmerians buried them at the river Tyras.* The Greek says merely, the Cimmerians; but as the whole nation is not

<sup>7</sup> Appian. de Rebus Hispanicis, p. 425.

<sup>8</sup> Arrian. Exp. Alex. II. xvi. p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> Histoire des Celtes, vol. I. p. 136.

<sup>1</sup> Ad Æneid. V. 864.

<sup>2</sup> Fab. cxli. p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Hygini Fab. cxxv. p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. II. xliii. p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> Eurip. Suppl. 1222.

<sup>6</sup> M. de Blaremborg, Notice sur quelques Objets d'Antiq. 1822. pp. 14—18.

intended, but only one of the factions into which it was divided, it is as well to mark the distinction.

It should seem from this passage, that the country occupied by the Cimmerians extended westward as far as the Tyras or Dniester.

XII. 22. Κιμμέρια τείχεα. *The cities of Cimmerium.* Τείχος signifies a city or a castle. See notes, book III. xci. and book IV. cxxiv. I call this city Cimmerium, in the singular, after Pliny.

23. Πορθήμια Κιμμέρια. *Cimmerian Porthmia.* I have met with persons who, attending only to the original signification of this word, which means 'a ferry or passage,' have had no conception that it was also the name of a town, where there was a convenient passage across the Cimmerian Bosphorus'. Any one who should translate 'Trajectum ad Rhenum' into French, by 'trajet sur le Rhin,' (or in English, 'passage across, up, or down the Rhine,') instead of 'Utrecht,' would incur the risk of being laughed at.

[The Cimmerian Fort (τείχεα) is supposed to have occupied the site of the modern Eski-Krim: the Ferry was near the mouth of the Mæotis<sup>7</sup>.]

XIII. 24. Οὔτος δὲ ἄλλος λεγόμενος λόγος. *This other story that is told.* This passage appears to me to have no reference to the narration of Aristeas, but to the following words at the commencement of xi. "They also relate another, to which I willingly subscribe."

In the time of Herodotus there were four opinions on the history of the Scythians. The first, that of the Scythians themselves; it is mentioned in v. The second, that of the Pontic Greeks, which commences in viii. and continues to the end of x. The third was common to the Greeks and the Barbarians, and was adopted by Herodotus; it is given in xi. and xii. The fourth is that of Aristeas of Proconnesus, which commences xiii.

25. Ἀριστέης ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος. *Aristeas of Proconnesus.* He wrote the 'Arimaspiæ,' an epic poem in three books, upon the war of the Arimaspi with the Griffons. Longinus has quoted six verses, which, in the opinion of that celebrated critic<sup>9</sup>, are more remarkable for florid ornament, than for grandeur or sublimity.

Tzetzes<sup>1</sup> has preserved six other verses of this poem, which the reader will perhaps not be displeased to find quoted here. "The Issedones, proud of their long hair, have for their neighbours, on the northern side, a numerous people, brave and warlike, rich in horses, and in herds of oxen and sheep; they have but one eye in their lovely foreheads; their hair is thick. They are the strongest of all men." Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>2</sup> looked on this poem as wholly imaginary.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XI. p. 756, A; Plin. H. N. VI. vi.

<sup>8</sup> Anonym. Peripl. Pont. Eux. ii. tom. III. ed. Gail, p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> Longin. de Sublim. x. p. 40.

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes, Chiliad. vii. 688.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. Hal. de Thucyd. Jud. xxiii. p. 238. lin. 19, &c.

26. Χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας. *The Griffons which guard the gold.* These are not a people, as some writers have supposed, but a fabulous animal. "We observe on each side of Minerva's helmet," says Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, "a Griffon. Aristeas of Proconnesus says, in his verses, that they are always at war, on account of their gold, with the Arimaspi, who live beyond the Issedones; that the gold which the Griffons guard shoots up from the earth; that the Arimaspi are a people who from their birth have but one eye; that the Griffons are animals resembling the lion, but with the beak and the wings of an eagle."

27. Ὑπερβορέων. *The Hyperboreans.* Olen of Lycia, a poet and a diviner, is the first who makes mention of this people. He speaks of them in a hymn<sup>4</sup> upon Achæia, who came from the Hyperboreans to Delos. The Abbé Gedoyn has confounded this woman with Achaia, a country of the Peloponnesus.

28. Ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ. *The sea-coast towards the south.* Could we expect probability in the works of an author so justly decried as Aristeas, we might remark, that he here means the coast of the Euxine Sea, near the Tauric Chersonesus, which is in fact towards the south, as regards the Issedones, the Arimaspi, &c.

XIV. 29. Φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου. *Saying that he met him (Aristeas) going to Cyzicus.* Plutarch<sup>5</sup> no doubt supposed that the pretended death of Aristeas occurred in some other place than Proconnesus, as he makes out that he was met by travellers on the road to Crotona. The same author adds, immediately afterwards, the story of a certain Cleomedes of Astypalæa, who, being pursued, threw himself into a large chest, which he shut down upon himself. After many vain efforts to unclosethe chest, it was finally broke open; but Cleomedes was not found either dead or alive. Pausanias<sup>6</sup> relates the same story. There would be no end to quoting such tales, whether from ancient or modern writers.

XV. 30. Μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέραν Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίοισι. *Three hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas.* "Aristeas of Proconnesus<sup>7</sup> lived about the 50th Olympiad, that is to say, 580 B.C." This is founded upon Suidas and some other authors, who place it in the 1st year of the 50th Olympiad; but, according to the account of the Metapontines, he must have lived long before the 1st Olympiad, as he re-appeared<sup>8</sup> 340 years after he had disappeared for the second time. Herodotus, however, does not fix the date of his third appearance.

Tatian<sup>9</sup> makes Aristeas more ancient than Homer. However this

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, V. vii. p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Romulo, p. 35, D.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VI. ix. p. 474.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. des Celtes, tom. I. pp. 11, 12.

<sup>8</sup> The MS. B of the Royal Library has διηκοσίοισι, 'two hundred.'

<sup>9</sup> Orat. ad Græcos, lxii. p. 136.



may be, in the time of Aulus Gellius<sup>1</sup> his works either were, or were believed to be, extant.

31. Ἰταλιωτέων μούννοισι. *The only people of the Italiots.* There is the same difference between the Ἰταλιῶται and the Ἰταλοὶ, that there is between the Σικελοὶ and the Σικελιῶται. The Ἰταλοὶ and the Σικελοὶ were the ancient people of Italy and of Sicily; the Ἰταλιῶται and the Σικελιῶται were the Greeks who had established themselves in those countries. See Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>2</sup>.

32. Κόραξ. *A crow.* Pliny<sup>3</sup> relates this story a little differently. It was the soul of Aristæas which quitted his body, and appeared under the form of a crow. "Aristææ etiam visam (animam) evolantem ex ore in Proconneso, corvi effigie, magna, quæ sequitur, fabulositate."

33. Πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι. *Laurel trees surround him.* It appears that these were not natural trees, but manufactured in bronze<sup>4</sup>. Why has not Herodotus noticed this fact? It is probable that they were originally natural trees, but that when these perished, they were replaced by others in bronze.

XVI. 34. Ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως, &c. *As much as we could learn with certainty.* "Notwithstanding some ambiguities and apparent contradictions," says the learned Major Rennell<sup>5</sup>, "which we find in the geographical description of Scythia, it is certain that Herodotus bestowed great attention on the subject. From the solemn declaration that he makes in the beginning, we may suppose that he intended it to make a considerable impression. It has seldom happened that a traveller who derived his information concerning the geography of so extensive a country from sources so casual, has produced a description comprising so many circumstances in accordance with the truth."

XVII. 35. [Καλλιπίδαι—έόντες Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι. *The Callipidæ, who are Scythian Greeks.* These people probably occupied the western bank of the Dnieper, but the great diversity of opinions among those who have attempted to settle definitively all the details of our author's geography, warns us not to think of forcing a precise construction on statements which are often vague and incorrect. Eichwald<sup>6</sup> changes the name to Callippidæ, so as to render it significant (having handsome horses); but there is little value to be attached to a sense thus obtained at a venture. The same writer supposes<sup>7</sup> that the name of the people dwelling above the Callipidæ,—the Alazones, οἱ Ἀλαζῶνες—was not a Scythian proper name, but a Greek epithet, signifying 'the Wanderers.']

<sup>1</sup> Noct. Att. IX. iv. vol. I. p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. voc. Σικελία.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. lii. vol. I. p. 407, lin. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIII. viii. p. 605, c.

<sup>5</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> Alte Geogr. p. 299, note.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 297.



36. [Τούτων δὲ κατ' ἄνω οἰκέουσι Νευροί. *Above these dwell the Neuri.* Beyond the Alazones were the Scythians, styled 'tillers,' Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, who probably occupied the western part of the fertile tract now called the Ukraine. Above these again were the Neuri, whose seat appears to have been in the north of Poland, bordering on Lithuania<sup>8</sup>. The river Vilia, on which Wilna stands, is said to be still called Neris in Lithuanian.]

XVIII. 37. [Τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ οἰκόντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενίτας· σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς, Ὀλβιοπολίτας. *Whom the Greeks dwelling at the river Hypanis call Borysthenitæ, while they call themselves Olbiopolitæ.* It thus appears that the Greeks dwelling at the Hypanis, were the inhabitants of Olbiopolis or Olbia, a Milesian colony founded about 655 A. C. This city rose to great prosperity, which continued till the destructive irruptions of the Goths towards the beginning of the third century. Olbia stood on the right bank of the Hypanis (Bug), about six miles above the junction of that river with the Borysthenes (Dnieper), near the village of Ilinsky, and about 70 miles from Odessa, which has succeeded to its commercial importance<sup>9</sup>. The site of the ancient city now bears the name of Stomogil, or the Hundred Mounds, from the numerous sepulchral tumuli scattered around. A decree of the Olbiopolitæ has been found<sup>1</sup>, in which allusion is made to the Μιξέλληνες, or half-bred Greeks, dwelling in the vicinity, an expression which illustrates our author when he calls the Callipidæ, Scythian Greeks.]

38. Ἀνδροφάγοι. *Androphagi.* To what I have said in the Geographical Table may be added, that they have the Melanchlæni on the east, the Neuri on the south-west, and that they occupy the Palatinate of Volhinia, which now forms a part of Russia.

XIX. 39. Ψιλὴ δὲ δενδρέων πᾶσα αὕτη γῆ πλὴν τῆς Ὑλαίης. *All this country, excepting the Hylæa, is without trees.* Ὑλη, whence the name Hylæa, signifies 'a forest.'

[The tract here called Hylæa, or woodland, is that part of the Steppe between the Dnieper and the Sea of Asoph, which the Nogay Tatars now call Yambogluk. It is at present quite destitute of wood, though the traditional memory of a great forest still remains in the country.]

XX. 40. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλήϊα. *The country of what are called the royal Scythians.* It is thus that I explain τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλήϊά ἐστι. Others have rendered it by 'the abode of the kings of Scythia;' but a few lines lower down, and likewise in lvi., Herodotus speaks distinctly of these royal Scythians.

<sup>8</sup> See Heeren's *Ideen*, I. ii. p. 276.

<sup>1</sup> Köppen, *Nordgestäd. d. Pontus*, pp.

<sup>9</sup> *Choix de Médailles Antiques d'Olbiopolis, &c.* 92—95.

XXI. 41. Ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων. *The first of the divisions.* Λάξις is not the name of a people, as M. Bayer<sup>2</sup>, the author of a Memoir on the State of Scythia in the time of Herodotus, supposed; but an Ionian term, as we see in Gregory, archbishop of Corinth<sup>3</sup>. In common parlance, λήξις is used. Τὴν<sup>4</sup> δὲ γῆν ταύτην ἀρίστην φασὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην τῶν ἐκεῖ λήξεων. 'They say that it is the finest country of India, and the most extensive of its provinces.' The Latin translator has not understood this word in Philostratus.

42. Ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων Βουδινοί. *Above these dwell the Budini.* The country of the Budini is variously fixed by the geographers, some of whom place it<sup>5</sup> in Russia, near the shores of the Baltic, while others<sup>6</sup> carry it eastward to the Volga. But since our author places them immediately above the Sauromatians, who extended eastward of the Tanais or Don, it seems more natural to suppose that they occupied the country nearer the sources of this river. The opinion of Rennell, therefore, and Heeren, who assign the Budini to the vicinity of Voroniej, near the southern borders of the government of Tambof, is entitled to preference.

The Budini were a fair-complexioned people, were mixed much with Greeks<sup>7</sup>, and immediately adjoined on the European side the Sauromatians, who, as it appears to be now well established, were Slavonians. There is no improbability, therefore, in the conjecture, that the Budini were a portion of the same race, and that portion too which led the way in the advance to Western Europe. In conformity with this view, the name Budini is supposed<sup>8</sup> to have been originally Wudini or Wenedi, whence the Wends or Vends of modern times. The root of this name is 'wende,' water; and accordingly the same denomination is applied to the seat of a Slavonian population, on the lakes and marshes of Russia, on the shores of the Baltic, and on those of the Adriatic.

The chief town of the Vends or Slavonians in Lusatia is Buntzlaw, which they call Budissin. In the country occupied by them the names Buda and Budin are of frequent occurrence.]

43. Σαυροματέων ἐστί. *Of the Sauromatians.* These people, who were also called Sarmatians, and who are thought to be the ancestors of the Slavonians, occupied the country now possessed by the Don Cossacks, between the rivers Don and Volga.]

XXII. 44. Θυσσαγέται. *The Thyssagetæ.* Beyond the country of the Budini, which was woody, extended a desert of seven days' journey. Eastwards from that desert lay the country of the Thyssagetæ, which would appear, from what has been already said, to have been the northern part of the government of Orenburg. Eichwald<sup>9</sup> reads Tyrasgetæ, or

<sup>2</sup> Commentarii Acad. Scient. Petropol. p. 9; IV. p. 103.  
vol. I. p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> De Dialectis, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Philostr. Vit. Apoll. III. v. p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Mannert, Geogr. Gr. u. Röm. III.

<sup>6</sup> Billerbeck. Diffic. As. Herod. p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. IV. cv.

<sup>8</sup> Eichwald, Alte Geogr. p. 280.

<sup>9</sup> Id. Alte Geogr. p. 283.

Getæ of the river Tyras (Dniester), for Thyssagetæ, but he has no authority for such a change of text.]

45. *Ἴυρκαί.* *The Iyrcæ.* It is in vain that MM. Falconet<sup>1</sup> and Mallet<sup>2</sup> wish us here to read *Τύρκοι*, the Turks, as in Pomponius Mela<sup>3</sup>. It is better, with Plintianus, to correct the text of that geographer by Herodotus. Pliny<sup>4</sup> confounds this people with the Thyssagetæ. I doubt if any such people are mentioned by any other writer.

[It is observed by Von Hammer<sup>5</sup>, that the appellation 'Yuruk,' or wanderers, is frequent among the Turkish hordes; the *Ἴυρκαί*, therefore, might have been Turks, and called Yuruk. But it is manifest that very little reliance can be placed on resemblances of proper names, or of any isolated terms, separated by an interval of two-and-twenty centuries, and unsupported by any constant analogies.

Some refer<sup>6</sup> the Iyrcæ to the river Hyrgiz or Irgiz, in the government of Orenburg; others refer<sup>7</sup> them to the river Iurgusen in Perm. Finally, their name naturally brings to mind the Ugrii or Uigurs of modern history, who were of the same race as the Woguls, now inhabiting the northern part of the Uralian chain.]

XXIII. 46. [*Ἀνθρωποὶ λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ, ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι . . . καὶ σιμοὶ, καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα.* *Men who are said to be all bald from their birth, with flat noses and broad chins.* The people thus described were manifestly tenants of the southern portions of the Ural, probably westward of Ufa. It is also clear that they were of Mongolian race. The expression 'lofty mountains,' used in describing the abode of these Mongols, certainly does not suit well with the Ural, at least in the southern part of its range. But it is not in particulars of this kind that we should require exactness from our historian, who deals so much in loose hearsay information.

The same tract of country is now occupied by the Bashkirs, whose name Erman is at pains to prove<sup>8</sup> to be radically equivalent to *φαλακροὶ*, and to mean 'bald-pated.' It may be objected that the Bashkirs are Turks, and not Mongols; but the force of this objection can be parried to a great extent, by observing that the physical characteristics of the Mongolian race are shared by many Asiatic tribes, who are Turks in language, and by the Bashkirs among the number.

The same intelligent traveller illustrates most satisfactorily our historian's account of the subsistence of the Bald men<sup>9</sup>. 'They live,' says Herodotus, 'chiefly on the fruit of a tree, the expressed juice of which they drink, either pure, or mixed with milk; they press the pulp into cakes, which constitute their food.' Now the Bashkirs do precisely the

<sup>1</sup> In a MS. note in the margin of his Herodotus, in my possession.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction à l'Histoire de Danemarck, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Pompon. Mela, I. xix. vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. VI. vii. vol. I. p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Baehr's Herod. vol. IV. p. 516, note.

<sup>6</sup> Gatterer. Comm. Soc. Götting. XIV. p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Reichard. Hertha. 1828. p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Reise um die Erde, I. p. 429.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 427.

same thing with the fruit of the bird cherry (*Prunus Padus*). Furthermore, Herodotus observes, οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀποβρέοντί ἐστι ἄσχυ, 'the name of that which flows off is Aschy.' The acid strained off is called by the Russians of the present day Atschui, or by the Tatars of Kasan, Azui.]

47. Φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες. *Having a language peculiar to themselves.* Herodotus wishing to point out what these people had in common with the Scythians, and in what they differed from them, remarks that they had a language peculiar to themselves. Æschines, moreover, has used<sup>1</sup> the word φωνή in the same sense. Demosthenes, he says, is a Scythian by birth, and a Greek only by language, Ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ.

48. Πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστί. *They have but a small stock of cattle.* Πρόβατα in Herodotus signifies not only sheep, but all sorts of cattle and live stock with four feet. Πάντα τὰ τετράποδα ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ πρόβατα<sup>2</sup>. 'The ancients called all animals with four feet πρόβατα.'

49. Πίλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ. *With a compact white woollen stuff.* This was not a woven web, but a conglomerated mass, a kind of felt. The word στεγνός, 'firmus,' joined to πῖλος, seems to me decisive on this point. It must be understood of a tent of felt. I have not however hazarded the expression.

XXIV. 50. Πολλὴ περιφάνεια τῆς χώρας ἐστί. *There is a thorough acquaintance with the country.* Πολλὴ περιφάνεια χώρας does not signify to have an extensive view of a country, or that a large proportion of it is perceived, but to have a thorough knowledge of it. Τοσαύτη περιφάνεια τῆς ἐμῆς ποιήσεως ἐγένετο παρ' αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup>. 'So great a knowledge had they of my adoption.'

We may also add another passage of the same author: Νῦν δὲ τῇ περιφανείᾳ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ τῷ συνειδέναι ταῦτα πολλοὺς, οὐδαμόθεν ἡμφισβητήθη τοιοῦτον οὐδέν<sup>4</sup>. 'These points were never disputed, as being well known by all the world.' Τοσαύτη περιφάνεια τοῦ πράγματος ἐστίν<sup>5</sup>. 'So clear an insight have we into this affair.'

XXV. 51. Οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι. *These bald people.* Johannes Ihrus, in his Suio-Gothic Dictionary, maintains, and M. Pougens after him<sup>6</sup>, that the Phalacri were a Scythian people, and both of them cite Herodotus (IV.) But the fact is, 1. that Herodotus speaks of the Argippæi<sup>7</sup>. These people, it is true, were bald, φαλακροί: but that was neither their name nor their surname. 2. The same historian

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. adv. Ctesiph. p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. in Iliad. XIV. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Isæus, de Apollod. Hæred. p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, de Cironis Hæred. p. 71, lin. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Demosth. prima contra Stephanum,

p. 622, lin. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Essai sur les Antiquités du Nord, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. IV. xxiv.

remarks that this people was not Scythian. These two learned writers on the antiquities of the North should have acquired a greater familiarity with the Greek authors.

[In truth ἀργιππαῖοι is no more the proper name of the people than φαλακροί: these words are but descriptive appellations. The people in question were 'bald,' and had 'white horses.' At the present day the horses of the Yakuts, Buriats, and other tribes of Eastern Siberia, are all white; so that it may be inferred, that the native wild horse of Northern Asia is white, and that variety of colour in the horse is the result of complete domestication, and mixture of breed. The Argippæi, or 'White-horse' nation of Herodotus, are called by Pliny and Mela 'Arimphæi.']

52. Αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας. *Men with goats' feet.* These mountaineers, accustomed to ascend the most difficult crags, were, doubtless, compared by the Argippæi to the goats who climb the highest rocks. They therefore used the expression of 'goats' feet' figuratively, and Herodotus understood it strictly.

[The inhabitants of Siberia are well aware of the necessity of securing their joints, their knees especially, against the frost. They wrap them, therefore, in furs, where strangers to the climate would never think of such precautions. This circumstance may have helped to procure for the mountaineers of the Ural, the epithet 'goat-footed.']

53. [Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῷ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον. *But the country to the east of the bald people is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones.* To the north of the Bald men there was nothing known with certainty; but it was said that the people beyond the mountains slept for six months of the year, which Herodotus was unwilling to believe. It is manifest that this statement refers to the remote north, where the winter is passed in almost complete inactivity; and also that the mountains spoken of can be no other than the Ural.

The seat of the Issedones has been hitherto almost unanimously referred to the vicinity of the Altai, or Golden Mountain, in Central Asia, which now forms part of the boundary between the Russian and Chinese empires. Rennell places it<sup>8</sup> at the sources of the Irtysh, and Heeren<sup>9</sup> in the country formerly called Sungaria, now included in Chinese Tatar. But these decisions are not founded on inherent probability, and the circumstances which lent them weight have disappeared in the growth of knowledge.

Herodotus in describing the nations adjoining the Scythians, and known through the latter, manifestly proceeds northwards till he reaches the Uralian mountains. So far all his commentators trace nearly the same road. From the Tanais, in the country of the Iyrcaë, he leads us, on a route inclining eastwards, through a rugged and

<sup>8</sup> Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 131.

<sup>9</sup> Ideen, I. ii. p. 286.

woody country to the Bald men or Argippæi, who dwelt in the southern part of the Uralian chain. To this extent the country was well known, and much travelled, according to our author, whose information reached no further in the same direction, that is, northward; but he adds, that on the east the Argippæi have for neighbours a nation called Issedones. Are we then to believe that the country of these Issedones lay in the heart of Asia, twelve or fifteen hundred miles E. SE. from the Uralian chain? Why take so circuitous a route, and through a rugged country, instead of directly crossing the Steppes north of Caucasus and the Caspian sea?

The gold, which was the object of the intercourse with the Issedones, seems to have influenced most of the commentators of Herodotus in placing that nation in Central Asia. But the discovery of gold in the Uralian mountains of late years does away with the necessity of straining that author's meaning; and Eichwald<sup>1</sup> has now revived, with some chance of success, the opinion of Reichard, that the Issedones dwelt on the banks of the river Iset, at the eastern side of the Ural. The defect of this decision is, that it appears to rest on similarity of names; but it does not involve any improbability, nor require to be supported by any forced interpretation. The Issedones therefore may be supposed to have occupied the eastern slope of the Ural, on the rivers Iset and Tobol, having for neighbours on the south<sup>2</sup>, the Massagetæ, who then spread over the Steppes now possessed by the Kirghis hordes.]

XXVI. 54. Ἀγάλματι χρέωνται. *They use it as a precious vase.* Ἀγαλμα signifies any thing that is precious. 'When the Issedones,' says Herodotus, 'have thoroughly cleansed the skulls of their fathers, they gild them, and use them as precious vases in their solemn festivals.' This appears to me the true meaning of the passage, which Vossius does not seem to have understood. These festivals were probably instituted in honour of their fathers; but it was not to the heads of their fathers that they offered a sort of worship, as that writer has supposed. They used them as drinking-cups. "Capita ubi fabre expolivere, auro vincta pro poculis gerunt<sup>3</sup>," as Pomponius Mela says, in speaking of the Issedones. They made the same use of the skulls of their fathers, that the Boii did of those of their enemies. "Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro cælavere; idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solemnibus libarent<sup>4</sup>." It would have been rather remarkable that the Issedones should have prepared the skulls of their fathers in exactly the same manner that the Boii did those of their enemies, and should afterwards have applied them to a different use.

Major Rennell<sup>5</sup> saw skulls fashioned in the shape of a cup, and tho-

<sup>1</sup> Alte Geogr. d. Caspischen Meers, Vossius.  
&c. p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Livius, XXIII. xxiv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. I. cci.

<sup>5</sup> The Geographical System of Hero-

<sup>3</sup> Pomp. Mela, II. i. p. 130, et ibi dotus, p. 144.



roughly varnished within and without: they had been taken from temples or other places used for public worship. But the Major does not decide whether they had been preserved out of enmity or friendship: he is inclined to believe, however, that it was from the former motive. They had been brought from Boutan, which he thinks to be the same country as that of the Yugures, where he places the Issedones.

55. Τὰ γενέσια. *The anniversary of the death.* Some persons may be surprised that I should thus translate γενέσια. "There is a difference," says Ammonius<sup>6</sup>, "between γενέθλια and γενέσια. The first stands for the anniversary of any one's birth; γενέσια for the anniversary of a death." And he goes so far as to say, that those who use γενέσια for the anniversary of a birth, commit an impropriety.

XXVII. 56. [Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε, Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες τοὺς μονοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας εἶναι. *As to the country above these, the Issedones are those who say that there exist the One-eyed men and the gold-guarding Griffons.* We must here understand the expression 'above,' κατύπερθε, in the same sense in which it is used elsewhere throughout our historian's account of Scythia, that is, in the sense of 'towards the north.' The gold therefore was to the north of the Issedones. The mines of the Uralian mountains are chiefly situate on their eastern slope, and to the north of the road across that chain to Ekaterineburg<sup>7</sup>.]

57. [Οὐνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς Σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς. *We call them by the Scythian name Arimaspi.* Herodotus explains himself by adding that in the Scythian language ἄριμα means 'one,' and σπού, 'the eye.' It will be enough to compare the former of these words with the Swedish 'allena' (alone), and the latter with our verb, 'to spy' (Dutch, 'spuwen'), to comprehend the reasoning of those who seek to connect the Scythian language with those of Gothic descent<sup>8</sup>.

Those who would place the gold and griffons in the Altai, take care to inform us that Arimaspi is apparently a true Persian name<sup>9</sup>. But to say nothing of the weakness of an argument founded on the mere physiognomy of a word, Herodotus explicitly derives the name in question from the Scythian language. It is urged, indeed, that the coincidence of the Scythian with the Persian name is merely accidental; but the improbability of such coincidence between two names having different derivations, is increased by the supposition that they refer to one and the same people. If there were Persian Arimasps, then these were different from the one-eyed people, or Scythian Arimasps, of Herodotus.

According to Erman<sup>1</sup>, the fossil remains of gigantic animals, found throughout Siberia, are believed by the people in general to be the bones

<sup>6</sup> Ammonius de Affinium Vocabulorum Differentiâ, voc. γενέθλια, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Kupffer, Voy. dans l'Eurale, 1833.

<sup>8</sup> See Wachter's Preface to the Gloss.

Germ. § xiii.

<sup>9</sup> These authorities are collected by Halling, Gesch. d. Deutschen, I. p. 141.

<sup>1</sup> Reise um die Erde, p. 111.

of an immense bird ; the skull of a fossil rhinoceros being thought to be the bird's head. To this popular belief he ascribes the fable of the Griffons. But fables which represent gold as every where guarded by monsters, may be suspected of originating in some principle of human nature, rather than in the accidental discovery of fossil bones.]

XXVIII. 58. Ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται. *Even the sea freezes.* The Greeks, who had little or no knowledge of these countries, thought that the sea could not freeze ; they therefore considered this assertion of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who have acquired an intimate acquaintance with these regions, know that Herodotus was correct.

59. Οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι. *The Scythians of the Chersonesus.* In the Greek, 'who dwell within the canal.' Herodotus means the canal or ditch dug by the sons of the slaves, of which he has already spoken. (iii.). This ditch or canal closed the entrance to the Chersonesus.

60. [Τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σινδοὺς. *They drive their wagons across (the ice) to the country of the Sinds.* The country here meant is that south of the Kuban, or the western extremity of Circassia. All the MSS. of Herodotus have Ἰνδοὺς, which the editors have changed to Σινδοὺς on very insufficient grounds<sup>2</sup>. The names Ind and Sind are both modifications of Hind ; the aspirate being in the one case changed into S, and in the other dropped altogether. The latter analogy suited better with the Ionian dialect : it is not surprising therefore that Herodotus should write Ἰνδοὶ where others have Σίνδοι. Hesychius says plainly, Σίνδοι, ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν : though here also editors have arbitrarily changed the text. It is certain nevertheless that Greek writers of a later age gave the name of India to a part of Caucasus<sup>3</sup>. Those Indians, more frequently called Sinds or Sints, may be suspected of being the forefathers of the gipsies, who are now called Sints in Lithuania<sup>4</sup>.]

61. Ὅνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν. *Asses and mules do not bear (the excessive cold) at all.* "Ipsum animal<sup>5</sup> (asinus) frigoris maxime impatiens : ideo non generatur in Ponto : nec æquinoctio verno, ut cætera pecua, admittitur, sed solstitio."

Asses are very scarce in northern countries. Though the climate of England is for the most part mild and temperate, that animal is not common there, and never reaches its full perfection, as I have ascertained by travelling over the whole country for the space of two years ; but things may have altered since I was in that country, fifty years back.

XXIX. 62. Τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρα αὐτόθι. *The rigour of the climate prevents their oxen from having horns.* Hippocrates, speaking of the cars of the Scythians<sup>6</sup>, says, that

<sup>2</sup> In like manner the editors write Σινδικῆς in IV. lxxxvi. where all the MSS. have Ἰνδικῆς.

<sup>3</sup> See Gail's note 456, on the Periplus of Scylax Caryandensis, Geogr. Min. I.

p. 450.

<sup>4</sup> Cooley's Hist. of Maritime Discovery, vol. I. p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. VIII. xliii. vol. I. p. 469. lin. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Hippocr. de Aër. &c. vol. I. p. 353.



they are drawn by oxen without horns, and the cold prevents them from having any.

“The oxen<sup>7</sup> are born without horns; or, if they have any, the people cut them off, for that part is very susceptible of cold.”

XXX. 63. *Ἐκ καράνης τευ.* *In consequence of some malediction.* “Why do the Eleans<sup>8</sup>, when their mares are at heat, take them beyond their frontiers to have them covered? Is it because CEnomaus, who of all their kings took the greatest delight in horses, uttered tremendous curses against the mares which should be covered in Elis? and is it from apprehension of the effects of this curse, that they cause them to be covered in other countries?”

Pausanias makes the same remark that Herodotus does:—“In Elis<sup>9</sup> the mares will not conceive by asses, though they will out of the country. They attribute this circumstance to a certain malediction. This was no doubt the reason why, in Olympia, the races of chariots drawn by mules, which had been introduced in the 70th Olympiad, by Ther-sias of Thessaly, were abolished<sup>1</sup>.” The ungraceful appearance of this kind of equipage might likewise have contributed to its being proscribed.

Although this mule race has a very remote reference indeed to the passage of Herodotus, I cannot here refrain from discussing a point of criticism regarding it.

The scholiast of Pindar<sup>2</sup> asserts, that the race of the *Ἀπῆναι*, or chariots drawn by mules, subsisted only ten years, and that it was abolished about the 89th Olympiad. It had been introduced therefore, according to this scholiast, in the 86th Olympiad; a period long posterior to the time of Pausanias. Nevertheless, as this same scholiast remarks that Psaumis, to whom the ode on which he comments is addressed, obtained the prize of the *Ἀπῆναι* in the 82nd Olympiad, there must be an error in his text. He says, on the 6th Olympic<sup>3</sup>, that the race of the *Ἀπῆναι* was abolished, according to some, in the 85th Olympiad, and according to others, in the 86th. He is then in agreement with Pausanias; for we find in that author, that in the 84th Olympiad it was proclaimed, that for the future there would be no races of the *Ἀπῆναι*. This prohibition would therefore take effect in the succeeding Olympiad, which was the 85th. I give the entire passage from Pausanias, which the Abbé Gedoyne did not understand. “They also abolished<sup>4</sup> certain games at Olympia; the Eleans, from a change of sentiment, having resolved to celebrate them no more . . . that is to say, the races of the *Ἀπῆναι* and of Calpe, the first of which had been established in the 70th Olympiad, and the other in the Olympiad

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 471, c.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Græcæ, p. 303, B.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. V. v. p. 384.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. V. ix. p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Olymp. v. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *περὶ τῶν κώλων*, p. 59, ex edit. Oxon.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. V. ix. pp. 395, 396.

following. In the 84th Olympiad it was proclaimed, that for the future there should be no races of the Ἀθήναι and of Calpe. Thersias of Thessaly obtained the prize at the first institution of the Ἀθήναι, and Patæcus of Dymæ in Achaia, at that of Calpe." After this explanation, I should be disposed to read in the scholiast, ἀλλὰ δωδεκαετης, instead of ἀλλὰ δεκαετης, and ὀγδοηκοστήν πέμπτην instead of ὀγδοηκοστήν ἐννάτην. I interpret χρόνος δέ τις οὐ μακρὸς, not of the entire duration of these races, but only of their duration from the time of the victory obtained by Psaumis in the 82nd Olympiad. By this method, the scholiast is reconciled both with himself and with Pausanias.

There yet remains a slight difficulty. The scholiast says, on the 5th Olympic, that it was a certain Asandrastus who also applied himself to this contest with mules: Ἀσάνδραστος ἐπετήδευσε καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἀγωνίζεσθαι: whilst Pausanias, a very exact historian, says, that it was Thersias. The text of the scholiast appears to me to be altered in this place also, and I am inclined to read Θέρσανδρός τις ἐπετήδευσε, &c. Asandrastus is not a Greek name; and the Thersias of Pausanias appears to be equivalent to and the same with Thersander.

XXXI. 64. Τὰ ὦν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας δοκέω λέγειν. *It appears to me that snow is called feathers by the Scythians, owing to similitude.* The Psalmist<sup>5</sup> compares snow to flocks of wool: "He giveth snow like wool;" an expression which presents a sort of picture. That the Scythians, who beheld the snow fall in abundance in their country, should have compared it to feathers, does not surprise me; but that an African, who could rarely have witnessed such a spectacle, should use the very same expression, and that without having read Herodotus, I confess is rather astonishing. Leo Africanus says, that below the town of Imizmizi there is a defile which crosses mount Atlas, and leads to the country of Guzzula; that this defile is called Burris, that is to say, covered over with feathers, "eo quod<sup>6</sup> frequentes illic admodum cadant nives, quas plumas quis potius quam nivem judicaret."

XXXII. 65. Ὑπερβορέων δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων. *Respecting the Hyperborean people.* M. Fréret<sup>7</sup> places this people beyond mount Boras, and thinks it is for this reason that they are called Hyperboreans. His conjecture does not appear to me admissible. He urges in support of it, that this mountain borders on Illyria. But if it were really so near Greece, how came the Greeks to broach such a variety of fables as to the situation of the countries beyond this mountain? 2. It should seem that the name of this mountain is altered in Livy, and that we

<sup>5</sup> Psalm cxlvii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres,

<sup>6</sup> Jo. Leonis Africani Afr. Descr. II. tom. XVIII. p. 200. fol. 56.

should read 'Bernus,' as it is written in Diodorus Siculus (vol. II. p. 644, line 4.), or rather 'Bermius,' as we find in Herodotus (VIII. cxxxviii.)

It appears by the scholiast<sup>8</sup> of Pindar, that the Greeks, in his time, called the Thracians Boreans; and it is therefore very probable, that they called those who lived beyond, Hyperboreans. Constantine Porphyrogenitus appears to confirm this opinion, when he says<sup>9</sup>, that there are many considerable nations extending as far as the Danube, in the country of the Hyperboreans. The fact is, that the Greeks understood by this word the most distant people towards the north. They applied it sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another, as their acquaintance with geography increased. Herodotus, who possessed more information than most of the writers who succeeded him, applies it to a particular people.

These people appear to have been originally Greeks; the worship of the Delian Apollo, their rites, and some traces of their language observable in their proper names, all give strength to the conjecture.

66. 'Εν 'Επιγόνοισι. *In the Epigoni.* This poem is very ancient, though in all probability Homer was not the author of it. The scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> attributes it to Antimachus. But Antimachus of Colophon, who was anterior to Plato, according to Suidas<sup>2</sup> was posterior to Herodotus, or at least his contemporary. It was therefore impossible to impose on our historian in this particular. The Thebaid of Antimachus was not sufficiently known at Athens, at the time when Aristophanes produced his pieces, nor did the Athenians hold it in sufficient esteem to teach it to their children.

The author of the Dispute between Homer and Hesiod quotes this verse of the Epigoni<sup>3</sup>:

Νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι.

'Muses, let us now recommence our songs with the exploits of these young warriors.'

The poet gives the name of ὀπλοτέρους to the sons of those warriors who perished in the first war of Thebes.

The second war was the subject of the Epigoni. Aristophanes, in his comedy entitled 'Pax,' quotes the verse which I have given above.

XXXIII. 67. 'Ἰρὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα. *The offerings brought by the Hyperboreans.* Salmasius<sup>6</sup> contends that those offerings were the firstlings of the victims; but these would have been spoilt before they could have reached Delos. It should seem that it was the first-

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Pind. ad Pyth. od. iv. 324, p. 234, col 2, lin. 4.

<sup>9</sup> De Administr. Imp. p. 78, ex edit. Banduri.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. in Pac. 1270.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas. voc. Ἀντίμαχος.

<sup>3</sup> Homeri et Hesiodi Certamen, ex ed. Barnesii, p. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. Pax, 1270.

<sup>5</sup> Salmas. in Solini Polyhistor. p. 147.

fruits of the earth that were the first offerings made to the gods. I think therefore, with Baron Spanheim, that the author here refers to the first-fruits of barley or other grain, which the Hyperboreans sent to Delos. This is likewise the opinion of Grævius.

As to the route pursued by the Hyperboreans, Callimachus<sup>6</sup> agrees perfectly with our author. The Athenians, who referred every thing to themselves, adopted another tradition, which has been handed down by Pausanias. According to them<sup>7</sup>, the Hyperboreans committed their first-fruits to the Arimaspi, the Arimaspi to the Issedones, the Issedones to the Scythians, the Scythians to Sinope; and thence the Greeks handed them from one to another as far as Prasiæ, a village of Attica, which forwarded them to Athens, and the Athenians to Delos. Although Herodotus does not name the people to whom the Hyperboreans in the first instance committed their offerings, it is certain that it was to the Arimaspi and the Issedones, as Pausanias relates; but when this author adds that the Issedones transferred them to the Scythians, and these last to Sinope in the south, he is certainly mistaken. The tradition of the Delians seems better founded. There were several nations between the Issedones and the Scythians. These offerings travelled from the north-east to the south-west, till at length they reached the Adriatic.

Those who brought these offerings enclosed in sheaves of corn, were called 'Amallophori'<sup>8</sup> and 'Oulophori.' "Græci<sup>9</sup> tradunt Οὐλοφόρους ex Hyperboreis . . . . . in insulam Delum venisse." It might be concluded from this passage of Servius, that at least in early times these offerings were enclosed in barley straw. We know that this was the species of grain first in use, and that which in Greece was scattered on the heads of the victims; a custom of which I have spoken in note 4, on § cix. book I.

68. Οἱ νῦν Περιφέρειες καλέονται. *Which are now called Perpherees.* Those who were deputed by the different states of Greece to consult Apollo, or to offer to him sacrifices in the name of their country, were called in general 'Theori;' those who came from the Hyperboreans, 'Perpherees,' as Herodotus informs us. Porphyrius calls them 'Amallophori,' and Servius 'Oulophori,' perhaps because their offerings were enveloped in straw. The name of 'Deliastæ' was also given to those sent to Delos, and 'Pythiastæ' to those sent to Delphi. See Hesychius, Phavorinus, Athenæus, &c. The chief of the deputation was called 'Architheorus<sup>1</sup>.'

69. Τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλῆτῃ. *The royal Diana.* This goddess<sup>2</sup> was called in the Thracian tongue 'Bendis.' Βένδις ἡ Ἀρτεμις Θρακιστί. The Athenians celebrated, in honour of her, a festival which was called Βενδίδεια.

<sup>6</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, 284.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. I. xxxi. p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> Porphy. de Abstin. II. xix. p. 135.

<sup>9</sup> Servius ad Æneid. XI. 858.

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. Hist. Var. III. i. vol. I. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychius in voc.

XXXIV. 70. Ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα. *Upon the monument of these virgins.* The custom of offering the hair of the head to the gods is very ancient. It was sometimes placed in the temples, an example of which we have in Berenice, who dedicated hers in the temple of Venus. Sometimes it was hung upon the trees. Trees thus distinguished were called by the Romans<sup>3</sup> 'capillatæ' or 'capillares.' The Roman vestals hung theirs upon the Lotos. "Antiquior<sup>4</sup> illa est (Lotos), sed incerta ejus ætas, quæ capillata dicitur, quoniam Vestalium virginum capillus ad eam defertur."

To cut off the hair was a sign of mourning. It was practised at the burial of a father, a mother, or any other person the most nearly allied. It was for this reason that the young people of Delos, of both sexes, cut off their hair in honour of these Hyperborean virgins, for the purpose of marking the regret they felt for their loss. The same custom was observed at Trœzene, in the temple consecrated to Hippolytus, as foretold to this young hero by Diana: "The young maidens shall cut off their hair in honour of you, and you shall in all after-time enjoy the tribute of their tears, the expression of their grief<sup>5</sup>."

The author of the treatise on the Syrian Goddess<sup>6</sup>, which is found amongst the works of Lucian, was wrong in attributing this custom to the Trœzenians exclusively, as it was observed also in the island of Delos.

XXXV. 71. Καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν. *And Opis also.* Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and who is reported by Pherecydes to have been the son of Neptune and Euryale, but by other authors considered as a son of Tellus, was killed with arrows, while offering violence to Opis<sup>7</sup>, by Diana, according to some writers.

According to Callimachus, the first Hyperborean virgins, who brought these offerings to Delos, were named, Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaërge, daughters of Boreas<sup>8</sup>.

72. Ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας. *The women collect money for them.* The custom of begging contributions in honour of the gods is very ancient. See M. Ruhnken's note on the Lexicon of Timæus, 9th and following pages of the 2nd edition, in which this critic quotes two verses from the Inachus of Sophocles, which M. Brunck has omitted in his excellent edition of that poet. Plato<sup>9</sup> has quoted them partially, without naming their author, as well as the scholiast of Aristophanes, who gives them entire, on verse 1385 of the 'Ranæ.' They are as follows:

Νύμφαι ὄρεσίγονοι, θεαῖσιν ἀγείρω  
Ἰνάχου, Ἀργέλου ποταμοῦ, παισὶ βιοδώροις.

'Nymphs of the mountains, I beg in behalf of the daughters of

<sup>3</sup> Sext. Fest. Pomp. voc. Capillatam, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. H. N. XVI. xliv. vol. II. p. 40, lin. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Euripid. Hippol. 1436.

<sup>6</sup> Lucian. vol. III. lx. pp. 489, 490.

<sup>7</sup> Apollod. I. p. 15, lin. 17, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Callim. Hymn. in Delum, 292.

<sup>9</sup> Plato de Republicâ, vol. II. p. 381, D.

Inachus, an Argian river, goddesses who bestow fertility on our plains.'

73. Ὡλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος. *Olen of Lycia.* Olen, a soothsayer and a poet, anterior to Homer, and even to Pamphos and Orpheus<sup>1</sup>, is the most ancient poet that Greece ever produced, and the first who delivered<sup>2</sup> the oracles of Apollo. The Delphians sung hymns which he had composed for them. "They sing," says Callimachus<sup>3</sup>, "the hymns which Olen of Lycia, a poet and a soothsayer, brought them from the borders of the Xanthus." In his hymn to Ilithyia, he says that she is the mother of Cupid, or Love<sup>4</sup>. He also composed a hymn to Juno<sup>5</sup>, in which he asserts that that goddess was brought up by the Hours, and he reckons amongst her children both Mars and Hebe. There is likewise another poem of his to Achæia<sup>6</sup>, who came to Delos from the country of the Hyperboreans.

74. Ἀγχοράτῳ τοῦ Κητῶν ἱστρητορίου. *Close to the hall where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.* The Athenians and the inhabitants of the Cyclades celebrated with great magnificence, at Delos, in honour of Apollo, a festival which was termed 'Delia.' This festival occurred after the revolution of four years, that is to say, at the commencement of the fifth. Those which were celebrated annually by no means equalled this in magnificence. In the grand festivals, the inhabitants of the Cyclades sent a chorus to Delos, and every island had an edifice appropriated to itself in which to lodge its deputies; at least we may conjecture as much from this passage of Herodotus. I shall say nothing of the festival itself; Mr. Taylor<sup>7</sup>, Father Corsini, and the Abbé Barthelémy, having left nothing to be desired on this point.

XXXVI. 75. Περὶ Ἀβάριος. *Respecting Abaris.* Authors vary as to the time when Abaris came into Greece. Some<sup>8</sup> fix it in the 3rd Olympiad, others in the 21st; but Pindar<sup>9</sup>, a writer whose authority is incontestable, places his voyage in the reign of Croesus. He ought to be sufficiently informed on the subject, as he lived at a time when the memory of Abaris was still recent. He was born in the 3rd year of the 65th<sup>1</sup> Olympiad, and Croesus was made prisoner in the 4th year of the 58th, after a reign of 14 years. If we suppose that Abaris came into Greece in the 3rd year of the reign of that prince, that is to say, in the year 4157 of the Julian period, 557 years before the vulgar era, his voyage would have preceded the birth of that poet by 40 years.

76. Ὡς τὸν διστὸς περιέφερε. *How an arrow carried him about.* I read with MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, ὥς τὸν διστὸς . . . . an alteration which appears necessary, and is founded on what most of the writers who speak of this Abaris say, i. e. that he was carried on an

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. IX. xxvii. p. 762.

<sup>2</sup> Id. X. v. pp. 809, 810.

<sup>3</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, 304.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. IX. xxvii. p. 762.

<sup>5</sup> Id. II. xiv.

<sup>6</sup> Id. V. vii. p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> Marmor Sandvicense.

<sup>8</sup> Harpocraton; Suidas, voc. Ἀβαρις.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, voc. Πίνδαρος.

arrow. See the note of those critics. M. Borheck agrees with them in his edition.

Nevertheless, a fragment of Lycurgus, quoted<sup>2</sup> by the Empress Eudocia, had led me to doubt as to the propriety of this correction, and consequently the manner in which I have translated the passage. "A famine," says the orator, "having been experienced amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris came into Greece, and placed himself in the pay of Apollo. That god taught him to deliver oracles. He afterwards travelled all over Greece, delivering oracles, holding in his hands an arrow, the symbol of Apollo, who was a great archer."

This fragment is taken from the oration of Lycurgus against Menesches, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μενέσχους. This name appears to me to have been altered, and I think we should read 'against Menesæchmus,' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μενεσαίχμου. Apollonius<sup>3</sup> makes no mention of this wonderful arrow.

77. Εἰ δέ εἰσὶ τινες Ὑπερβόρειοι. *If there are any Hyperboreans, &c.* "Eratosthenes<sup>4</sup> contends that the conclusion of Herodotus, viz. that there are no Hypernotians, because there are no Hyperboreans, is a sophism, and is the same as if he were to say, there are no people who delight in evil, because there are none who delight in good. There may be Hypernotians, since the Notus does not blow in Ethiopia, nor even lower down, continues this writer. Now as the winds blow in all climates, and that which comes from the south is called Notus, it is very surprising that there should be any country where it is not felt. But the exact contrary is the case; for not only is Ethiopia subject to the Notus, but all the country beyond it up to the equator. This admitted, Herodotus is censurable for believing that any people were called Hyperboreans, because they did not feel the wind called Boreas. Though poets and their interpreters may advance these things in their fictions, he should give us sounder doctrine."

The reasoning of Eratosthenes is absurd. In Greek they say ἐπιχαιρέκακος, but not ἐπιχαιράγαθος. Yet though the first term exists, it does not follow that the second should not, because there is no corresponding term. I cannot fully explain the idea of the geographer, because in our language the two words are exactly similar.

XXXVIII. 78. Ἀκταὶ διφάσαι. *Two peninsulas.* Ἀκτὴ is often taken for a peninsula. Attica was so called only because it was a peninsula. See the notes of Isaac Vossius on the 'Periplus' of Scylax<sup>5</sup>.

XXXIX. 79. Τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. *The Erythrean sea.* We must remark, that not only the Arabian gulf, but likewise the Persian gulf, and the Southern ocean, or the whole space of sea between the two, was called by this name.

<sup>2</sup> Anecdota Græca, vol. I. p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Mirab. iv. p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, I. p. 106, B; 107, A.

<sup>5</sup> Geograph. Script. Min. vol. I. p. 9.



80. Ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. *Where Darius had a canal lead from the Nile.* This canal commences, says Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, a little above Bubastis. It flows through a long tract from west to east. It then passes through the defile of the mountain of Arabia, and turns towards the south, till it reaches the Erythrean sea, near Patumos. Herodotus, however, has omitted one important circumstance, which is, that this canal passes through the bitter lakes<sup>7</sup>.

It is very remarkable that Herodotus, who had seen this canal, and knew that it conveyed the waters of the Nile into the Arabian gulf, should be contradicted by Diodorus Siculus<sup>8</sup>, by Strabo<sup>9</sup>, and by Pliny<sup>1</sup>, who all affirm that Darius desisted from this enterprise, and that it was completed by Ptolemy. It is certain that Diodorus had never seen this canal, as he makes it to commence, contrary to the notoriety of the fact, at Pelusium. It appears to me, that this canal, having been filled up or obstructed by the negligence of those entrusted with the care of it, Ptolemy the second merely had it cleared out and rendered navigable. When Pliny asserts that Darius caused it to be carried only as far as the bitter lakes, he merely proves, that from the bitter lakes it had been filled up, but that all the upper part of it remained uninjured till the time of Ptolemy. This prince did not content himself with merely clearing out the canal, he constructed locks<sup>2</sup> or flood-gates, which were opened and shut as the convenience of navigation required. It seems that in the sequel very little attention was paid to it; for in the course of two hundred years afterwards, it had become so greatly impaired, that Cleopatra, wishing to withdraw beyond the Arabian gulf, conceived the idea of transporting her vessels from the Mediterranean to that gulf by land<sup>3</sup>. Had the canal been at that time navigable, such a notion would never have occurred to her. If it became filled up in less than two hundred years, namely, from the time of Ptolemy to that of Cleopatra, why should not the same thing have happened in the course of more than two centuries, under the Persian kings, whose cares and attention, being divided by so vast an extent of empire, could not be very sedulously directed to so secondary an object?

We may therefore safely conclude, that Darius completed the canal begun by Necho; but that, being neglected, it became gradually filled up: that Ptolemy Philopator, sensible of its utility, had it cleared out; but that, through the neglect of his successors, it became again obstructed.

Trajan caused it to be once more cleared out, if we may<sup>4</sup> rely on Ptolemy; but Macrizi, an Arabian author, asserts, that it was the emperor Adrian. The opinion of Macrizi is the more probable, as Trajan was never in Egypt, while Adrian was, and having been

<sup>6</sup> Herod. II. clviii.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XVII. p. 1156, c; Plin. VI. xxix. vol. I. p. 341, lin. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. I. xxxiii. p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, as above.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, as above.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Antonio, p. 948, c, d.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemæi Geogr. IV. p. 124.



adopted by the former, was sometimes called by his name. I borrow this suggestion from the ingenious M. D'Anville<sup>5</sup>.

Amrou, the general of the Emir of the Faithful, Omar, had it dug out afresh, by the order of that Emir, in the tenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 632, that is to say, about 500 years after Adrian had rendered it navigable. It was used for the transport of corn to Mecca; but Mohammed Ben Abdallah Ben Alhassan having revolted in Medina against Aboujafar Al-Mansor Billah, second caliph of the house of the Abassides, that Emir filled it up again, about the 145th year of the Hegira<sup>6</sup>, A.D. 762; and from that time to the present it has so remained.

XLI. 81. Ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης. *From this sea.* We must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulf or Red sea. Herodotus has already said (II. clviii.) that the shortest way by which you could pass from one of these seas to the other, was 1000 stadia. Agrippa asserts, on the authority of Pliny<sup>7</sup>, that from Pelusium to Arsinoe upon the Red Sea was 125 miles; which comes to the same thing, this author always reckoning eight stadia to the mile.

XLII. 82. Ἐπλεον τὴν νοτιήν θάλασσαν. *They navigated the Southern sea.* This is the ocean which washes the eastern and southern coasts of Africa. Herodotus, it should therefore seem, knew that the Atlantic ocean and the Erythrean sea communicated after making the circuit of Africa. Eratosthenes was likewise aware of this, as we learn from<sup>8</sup> Strabo. This truth, however, was unknown both to Hipparchus and to Ptolemy, and was in fact lost sight of until the time when Bartholomew Dias and Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1486-7.

83. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά. *This appears to me by no means credible.* Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians had circumnavigated the coast of Africa, and returned to Egypt by the Straits of Gibraltar; but he cannot believe that in the course of this voyage they had the sun on their right hand. The Phœnicians must necessarily, however, have so had it, after having passed the line; and this material circumstance, which in an age when astronomy was in its infancy could scarcely be conceived, confirms the authenticity of this voyage, which might otherwise be doubted. I feel highly flattered that this observation is approved by Major Rennell<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Mém. sur l'Égypte, &c. p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> This was the year of the revolt of Abdallah. See Elmacin, Abulfedæ Annales, vol. II. p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. H. N. V. xi. vol. I. p. 259, lin. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, I. p. 97. This note is borrowed from the excellent work of M. Gosselin, entitled Géographie des Grecs analysée, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> The Geographical System of Herodotus examined, &c. p. 718.

This voyage, on mature reflection, appears to me as well authenticated as most of those of our modern travellers, though the narrative of it can afford but very little information. A literary character of the first eminence, however, has thought proper to<sup>1</sup> treat it as a romance. He endeavours to prove this by refuting the account of Herodotus; but let us examine his remarks.

“It has been maintained,” says M. Gosselin<sup>2</sup>, “that the ancients would not have known that Africa was really a peninsula, had not some navigator sailed round the coast.”

How could this fact have been ascertained by any other means, especially at the time of the reign of Necho, i. e. between the years 617 and 601 B. c. ?

“It might have been known,” continues M. Gosselin, “that Africa was a peninsula, because Hanno<sup>3</sup>, in visiting the western coast of Africa, and Himilco, in traversing the western and northern coasts of Europe, had satisfied themselves that these continents were distinct and separate.”

This is founded upon M. Gosselin's position, that the voyage of Hanno should be dated as far back as 1000 years before our era; and this he founds, 1. on the origin of Carthage, which he fixes<sup>4</sup> 1265, or at least 1235 years B. c. On this point, the opinion which appears to me the most probable, is that of Velleius Paterculus; and it is upon the authority of that historian that in my ‘Canon Chronologique,’ I have fixed the foundation of Carthage 819 years before our era. If my hypothesis be correct, M. Gosselin makes Hanno start from Carthage four centuries before the foundation of that city. But even supposing that Carthage was founded 1235 or 1265 years B. c., still it would not follow that the voyage of Hanno took place 1000 years before our era. Nine critics have laboured in the investigation of the epoch of this voyage. M. Bougainville has carried it the farthest back of any of them, and he places it in the year 570 before our era, that is to say, 432 years later than the time assumed by M. Gosselin. I do not mean to assert, that M. Bougainville is not mistaken: but M. Gosselin adduces no authority in support of his statement, and we may venture to say, that his only motive for fixing the voyage of Hanno at that period, was that of propping his own system, as he brings forward no shadow of proof that it preceded our era by 1000 years.

“Herodotus<sup>5</sup> adds, that the Phoenicians having navigated for two years, they doubled, in the third year, the Pillars of Hercules, and returned to Egypt.”

M. Gosselin does not directly contradict this statement; but he holds, “that<sup>6</sup> if the Phoenicians propelled their vessels by the oar, being born

<sup>1</sup> *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, &c. tom. i. p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 209.

in a temperate climate, they could not have resisted so protracted a fatigue, especially under the burning zone, which they twice crossed."

"In short," adds M. Gosselin<sup>7</sup>, "if they proceeded by oar and sail, or alternately by the one and the other, notwithstanding the stoppages they are supposed to have made for the purpose of sowing and reaping the corn necessary for their subsistence, they had no need to take two years and a half or three years to go round the coast of Africa."

Herodotus says, that the Phœnicians doubled the Pillars of Hercules in the third year; and that is saying clearly enough that they circumnavigated Africa in two years, and that in the commencement of the third they reached the Straits of Gibraltar. But even supposing that they had spent three entire years in accomplishing this voyage, what can we conclude from that? Nothing more than that they stopped in certain provinces of Africa, sometimes for the purpose of sowing and gathering corn, and sometimes to take shelter from the excessive heat, longer than M. Gosselin supposes necessary.

"The Phœnicians," continues Herodotus, "related on their arrival, that in sailing round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand."

M. Gosselin objects to this<sup>8</sup>, that Thales had learned in Egypt the principles of calculation, so far as to enable him to predict the eclipses of the sun. Now this knowledge involves that of the obliquity of the sun's course, and of the phenomena which arise from this in different latitudes. He could not therefore be ignorant, that in circumnavigating Africa, one must have the sun on the right, and consequently this circumstance might be known without the voyage having ever been really made.

To this I answer, 1. that to predict the eclipse of the sun on the 9th July, 597 B.C., it was not necessary to be perfectly acquainted with the obliquity of the sun's course for all the different latitudes; it was sufficient to know the obliquity of its course for certain known latitudes only. 2. The slender knowledge of astronomy then attained was confined to a very limited number of learned men. How can we suppose that common mariners were in possession of this knowledge? In the present age, when that science has reached a high degree of perfection, and when it is cultivated by a great number of persons, thousands of mariners are to be found without the slightest notion of it. How then can we imagine, that in the time of Thales the Phœnicians employed by Necho possessed any such knowledge? Their surprise on finding the sun on their right, proves their ignorance. They felt that they should with difficulty be believed; but their candour and simplicity still induced them to report the fact they had witnessed, and which they expected would be doubted. Now, in my opinion, this fact proves the reality of the voyage round Africa, because it occurred at a time when astronomy had made too little progress for it to have been imagined.

<sup>7</sup> Rech. sur la Géogr. &c. tom. I. pp. 209, 210.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 206.

But even were it possible that it should have been imagined, does that prove that it was effected?

“When the autumn was come,” proceeds M. Gosselin, after Herodotus, “the Phoenicians landed in that part of Libya near which they found themselves, and sowed corn. They then waited for the time of harvest, and, after gathering it, they proceeded on their voyage.”

It is certain that along the eastern and southern coasts of Africa, the seasons do not occur in the same months that they do in Phoenicia. For instance, at the Cape of Good Hope the sowing takes place in June or July, and the harvest in December. From this M. Gosselin concludes, that Herodotus having advanced that the Phoenicians sowed in autumn, had put forth a fable which carried its contradiction with it.

This objection, though at the first glance it seems strong, does not rest upon a solid basis. 1. It is probable that the Phoenicians did not write the narrative of their voyage. It was necessary only to confirm its authenticity. In a country which is little better than a desert, few adventures could happen to them calculated to excite the curiosity of their contemporaries. Having no commercial views, they neglected to give the details of their navigation, to speak of the capes, gulfs, and rivers they had met with, as Hanno afterwards did. They contented themselves with relating, that, having reached a certain distance, they had the sun on their right; that they sowed corn, and that they waited for the time of the harvest, without specifying when that occurred. Herodotus, who travelled into Egypt 150 years afterwards, having heard speak of this voyage, considered it sufficiently interesting to obtain a place in his history; but, as he did not know that the sowing season in a part of Africa did not answer to the same season in Greece, he imagined that the Phoenicians sowed in autumn, though the mariners had said nothing of that particular in their account. Herodotus has certainly committed an error, very excusable for the time in which he lived, in placing the seed-time in autumn in that part of the world; but we cannot from this error conclude that the voyage is a mere romance, any more than we can conclude that the navigation of the Indus by Scylax is imaginary, because Herodotus affirms<sup>9</sup> that he descended this river from the east to the sea, though it is certain that its course is from north to south.

“In fact,” says M. Gosselin<sup>1</sup>, “Mela and Pliny, who have endeavoured to prove the possibility of this grand navigation, by collecting every fact and tradition favourable to their conjecture, make no mention of this passage of Herodotus, though they have often cited the work of that historian. Does not so remarkable a silence prove, that the philosophers and geographers never yielded any faith to so vague an account?”

<sup>9</sup> Herod. IV. xliv.

<sup>1</sup> Recherches, &c. tom. I. p. 206.

It is precisely because it is a vague account, or, to speak more properly, a simple assertion of a fact unsupported by proofs, and without any circumstances which could serve to guide either philosophers or geographers, that Pomponius Mela and Pliny have passed it over in silence. Moreover, both these authors have been equally silent upon the navigation of the Indus, and the periplus of Scylax. The same reasoning should induce us to consider that navigation and periplus as purely imaginary, though M. Gosselin admits their authenticity.

[Larcher seems here to forget to what an extent the current information of mankind is filled up with hypothesis and conjecture. There is hardly any form of existence within the ordinary reach of imagination, which is not sooner or later embodied in a narrative. That Herodotus believed Africa to be circumnavigable, is no proof that he knew the fact. It is not merely because the circumnavigation of that continent is more reconcileable with nature and reality than the existence of one-eyed Arimasps and Griffons, that we should be warranted in concluding the account of such a voyage to rest on a better foundation than that of these monsters.

Admitting that Rennell has proved the possibility of circumnavigating Africa in the manner described by Herodotus, it still remains for us to decide on the question of probability. To begin with the most general considerations, it is obvious, 1. that though it is theoretically possible for boats to navigate thousands of miles along unknown coasts—to run upon shore in bad weather, and find shelter—to plant the ground, and gather the produce undisturbed,—and thus to creep round a great continent, yet the practical difficulties in the way of such an attempt are such as to make its success almost incredible. To ancient as well as modern navigators unknown coasts must have been replete with dangers. Or are we to suppose that chance led the Phoenicians, in every exigency, to a smooth beach without breakers, where they found springs of fresh water, open, arable ground suitable for the grain which they brought with them, and no natives to molest them? Without a train of good fortune, bordering on the miraculous, how could they during a voyage of three years have invariably got through, (and without any retardation,) the constantly recurring hazards incident to such an undertaking?

2. Inferences favourable to our historian's account of the early circumnavigation of Africa have been drawn from his statement respecting the position of the sun: and indeed, if we were obliged to suppose that the phenomenon in question, (viz. the sun on the right hand, or north of the spectator,) could have been observed only on the occasion of such an expedition, then we should have no alternative but to believe in his narrative. But if, on the other hand, we suppose that the eastern coast of Africa, south of the equator, was visited by Arab and Phoenician seamen in the time of Necho, as by Arabs and Greeks a few centuries later, we then see the natural growth of the story of the circumnavigation,

which exhibits only outlines derived from the knowledge of the age, and no individual traces of reality.

3. It would be utterly irreconcilable with the general tenor of the history of our species, if we were to admit that the circumnavigation of Africa was accomplished, and not accidentally but designedly, six centuries before the Christian era, when the civilization of Egypt was mature, and that of Greece in the vigour of its youth; and that, being accomplished, it made no permanent impression, nor effected any revolution in the enterprise of mankind, but that by far the most remarkable achievement of the ancients left behind it only faint and dubious traces, not a name even of those concerned in it being recorded. That a handful of Phoenicians should have overleaped at once the barriers which afterwards kept in check for so many centuries the Arabs on the one hand, on the other the Normans and Portuguese, is not more a matter of astonishment, than the envious fate which wrapped their success in such obscurity. This story could never have been disregarded by Greek and Roman geographers of later times, unless it was recognized by them as the mere offspring of speculation. How confidently experience and theory may be blended together, we see exemplified in Arrian's account of the south-eastern coast of Africa, "Beyond Rhapta extends an *unexplored sea, which unites with the western ocean*²."]

84. Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον. *Thus it (Libya) was known for the first time.* Herodotus does not mean to say that the interior of Africa was known, but only that it had been ascertained that that part of the world was surrounded by water, except on the side by which it joins Asia. This we must supply, after what we read at the commencement of the paragraph: οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, namely, περίρρυτος ἐοῦσα, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει.

XLIII. 85. Καρχηδόνιοι. *The Carthaginians.* The Carthaginians having concluded treaties with Xerxes, and travelling to all parts of the world, might have heard speak of the voyage or periplus of Sataspes.

86. Ἑσθῆτι φοινικῆτι. *Clothing of the palm-tree.* In the Greek there is ἐσθῆτι φοινικῆτι, which has been translated by some, 'habits of the Phoenician make,' and by others 'red garments;' but it appears to me that neither of these is correct.

1. How could people far distant from any commercial town, and who to all appearance had never seen any ships, since they fled on perceiving that of Sataspes, have procured habits of Phoenician make?

2. The giving them red garments appears to me as little founded. It is very doubtful whether people so barbarous as Herodotus represents these to be, should have possessed stuffs, or even if they had, that they should know the art of dyeing them red.

When our historian wishes to express that colour, he always uses the

² Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 11. In Hudson's Geogr. Min. vol. I.



word *φοινίκεος*<sup>3</sup>, and never *φοινικήιος*, which latter is an Ionism for *φοινίκειος*, and throughout the nine books of this history always signifies 'Phœnician' or 'of palm'.

[It has been maintained<sup>4</sup> that Sataspes reached Sierra Leone; but in order to judge correctly of the probable extent of the Persian's voyage, it will be necessary to call to mind the slow progress of Portuguese discovery along the coasts of the Sahra in the 15th century. If Sataspes did not go beyond the shores of Wad Nún, or the northern borders of the Great Desert (which is the more likely opinion), then he probably did not pass the limits of Phœnician trade<sup>5</sup>.]

87. Οὐ δυνατόν ἐτι προβαίνειν. *Could not advance.* It was, according to all appearance, the east wind which prevented the vessel from advancing. It blows constantly in this sea at a certain season.

XLIV. 88. Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. *Scylax of Caryanda.* This Scylax did not appear either to Vossius or Dodwell to be the same with the author of the 'Periplus of Europe, Asia, and Africa'. But M. de St. Croix<sup>6</sup> identifies this Scylax with the author of the Periplus; and his reasoning appears to me conclusive.

[The age of Scylax of Caryanda, the author of the Periplus, is a point on which the learned are much divided. Holstenius, Fabricius, Hager, St. Croix, Bayer, and others, suppose the author of the Periplus to have been the same Scylax of whom Herodotus speaks in this passage; Mazocchi makes him a contemporary of Herodotus. Vossius, Dodwell, and Wasse, think that he was contemporary with Polybius; Mannert places him at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. Bougainville maintains that he wrote between 370 and 360 B.C.; while Niebuhr assigns the authorship of the Periplus to the early half of the reign of Philip of Macedon, who ascended the throne in 360 B.C. Ukert inclines to the opinions of the last two critics; while Gail is disposed to side with St. Croix and Larcher<sup>7</sup>.]

89. Κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολας. *They descended the river to the east.* The course of the Indus is from north to south; consequently Scylax could not descend to the sea by the east. That skilful navigator was not ignorant that he had reached the sea on the south; but Herodotus, who had not read his account, and who had heard say that he had descended the Indus to the sea, imagined that that sea was on the east, for such was the opinion of his time: and considerably afterwards, Hipparchus<sup>1</sup> asserted the same thing.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. I. xcvi. ; II. cxxxii. ; VII. lxxvi. ; IX. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. II. lxxxvi. ; III. xx. ; &c.

<sup>5</sup> Rennell, Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 716.

<sup>6</sup> Scylax Caryand. p. 54, in Huds. Geogr. Min. vol. I.

<sup>7</sup> See Dodwell's Dissertation in Hud-

son's Geogr. Min. vol. I. p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. XLII. p. 350.

<sup>9</sup> See the Dissertations of Dodwell and Gail, in the Geogr. Min. ed. Gail, Paris, 1826. vol. I. and Ukert, Geogr. der Griechen und Römer, I. ii. p. 285.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, II. p. 142, A.

90. Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος, καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο. *Darius subjugated the Indians, and availed himself of this sea.* The President Montesquieu says<sup>2</sup>: "The navigation which Darius caused to be performed of the river Indus and of the Indian sea, was rather the phantasy of a prince anxious to display his power, than the digested plan of a monarch who had any useful end in view. It produced no result either for commerce or navigation; and if for a moment they emerged from ignorance, it was to relapse into it immediately." This ingenious writer adds, in a note, "Herodotus, in Melpomene, says that Darius conquered the Indies: but this is to be understood only of Ariana, and that was an ideal conquest."

But how was this conquest merely ideal, as Xerxes and Darius himself had Indians in their armies? How was this voyage without results either for commerce or navigation, since, after the periplus was accomplished, that prince subjugated the Indians and made use of their sea?

XLV. 91. Μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. *But it is known to exceed in length the other two parts of the world.* It is not astonishing that Herodotus should have conceived this notion of Europe and of Asia, since, with the exception of the Massagetæ, of Arabia, and of a part of India; he knew no more of Asia than the countries which were under the government of Darius. Moreover, this historian considered as part of Europe that immense country to the north of Caucasus, of the Caspian sea, and of the Massagetæ. On the one hand, he added to Europe extensive countries which he subtracted from Asia; whilst, on the other, this latter division of the world comprised an immense extent of country of which he had no knowledge. We must not, therefore, be surprised at his asserting that Europe is larger than Asia and Africa.

92. Ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. *Whence they took the names.* Ἐθεντο is not here taken in the usual reciprocal sense of the middle voice.

93. Τοῦ Κότυος. *Son of Cotys.* Cotys appears at the first glance to be a Thracian name. Atys is decidedly Lydian. Independently of King Atys, Herodotus speaks of a son of Croesus, and of the father of the rich Pythius, who both bore this name. To this we may add what our author relates of the history of Lydia, and which he has not borrowed from Xanthus of Lydia, as Thomas Gale imagined<sup>3</sup>; that historian, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>4</sup>, having no where spoken of Tyrrhenus, nor of the sending of the Mæonian colony into Italy. In that passage (I. xciv.) he calls the son of Manes 'Atys,' and not 'Cotys.' Eustathius appears to have read<sup>5</sup> 'Asias,' son of Atys. But though these

<sup>2</sup> L'Esprit des Loix, XXI. viii. p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> M. Valckenaer appears to me mistaken. See bk. I. xciv. note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. p. 22. lin. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 270: add the Etymologicum Magnum, at the word Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, p. 153.



authorities have great weight, I allow 'Cotys' to stand, because it appears by the same Eustathius on Homer<sup>6</sup>, that the ancients considered Asias as the son of Cotys, and moreover, because Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>7</sup> affirms that Manes, first king of Mæonia, had by Calirhoe, Cotys, and that Cotys had by Halia, daughter of Tullus, Asias and Atys; for so we must read that author.—VALCKENAER.

I add to this note, which I have borrowed from M. Valckenaer, that Cotys is not a name so peculiar to Thrace, but that it is met with in different parts of Asia Minor. The prince or king of the Paphlagonians, as Plutarch calls him<sup>8</sup>, who was contemporary with Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, was called Cotys<sup>9</sup>.

94. Εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὖνομα τὴν χώραν. *Unless we suppose that the country took its name from the Tyrian Europa.* Bochart<sup>1</sup> thinks that this division of the world was called Ur-Appa by the Phœnicians, from the fair complexion of its inhabitants: and he is possibly in the right.

XLVI. 95. Ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου. *On this side of the Euxine sea.* Herodotus uses the word ἐντὸς only to express that which is on the hither side, or between him and the object referred to. He therefore did not write this passage in Asia Minor, at Halicarnassus, or at Samos; for in neither of those situations would the Scythians have been between him and the Euxine sea. He therefore, in all probability, wrote it at Thurium, in the southern part of Italy; with regard to which place, the Scythians are on the near side of the Euxine sea. This therefore is one of those passages which our author added to his history, after having fixed his residence in Italy.

96. Μήτε τείχεα. *Nor fortresses.* Τείχεα signifies 'fortresses or castles,' as we find in a hundred passages of our author, of Thucydides, of Xenophon, &c. Hesiod<sup>2</sup> also says:

ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε

\*Η τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν, ἥ ὅγε τεῖχος.

'Now Jupiter destroys their army, and now their city.'

97. Οἰκήματά τέ σφι ἦ ἐπὶ ζευγέων. *Their dwellings are upon wagons.* Æschylus<sup>3</sup>, who was forty-one years anterior to Herodotus, expresses himself in the same manner, in his piece entitled Prometheus Bound. Prometheus, wishing to point out to Io the road she is to take, says to her, "On leaving this place, turn your steps towards the gates of the east. Across the deserts, which the plough has never yet furrowed, you will reach the Scythian Nomades, a people armed

<sup>6</sup> Eustath. in Iliad. B. p. 192.

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. p. 21. lin. 20 et seq.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Agesilao, p. 601, E.

<sup>9</sup> Xen. Or. de Agesilao, III. iv. p. 32.

<sup>1</sup> Bochart, Geogr. Sacra, IV. xxxiii.

p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiodi Opera et Dies, 243.

<sup>3</sup> Æschyl. in Prometh. Vincito, 715.

with light arrows, and who have no other dwellings but cabins of reeds erected upon cars."

XLVII. 98. [Ἰστρος μὲν, πεντάστομος . . . . . καὶ Τάναϊς. *The Danube, which has five mouths . . . . and the Don.* Scythia, according to Herodotus, extended between these rivers. Other writers assign six<sup>4</sup>, or even seven<sup>5</sup> mouths to the Danube.]

XLVIII. 99. [Ἰστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. *The Danube, the greatest river that we know of.* The name Danube was confined to the upper part of this river; the lower part, towards the Euxine, being called the Ister<sup>6</sup>. The word 'Don,' which entered into the former name (Don-ab), was evidently brought into the centre of Europe from the northern shores of the Euxine, where it was of frequent occurrence, and where it still remains in the names Don, Dnieper, Dniester, Dwina, &c. In the language of the Ossetes, in Caucasus, who are a remnant of the Alans of the middle ages, the word 'don' signifying water, is still retained<sup>7</sup>.]

XLIX. 100. Νόης. *The Noës.* I cannot here refrain from noticing that Mr. Bryant (in his *New System, or Analysis, of Ancient Mythology*,) contends that this is the proper name of the Danube, without the prefix Da. Thus, according to this writer, they said, Da-Nau, Da-Nauos, Da-Nauas, Da-Naubus. It follows from the reasoning of the same writer, that the Danube crossed the Triballian plain, a part of Thrace—which is rather curious, and what is still more so, that it discharged itself into the Danube. I cannot conceive how any man with so much talent and information could produce so worthless a work.

In the following line, mention is made of the Cios, another river of Thrace. The MSS. of Sancroft and of Valla have another reading, which may lead us to the true one; for this name is certainly corrupted. The MSS. have Skios, Scius. Strabo<sup>8</sup> speaks of a river Scoeus in Thrace. Thucydides<sup>9</sup> also mentions the Oscius, which, he says, has its source in Mount Scomius, which, barren and of great extent, joins Mount Rhodope. This will accord very well with the Scius of Herodotus: for though this historian says that the Scius has its source in Rhodope, it is evident that he does not distinguish between this mount and Mount Scomius, of which latter he does not even speak; for it is difficult to fix the spot where Rhodope ends and Scomius begins. Pliny appears to me to give us the true reading, when he says<sup>1</sup>, "ex Rhodope Cæscus." The true name of this river, therefore, is Οἰάκος,

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, H. N. IV. xxiv.

p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 469, A. Ovid. Trist. II. 189.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 883, c.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. II. xcvi.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, VII. pp. 305, 467.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. III. xxvi. vol. I. p. 180.

<sup>7</sup> Klaproth, *Reise in deu Kaukasus*, I. lin. 19.

**Æscus.** Ptolemy confirms this<sup>2</sup>, when he names a town of Æscos in the country of the Triballi. We know it was a very common practice with the ancients to name a city or town after the river on which it was situated. There was, then, according to Ptolemy, a river of this name in the country of the Triballi. Now the Scios, or Cios, of Herodotus, traverses the Triballian plain: it must therefore be the same river. The Table of the Emperor Theodosius, commonly called Peutinger's Table, proves this incontestably. It places in this country a river Escus, and upon this river a town of the same name. [The river is now called Iska, or Iskar.]

101. Μετὰ Κύνητας. *If we except the Cynetæ.* These are the same with the Cynesians. [The Danube, he says, rises in the country of the Celts, who are the remotest or furthest towards the west of all the inhabitants of Europe, excepting the Cynesians or Cynetes, who possessed the country round Cape St. Vincent. The Arabs gave to this same tract the name of Al-gharb (now Algarve) or 'the west.']

L. 102. Ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς, οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμίη ἐσδιδοῦσα. *For this (the Nile) receives neither river nor fountain.* Herodotus is mistaken. The Astapus or Abawi, the Astaboras or Atbara, which are very considerable rivers, and a multitude of others which run from Abyssinia and the countries beyond it, swelled by the tropical rains, pour their waters into the Nile, in Ethiopia. But perhaps our historian meant to say only, that the Nile, after its entrance into Egypt, received neither river nor fountain; which is precisely the case. [The Atbara, the last tributary of the Nile, is at least six hundred miles (following the course of the river) above Egypt.]

103. Νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται. *Is covered with snow.* Hesychius has preserved the signification of this word χρᾶται, which he explains by μολύνεται. "Nive omnia inficiuntur et sordent." See also M. Ernesti's note on the Hymn of Callimachus in honour of Diana, verse 69.

LII. 104. Μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος. *The mother of the Hypanis.* "Hypanis<sup>3</sup> ex grandi palude oritur, quam Matrem ejus accolæ appellant."

LIII. 105. Οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρή. *And which is so bitter.* "Hypanis<sup>4</sup> non longè à mari, ex parvo fonte, cui Exampeo cognomen est, adeò amaras aquas accipit, ut ipse quoque jam sui dissimilis et non dulcis hinc defluat." [The Bug is said to be salt at Nicolayef, fifty miles above the sea.]

106. Ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πηγνυνται. *The salt spontaneously crystallizes at its mouth.* Dio Chrysostom<sup>5</sup>, who

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemæi Geogr. III. x. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Pomponius Mela, II. i. p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Chrys. Orat. Borysth. p. 437, D.

passed an entire summer at Borysthenes, says, "A large quantity of salt is found at this place. Many barbarians come to furnish themselves with it, as well as the Greeks and Scythians who inhabit the Tauric Chersonesus."

107. Τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι. *Which (fishes) are called Antacæi.* The comic poet Antiphanes speaks of them<sup>6</sup> in his Deucalion. Pomponius Mela also mentions them<sup>7</sup>: "Alit lætissima pabula, magnosque pisces, quibus est optimus sapor et nulla ossa sunt." Count Marsigli<sup>8</sup> calls this fish Huso. It is the Tock or Tuck of the Danube. [The great finless whales of Herodotus, κήτεα μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, are probably the sturgeons, which, at the present day, furnish an important article of commerce to Southern Russia.]

108. Τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος. *Forty days' navigation.* Hylæa is a small country on the borders of the sea. The agricultural Scythians live beyond it. The northern part of the country of these Scythians is eleven days' navigation, ascending the Borysthenes, as we have already seen (xviii). The country of the Gerrhæ is not very far distant, and it is there<sup>9</sup> that the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. I am convinced from this that there is an error in the text, and that we should read τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, 'fourteen,' instead of τεσσεράκοντα, 'forty.' M. Bayer appears to have been aware of this error, as, in his Memoir on Ancient Scythia<sup>1</sup>, he says, "cognoscebatur Græcis Borysthenes ab Gerrheâ regione, quæ quatuordecim navigatione dierum distabat à mari." If the text really has been altered, as I think it has, the fault is of very ancient date; for we find it in Pomponius Mela<sup>2</sup>, who translates from Herodotus: "Longè venit, ignotisque ortus è fontibus quadraginta dierum inter acutè stringit, totoque spatio navigabilis." Scymnus of Chios<sup>3</sup> had also said, that the Borysthenes was navigable forty days' journey.

109. Ἐμβολον τῆς χώρας. *The tongue of land.* Ἐμβολον τῆς χώρας signifies, literally, 'the ship's beak of land:' that is to say, that this part, at its termination, resembled in form the head of a vessel, as we see in Dio Chrysostom, from whom I shall give the entire passage, as it seems to illustrate that of Herodotus. "The Borysthenes<sup>4</sup> has given its name to the city, (of the Borysthenitæ,) from its size and the beauty of its waters, though the city is really situate on the Hypanis. It now occupies the very same ground it formerly did, a little above the promontory of Hippolaus, and opposite to it. This part of the country, in the neighbourhood of which the Hypanis and the Borysthenes join, is solid, and terminates in a point, like the prow of a vessel. These rivers, from their confluence as far as to the sea, form a lake of about 200

<sup>6</sup> Athenæus, III. xxxii. p. 118, D.

<sup>7</sup> Pomponius Mela, II. i. p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus, vol. IV. p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Herod. IV. lxxi.

<sup>1</sup> Commentar. Academiæ Petropoli-

tanæ, vol. I. p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Pomp. Mela, II. i. p. 126. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Scymni Chii fragm. 69, 70. Vide Geogr. vet. script. min. vol. II. p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Chrys. Orat. xxxvi. p. 437, B.

stadia in length, and as much in breadth. The greater part of this lake is covered with slime, and in calm weather it is perfectly tranquil, as a stagnant water. The river appears on the right, and the force of its current induces those who navigate it to think that it is very deep at its mouth; but, in reality, only for the rapidity of its current, it would be choked up when the south wind sets violently against its mouth."

110. Ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται. *In it is seated the temple of Ceres.* Some of the MSS. have 'Ceres,' and others 'the Mother.' We must understand this latter expression of Ceres, and not of Vesta, as Gronovius does. When he says that the Scythians knew neither Ceres nor Cybele, he is right; but he should have recollected that the Borysthenitæ or Olbiopolitæ were Greeks by origin, and had retained many of the rights and customs of their ancestors.

[Μητρὸς, 'of the mother,' which has been received by later editors, instead of Δήμητρος, 'of Ceres,' seems justly entitled to preference; but by 'the Mother' we must understand the Phrygian goddess or Cybele, and not Ceres. The head of the Phrygian mother occurs on the coins of Olbiopolis. The mother of the gods was worshipped also in Cyzicus, whence the Olbiopolitæ may be naturally supposed to have derived many of their usages<sup>5</sup>.]

LIV. 111. Πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος . . . *Another and fifth river . . .* Thus the Attic authors express themselves. We find in Æschylus<sup>6</sup>, τέταρτος ἄλλος . . . . . ἔνν βοῇ παρίσταται. We read in Sophocles<sup>7</sup>, δεύτερον ἄλλο κακόν: and in Euripides<sup>8</sup>, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον λέγω, Ἐτέοκλον, ἄλλον χρηστότητ' ἡσκηκότα, 'The second, I mean Eteocles, who has exercised himself in benevolent actions.' Our historian has also said, (I. cxcvii) δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε.

As the Ionians were Athenians by origin, they preserved many of the idioms of the ancient Attic tongue.

112. Οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι. *The agricultural Scythians.* For so I translate the word Γεωργοὶ in Herodotus, to mark the difference between them and the labouring Scythians. Pliny always terms the former 'Georgi.' "Panticapes Nomadas<sup>9</sup> et Georgos disterninat." Hardouin, in a note on this passage, confounds the 'Georgi', or cultivators, with the labourers.

LVII. 113. Σκύθας βασιληῖτους. *The royal Scythians.* The Scythians were divided<sup>1</sup> into three distinct states. At the time of the Persian invasion, Idanthysus reigned over the first and greatest, Scopasis over the second, and Taxacis over the third.

<sup>5</sup> See lower down, lxxvi. n. 139.

<sup>6</sup> Æschyl. Sept. c. Theb. 488.

<sup>7</sup> Sophocl. Antig. 1304.

<sup>8</sup> Eurip. Suppl. 871.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. IV. xii. vol. I. p. 217. lin. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. IV. cxx.

LIX. 114. Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα, κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν, καλεόμενος Παπαῖος. *Jupiter is called, very properly in my opinion, Papæus.* Herodotus supposed that with the Scythians the word signified 'father,' and perhaps it was so.

115. Ἀπόλλων δὲ, Οἰτόσυρος. *Apollo, Œtosyrus.* What was the meaning of this epithet bestowed by the Scythians on Apollo? This is not known, and in all probability never will be. Hesychius<sup>2</sup> says, Γοντόσυρον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Σκύθαι. It is evident that we must read Φοιτόσυρον, which is the same word as Herodotus used, with the digamma, as is remarked by M. Alberti. But as to the explanation given by that critic, I think it will be approved by few, because he derives it from the Greek, whereas its origin should be sought in the Scythian tongue. M. Pelloutier has not been more fortunate. He derives this word<sup>3</sup> from 'goet syr,' the good star. He should first have shown that in the language of that people 'syr' signified star. Moreover, he has neglected to observe, that the word was corrupted in Hesychius, and ought to be written with the digamma. It was so written by the Æolians: amongst the other Greeks we find Οἰτόσυρος, as in Herodotus. Among the inscriptions of Marquardus Gudius<sup>4</sup>, there is one from which we learn that the same epithet was given to the moon:

ΘΕΑ. ΣΗΛ. ΟΙΤΟΣΚΥΡΑ  
ΚΑΙ. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΩ. ΟΙ  
ΤΟΣΚΥΡΩ. ΜΙΘΡΑ  
Μ. ΟΥΛΙΟΣ. ΠΛΟΚΑ  
ΜΟΣ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ  
ΑΝΕΘ.

Θέα Σελήνη Οἰτοσύρα καὶ Ἀπολλῶνι Οἰτοσύρῳ . . . . . ἀνέθηκε. 'M. Ulpius Plocamus has dedicated to the goddess Luna Œtosyra, and to Apollo Œtosyras Mithras . . . . .'

[If the name Œtosyrus must be traced to the German family of languages, then the first syllable may be supposed to be 'white' or else 'wit;' the second might be 'herr' or 'sir.' Thus the name would signify the bright or the knowing lord.]

LX. 116. Οὐτ' ἐπισπείσας. *Neither sprinkling it.* Herodotus makes this remark, because the Greeks were profuse in ceremonies.

1. The victim was sprinkled with the lustral water. 2. They scattered on his forehead grains of barley mixed with salt. (The Latins scattered meal mixed with salt, which they called 'mola salsa'.<sup>5</sup>) 3. A portion of hair was cut from the forehead of the victim, and cast into the fire.

The first of these ceremonies we find described in Euripides. Iphi-

<sup>2</sup> Voc. Γοντόσυρον, p. 847.

<sup>3</sup> Histoire des Celtes, tom. II. p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. 56. No. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See I. clx. note.

genia relates that she had seen in a dream the whole of her father's house, except a single pillar, overthrown. This pillar was Orestes. In the same dream she sprinkles this pillar; she thence concludes that Orestes is dead; for those whom she sprinkles with the lustral water die.

Θνήσκουσι δ' οὖς ἂν χέρνιβες βάλωσ' ἐμαί<sup>6</sup>.

In the same piece, verse 621, Orestes says, 'How, will you sacrifice me yourself, you who are a woman?' Iphigenia answers, 'No; but I will sprinkle on your head the lustral water.'

Οὐκ· ἀλλὰ χαιτην ἀμφὶ σὴν χερνίψομαι.

See also verse 643 of the same piece.

Homer has brought these three ceremonies together:

γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ  
 Χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο· πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη  
 Εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων<sup>7</sup>.

'Nestor sprinkled the lustral water and the sacred barley over the victim, cut hair from its forehead, and, throwing it into the fire, addressed his prayers to Minerva.'

Madame Dacier has not seized the true meaning of this passage. She thinks that Nestor washed<sup>8</sup> his hands in this water; and a few verses before, she translates χέρνιβα 'a ewer or jug,' whereas it is the lustral water. It should seem that she confounds χέρνιψ with χέρνιβον: the former of which in Homer never signifies 'a ewer.' This mistake has led her to wish an alteration in the text<sup>9</sup>, for which there is no occasion.

Pope is correct. He thus renders the same verses:

Scatters with quivering hand the sacred flour,  
 And the stream sprinkles: from the curling brows  
 The hair collected in the fire he throws.

A slight inaccuracy has escaped him, in attributing to the Greeks a custom which was peculiar to the Romans. Nestor did not scatter flour, but the barley in grains.

The Greeks expressed the performance of these ceremonies by the word *κατάρξασθαι*, which is the peculiar and appropriate term.

LXI. 117. Αἰνῶς ἀξύλου ἐούσης. *As there is no wood.* Αἰνῶς is an Ionism for σφόδρα, 'valde.' It occurs frequently in Homer and in Hippocrates. See, on this word, Foesii *Œconomia Hippocratis*.

118. Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι. *Vases of Lesbos.* This species of vase is now unknown.

119. Ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρητῶν ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα. *Cram-*

<sup>6</sup> Iphigen. in Taur. 58.

<sup>7</sup> Homer. *Odyss.* III. 444.

<sup>8</sup> *Odyssée*, tom. I. p. 233, édition de

Paris, 1740.

<sup>9</sup> See her Remarks, *ibid.* p. 262.



*ming all the flesh into the bellies of the victims.* Before the invention of pots and kettles, barbarous people used skins to cook their food. The Bedouin Arabs, the Greenlanders, and several tribes of Tartary, still continue the same custom.—WESSELING.

We may remark, also, that in countries where wood is very scarce, they use the bones of animals for fuel. A remarkable example of this occurs in Ezekiel <sup>10</sup>.

120. Τάλλα πρόβατα. *Other animals.* I have remarked in a previous note, that πρόβατα signifies all sorts of four-legged animals. To this I may add that μῆλα, which was afterwards limited to signify sheep only, was formerly, as well as πρόβατα, understood of cattle and quadrupeds in general. Hence the nymphs who presided over the pastures were termed Ἐπιμελίδες. Phrynichus, according to a MS. copy in the Royal Library, says, αἱ (Νύμφαι) περὶ τὰς νομάς τῶν τετραπόδων Ἐπιμελίδες, ὅτι Μῆλα ἅπαντα τὰ τετράποδα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, ‘The nymphs who are in the pastures of the four-footed animals are called Epimelides, because the ancients gave the name of Mela to all quadrupeds.’

LXII. 121. Ὑψος δὲ ἔλασσον. *And less in height.* I am persuaded, with M. Wesseling, that a pile of small wood, three stadia in length and in width, and little less in height, is quite inconsistent with the circumstances of the country, viz. a remarkable scarcity of wood. I am of opinion with him, that the number which expressed the height has been forgotten by the copyists.

122. Ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἀρχαῖος. *An old iron poignard.* Other barbarous people honoured the god of war under the emblem of a scimitar. Ammianus Marcellinus says of the Huns: “Nec templum<sup>1</sup> apud eos visitur aut delubrum . . . sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem . . . colunt.” At Rome<sup>2</sup> even, as we learn from Varro, a pike formerly served to represent the god Mars.

LXIV. 123. Ὅργήσας δὲ αὐτὸ, ἄτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκπηται. *When he has sufficiently softened it (the scalp), he uses it as a towel.* The following verse of the Œnomaus of Sophocles explains what Herodotus here says:

Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον ἐκκεκαρμένος<sup>3</sup>.

‘Torn off after the manner of the Scythians, its skin forms a towel.’ For so this verse is to be understood, and not as Casaubon explains it in his notes on Athenæus, as Hesychius proves under the word Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον, though this gloss has been altered.

Demosthenes twice names this piece in his Oratio pro Coronâ, and

<sup>10</sup> Ezek. xxiv. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Amm. Marcell. XXXI. ii. p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, IV.

p. 41. lin. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. IX. xviii. p. 410, c.



Hesychius explains the second passage of this orator under the word Ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος. Had the Abbé Auger been acquainted with this gloss of Hesychius, he would not probably have chosen to say <sup>4</sup> that Æschines had played the part of CEnomaus. The CEnomaus was a tragedy of Sophocles, of which but a few verses have reached us. It has also been called Hippodamia.

124. Βαίρας. *Shepherds' cloaks*. This sort of cloak was called in Greek Βαίρα. It was made of the skins of beasts sewn together.

LXVI. 125. Ὀνειδος δέ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο. *And is to them the greatest of ignominy*. "Ut<sup>5</sup> quisque plures interemerit, ita apud eos habetur eximius. Cæterum expertem esse cædis, inter opprobria vel maximum."

LXVII. 126. Μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἱετῖνῃσι πολλῇσι. *They divine with numerous rods of willow*. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Huns, says: "Futura<sup>6</sup> miro præsagiunt modo: nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore discernentes, apertè quid portendatur norunt."

This kind of divination has nothing in common with the divining rod of the Abbé de Valmont; but I have seen, in the province of Berry, traces of this superstition amongst the shepherds.

LXVIII. 127. Τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ἰστίας. *By the Lares of the palace*. The Turks to this day swear by the Ottoman Porte.

128. Ἦν οἱ μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι. *If the prophets absolve him*. Julius Pollux<sup>7</sup> has said that ἀφεῖναι, ἀπαλλάξαι are words used by the best writers to signify 'to absolve;' but that ἀπολύσαι is a vulgar word, confined to the lower orders: and yet Herodotus, no less remarkable for the elegance than the purity of his style, has several times made use of it. Ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι. 'The gods who sent him away absolved from the crime of theft.' (II. clxxiv.) Παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ . . . . Πausανίης ἀπέλυσε. 'Pausanias sent back the children of Attaginus absolved.' (IX. lxxxvii.) Thucydides likewise uses it in this sense<sup>8</sup>: τῶν μὲν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τινα ἀδικημάτων εὐθύνη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν. 'He was condemned for private faults, but sent back absolved of the public and more weighty ones.' The same term is also frequently found in Xenophon<sup>9</sup>: Ἐπεὶ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἡδίκηι Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν, οἶδα. 'I know, my father, that if Sphodrias had been innocent, you would have absolved him.' Lysias, who is considered by Dionysius of Halicar-

<sup>4</sup> Les Orations de Démosthène, tom. III. pp. 268, 298, notes.

<sup>5</sup> Pomp. Mela, II. i. p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Amm. Marc. XXXI. ii. sub finem, p. 478. See the note of Lindenbrogius

on this passage.

<sup>7</sup> Onomast. VIII. ii. ix. vol. II. p. 855.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. I. xcv. p. 63. lin. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Xen. Hellen. V. iv. § xxxi. p. 339.

nassus<sup>1</sup> as the most perfect model (ἄριστος κανών) of the Attic tongue, has likewise made use of it<sup>2</sup>. Εἰ δέ τινες κακόννοι ἐγένοντο εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα πράγματα, ἢ γνώμην μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖαν εἶπον, οὐχ οἱ ἅπαντες τούτων αἵτιοι εἰσὶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὑμεῖς ἀπελύσατε. 'If there have been persons ill-disposed to your government, or who have professed pernicious principles, all are not culpable on this account, since you have absolved those who were really accessaries.'

After these examples, what are we to think of the remark of that grammarian? [That it is applicable only to a late age of the Greek language.]

LXX. 129. Αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὰ ὄρκια ταμνομένων. *They mix the blood of those solemnizing the oaths.* When Henry<sup>3</sup> entered Poland, to take possession of that kingdom, he found there 30,000 horse arrayed for battle. The general, approaching him, drew his sabre, then piercing his arm with it, and catching in his hand the blood that flowed from the wound, he drank it, exclaiming, "Sire, wo be to him amongst us who is not ready to shed in your service the last drop of blood in his veins! and with that intention, I will waste none of mine."

LXXI. 130. Ἐς ὃ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός. *Where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable.* In the Greek, 'the place whence you can ascend the Borysthenes.'

[The barrows or monuments described by Herodotus are, in fact, found over the whole country between the Don and the Yenisei, but they are most numerous in the neighbourhood of the sea of Asof. Those which have been opened seem to accord with our historian's description<sup>4</sup>.]

LXXII. 131. Ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα. *After they have strangled fifty, &c.* M. De Voltaire<sup>5</sup> supposes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the Khan of the Scythians, round the royal corpse; and he attributes this assertion to Herodotus, who expressly says, that they first strangled them.

I doubt not that these inhuman sacrifices may appear incredible to such of the moderns as judge of the ancients after themselves, and of foreign nations by their own. Let them learn, however, that in China, the mildest and best-regulated country in existence, the Emperor Tchun-Tchi<sup>6</sup>, having, in the year 1660, lost one of his wives, sacrificed upon her tomb more than thirty slaves. He was a Tartar, that is to say, a Scythian. This example may induce us to consider what

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. vol. II. p. 130. lin. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Lysias, Polystрати Defensio, p. 159. lin. 40, &c. ex edit. H. Stephani.

<sup>3</sup> Histoire de France, par le Père Daniel, nouvelle édit. 4to, tom. X. p. 532.

<sup>4</sup> Malte-Brun, Ann. d. Voy. II. p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> Philosophie de l'Histoire, p. 200 (221).

<sup>6</sup> Histoire Générale de la Chine, tom. I. p. 43. du Discours Préliminaire.

Herodotus tells us of the ancient Scythians as not altogether fabulous.

LXXIII. 132. Ἐπεὶ τὰ θάπτονται. *They then bury them.* All the Scythians did not observe the same customs in their interments. There were some who suspended the dead bodies on trees, and there left them to putrefy. 'What matters it to Theodore,' says Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, 'whether he rots in the ground or above ground? for the latter is honourable burial amongst the Scythians.'

Silius Italicus also mentions this custom<sup>8</sup>:

At gente in Scythicâ suffixa cadavera truncis  
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

Captain Cook<sup>9</sup> relates, that in the island of Otaheite they suffer their dead bodies to putrefy above ground, till the flesh is entirely consumed, and then they bury the bones.

LXXIV. 133. Ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήϊκες εἴματα ποιεῦνται. *Of it the Thracians make garments.* Hesychius says, that it is the women of Thrace who make garments of hemp<sup>1</sup>: Ἔστι δὲ φυτὸν τι λινῷ ὁμοιον· ἐξ οὗ αἱ Θρᾷσαι ἱμάτια ποιοῦσιν. 'Hemp is a plant which bears some resemblance to flax: the women of Thrace make garments of it.' These garments were doubtless worn only in summer; because we learn from VII. lxxv., and from the Expedition of Cyrus, VII. iv. § ii. p. 414, that the Thracians were careful to clothe themselves warmly in winter. It should appear, however, by the piece called Rhesus, attributed to Euripides<sup>2</sup>, that the Thracians were very lightly clothed in winter. But the customs of this people might have altered from the time of the siege of Troy.

LXXV. 134. Ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πέλους. *Having crept under these tents of thick wool.* Πίλος εἰρίνεος is a woollen stuff, fulled and welted, i. e. felt. The term ὑποδύνουσι, 'they creep or slip in,' indicates that the opening by which they entered was very small. This stuff must have extended on all sides down to the ground. Herodotus has said before, (xxiii.) that the Argippeî lived all the year under trees, which in winter they covered with this woollen cloth. Now, if this had not reached down to the ground, it would not have protected them from the inclemency of the season.

The cars of the Scythians were also lined with felt, as we learn from

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. An Vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat? p. 499, D.

<sup>8</sup> Silius Italicus, XIII. 486.

<sup>9</sup> An Account of the Voyages undertaken by order of the king, for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, drawn up from the Journals of the seve-

ral Commanders, by Dr. Hawksworth. From the London Chronicle, 29th June, 1773, p. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. voc. Κάνναβις.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. in Rheso, 443. See Musgrave's notes.

Hippocrates<sup>3</sup>. Αὐται δὲ πίλοισι περιπεφραγμένοι, 'they are lined with felt.' And, three lines further on, he adds<sup>4</sup>, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ στεγνὰ πρὸς ὕδωρ, καὶ πρὸς χιόνα, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, 'This is proof against the rain, the snow, and the winds.'

This kind of tent is still in use amongst the Tartars. Dr. Cook, who lived several years at Astracan, upon the Wolga, who has journeyed from this city to Asoph, upon the Don or Tanais, and from Asoph to Astracan, and who has several times crossed the desert of Astracan, thus expresses himself in his Travels<sup>5</sup>: "The Calmucks inhabit that vast desert which is between the Volga and the Don, having Circassia on its south, and on its north the line drawn between those two rivers. They do not till the earth, but pasture their numerous flocks. They have no fixed habitation, but are continually passing from one place to another. They live in tents of a bee-hive form; those of the rich being covered in with felt, and those of the poor with reeds. The Calmucks winter on the frontiers of Circassia: when the spring appears, they proceed to the north as far as Tzaritzin, and at the approach of winter return to their former position."

Medea<sup>6</sup> introduced into Greece the use of warm baths. They were conducive to health, and rendered the body more supple. The apparatus of the boilers and the fire induced the multitude to suppose that she renewed the youth of men by a culinary process; and they were the more confirmed in this idea, as she carefully concealed her method, lest the physicians should learn it. Pelias was suffocated by the vapour of the bath.

135. Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμίη ἂν μιν πυρὶν ἀποκρατήσῃ. *No Greek stove could surpass it.* Πυρὶν is properly a stove, or perhaps rather a sweating-room, a place calculated to excite perspiration. The Latins called it 'caldarium,' 'tepidarium.'

The Indians of Hudson's Bay have to this day a custom which is very similar. "When they wish to procure perspiration, they<sup>7</sup> take a large round stone, upon which they make a fire, and keep it up till the stone becomes quite red. They then erect round it a small hut, which they carefully close up; they enter naked, with a vessel of water with which they sprinkle the stone. The water is converted into warm vapour, which fills the tent, and causes a rapid transpiration."

136. Ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶν. *Stupified by this vapour.* I understand by this, the stupor, or sort of intoxication occasioned by the vapour; and such was the opinion of the late M. Wesseling. This kind of intoxication occasioned them to utter confused cries, or, to use the

<sup>3</sup> Hippocr. de Aër. vol. I. p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> In all the editions we have στενὰ, 'narrow,' which gives no meaning. I have therefore followed the corrections of the late M. Hemsterhuis in his notes on the Plutus of Aristophanes, p. 369.

Harlingæ, 1744, 8vo.

<sup>5</sup> Voyages and Travels through the Russian Empire, &c. vol. I. p. 307.

<sup>6</sup> Palæphat. de Incredib. xliv. p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> Histoire des Voyages, tom. XIV. p. 666.

expression of Herodotus, made them howl. It has been before observed, (I. ccii.) that the vapour which arose from a certain fruit when thrown into the fire, occasioned a sort of intoxication to the Massagetæ.

A few lines lower down, it is said that the Scythian women make use of the wood of the tree which bears the incense; and I have observed in a note at the foot of the page, that I cannot conceive how they came by it. I have come to the conclusion, that as the Greeks then carried on a very extensive commerce, they brought this wood to the Greek trading cities on the Euxine sea, and that by this channel the Scythian women might procure it.

LXXVI. 137. Ἀναχάρσι. *Anacharsis*. See the life of this philosopher by Diogenes Laërtius<sup>2</sup>, who attributes to him many inventions, confirmed likewise by Strabo. Anacharsis, says Galen<sup>3</sup>, a barbarian by birth, was nevertheless much admired, and entitled THE WISE. Some one having reproached him with being a barbarian and a Scythian, he answered him, 'That reproach dishonours my country, but you are yourself a dishonour to yours.' We find in the Collection of the Letters of the Philosophers and Orators, published by Aldus, certain letters under the name of Anacharsis. These, I am persuaded, are falsely ascribed to him. They are, however, very ancient. Cicero cites<sup>1</sup> one of them, which is also apparently alluded to by St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>2</sup>.

138. Παννυχίδα στήσειν. *To establish a holy eve*. The festivals properly commenced on the beginning of the night preceding the day on which they were celebrated; and in all probability the night was passed in singing hymns in honour of the god or goddess to whom the festival was dedicated. See the *Pervigilium Veneris*.

139. Ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. *Having little images tied upon him*. The Argonauts established at Cyzicus the worship of Cybele, and, if we may rely on Strabo<sup>3</sup>, founded the temples erected in honour of her near to that town and on Mount Dindymus. The priests of that goddess carried a tambourine, and little statues or images on their breasts. "The Phrygians<sup>4</sup> rendered the goddess Rhea propitious with the tambourine. They traversed the town<sup>5</sup>, asking gifts for the Mother of the gods, and carrying on the breast little images." These images hung from the neck down to the breast, as we learn from St. Clement of Alexandria. "Anacharsis<sup>6</sup> had images suspended from his neck, like a priest of Cybele, when the king killed him with an arrow." These figures were called Προστηθίδια. See Suidas under the word Γάλλος, and under the word Προστηθιδίων.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laërt. I. ci.

<sup>3</sup> Galen. Suasoria ad Artes, vol. I. p. 2. lin. 51.

<sup>1</sup> Tusc. Quæst. VI. xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 364. lin. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, I. p. 76, B; XII. p. 862, A.

<sup>4</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, I. 1139.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. II. xix. vol. I. p. 88. lin. 36.

<sup>6</sup> St. Clem. Alex. in Protreptico, p. 20.

LXXVIII. 140. Ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικός. *From this Istrian woman.* This woman was of the city of Istros or Istria, the inhabitants of which are called by Herodotus, in the Ionian dialect, Ἰστρινοί. (II. xxxiii.) Stephanus of Byzantium calls them, in the common dialect, Ἰστριανοί.

LXXIX. 141. Ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. *The god struck it with his arrows.* The Greeks frequently used this mode of expression to signify, 'the lightning fell.' We have before seen, 'the god rains,' for 'it rains.'

142. Μελλόντων δὲ αὐτέων . . . . συνάψειν. *They being about to join battle.* The Attic writers frequently join the future with the present of the verb μέλλω. We may further observe, that συνάπτω means precisely the same as the 'committo' of the Latins. Μάχην is understood.

Κάπροι δ' ὅπως, θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν,  
Ξυνῆψαν<sup>7</sup>.

'They fell to with the same fury as two wild boars who have just whetted their murderous teeth.'

LXXXI. 143. Τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος. *The vase at the mouth of the Euxine.* 'Nymphis' of Heraclea relates, in the 6th book of the history of his country, that Pausanias, who conquered Mardonius in the neighbourhood of Plataea, violating the laws of Sparta, and giving himself up to his pride, consecrated, whilst he was near Byzantium, a brazen vase to the gods whose statues are seen near the mouth of the Euxine sea, and which exists to this day. His vanity and insolence caused him so far to forget himself, that he dared to say in the inscription that it was himself who had consecrated it.

'Pausanias of Lacedæmon, son of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, a general of Greece, has consecrated this vase to the king Neptune, as a monument of his valour.'

LXXXII. 144. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ. *It is two cubits long.* It was the measure of the foot of Hercules, and also that of the foot of Perseus. [We may add the foot of Buddha, of which there are so many supposed impressions in the East.]

LXXXIII. 145. Ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηϊτικὸν Βόσπορον. *To construct a bridge of boats.* The Greek does not positively say this; but it is evident that the two shores of the Thracian Bosphorus can be joined no otherwise than by a bridge of boats. Our author, a little further on, (lxxxviii.) uses the word σχεδία, which is the proper term.

<sup>7</sup> Eurip. Phœn. 1390, ex ed. Brunck.;  
ex ed. Musgravii, 1418.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. ix. p. 536, A, B.

LXXXIV. 146. Ταύτῃ ἐλίποντο. *They were left in that very place.* "Cum<sup>9</sup> bellum Scythis indixisset (Darius), Orientem cingentibus, rogatus ab Œbazo nobili sene, ut ex tribus liberis unum in solatium patri relinqueret, quorum operâ uteretur: plus quam rogabatur, pollicitus, omnes se illi dixit remissurum: et occisos in conspectu parentis abjecit, crudelis futurus, si omnes abduxisset."

LXXXV. 147. Τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτάς. *Which are said to have been formerly floating islands.* The Cyanean rocks were so near to each other, that, viewed from a short distance, they appeared to join. This optical illusion probably gave rise to the fable of their floating, and the fable was believed by reason of the great danger that was incurred on that sea<sup>1</sup>.

148. Ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ. *At the temple.* Darius did not pass over to the Cyanean islands; but he sailed in that direction, and landed near the temple of Jupiter, whence he contemplated the Euxine sea. This temple was not situated on the Cyanean rocks, but on the Asiatic shore<sup>2</sup>, and forty stadia from the rocks<sup>3</sup>.

Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of Urius, because he was considered to favour navigation, οὔρος signifying a favourable wind. Never was his assistance more needed than in this stormy sea. The inscription engraved on the base of the statue of this god has been given by Spon and Wheeler, but much more correctly by Chishull, in the Appendix to his Asiatic Antiquities.

149. Τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. *It is 11,100 stadia in length.* Chardin objects<sup>4</sup> that that makes 462 leagues, of 15 to the astronomical degree; which, he observes, is so flagrant an error, that he knows not how to excuse it. It is very easy, however, to justify Herodotus. Had the historian meant the Olympic stadium, it would have made no more than 419 leagues, which is very far from the computation of Chardin. This is not the stadium spoken of, but that of 51 toises, which Herodotus generally uses. Eleven thousand one hundred of these stadia give 226 French leagues, which is the length of the Euxine sea, as we may satisfy ourselves by reference to the chart of M. D'Anville.

The answer which I give to Chardin will apply to what Major Rennell<sup>5</sup> has said of the length of the Euxine sea. I do not dispute with this learned writer the correctness of the dimensions of that sea as given by him; but I cannot agree with him in his computation of the stadium.

LXXXVI. 150. Ὀργυιὰς ἑπτακισμυρίας. *Seventy thousand orgyiae.*

<sup>9</sup> Seneca, de Irâ, III. xvi. vol. i. p. 120.

<sup>1</sup> See Apoll. Rhod. II. 320, 559.

<sup>2</sup> Tabula Peutingeriana, segm. VIII. c.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, Peripl. Ponti Euxini, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Chardin's Travels, vol. I. p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> The Geogr. Syst. &c. p. 53.



That makes 700 stadia for the day, and 600 for the night; or 1300 in the twenty-four hours. Marinus reckons, upon the authority of Ptolemy, a day's navigation at 1000 stadia; Aristides (in *Ægyptio*), at 1200; and Polybius maintains that it is impossible to accomplish 2000 stadia in a day. Strabo says, that from the Cyrenaica to Criu-Metopon, a promontory of the isle of Crete, is two days' and two nights' sail; which, according to Eratosthenes, is 2000 stadia, and Pliny<sup>6</sup> says the same thing: "Ipsa (Creta) abest promontorio suo, quod vocatur Criu-Metopon, ut prodit Agrippa, à Cyrenarum promontorio Phycunte, ccxxv. m. p."

151. Ἐνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων. *A hundred and eleven myriads of Orgyiæ.* I think there must be a transposition in the Greek text, and that we should read ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ὀργυιέων, as in VII. lx. ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. It is rather remarkable that no translator or commentator, either ancient or modern, should have perceived it. They none of them allowed to the Euxine sea more than 110,100 orgyiæ in length, which would make only 1101 stadia, a number very different from that given by Herodotus. 70,000 orgyiæ multiplied by 9, the number of days occupied in sailing its length, give 630,000 orgyiæ. 60,000 orgyiæ, multiplied by 8, the number of nights necessary to traverse the sea, give 480,000 orgyiæ. These two numbers added give 1,110,000 orgyiæ, which divided by 100, give 11,100 stadia. We know that there are 100 orgyiæ in the Olympic stadium, the orgyia being 6 feet, and the stadium 600.

Though it should seem from this calculation that the Olympic stadium was the one in question, it is nevertheless certain that Herodotus speaks only of the smaller one. But I am inclined to think, that as there were stadia of different capacities, so also there were orgyiæ of different capacities, and that in the Olympic stadium there were 100 orgyiæ of 6 Greek feet each, and in the smaller stadium 100 orgyiæ of shorter measure.

[The text which Larcher supposes to be here changed, is defended by Schweighäuser, who shows that it must mean 111 myriads of orgyiæ, and not 11 myriads with a hundred. The absurdity of the attempt to justify the measurements of Herodotus by supposing him to use a stadium different from the Olympic<sup>7</sup> is very manifest here, where the assumed length of the stadium which will set him right with respect to the length of the Euxine, will set him wrong with respect to its breadth.]

LXXXVII. 152. Τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀπρέμιδος. *The Orthosian Diana.* There was a mountain in Arcadia<sup>8</sup> called Orthius. Diana, who was adored there, received from it the names of Orthian and Orthosian, or

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Nat. IV. xii.

<sup>7</sup> See bk. I. note 302.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Pind. ad Olymp. Od. III. 54.



rather of Orthia and Orthosia. She was adored under these names by the Taurians and in Sparta. Men were sacrificed to her in the Tauric Chersonesus, and at Lacedæmon youths were scourged in honour of her till the blood ran down from them, without their uttering a single cry.

The statue of this goddess seen at Lacedæmon, was one which had been in the Tauric Chersonesus. Pausanias relates some circumstances which superstition led him to credit, but which will now be received with some grains of doubt<sup>9</sup>. "Astrabacus," says he, "and Alopecus, descendants of Agis, having found this statue, immediately lost their senses. The Limnatæ of Laconia, the Cynosurians, the inhabitants of Messoa and of Pitane, having quarrelled whilst sacrificing to the goddess, many of them died by the side of the altar, and a mortal disease carried off the rest. The oracle, on being consulted, commanded that the altar should be sprinkled with human blood. A victim was consequently chosen by lot. Lycurgus substituted for this practice the scourging of young people, so that the altar is not the less sprinkled with human blood."

Plutarch relates<sup>1</sup>, on the authority of some antecedent authors, "that before the battle of Plataea, Pausanias offering a sacrifice at a small distance from the ranks, certain Lydians fell on him, and began to pillage and overthrow all the preparations for the sacrifice; that Pausanias and his companions, having no arms, struck them with rods and whips; and that, in memory of this occurrence, the procession of the Lydians was instituted at Sparta, and the flagellation of young people round the altar."

Even were the altar, mentioned by Plutarch in this passage, that of Diana Orthia, we can scarcely conclude that he alludes to the same festival spoken of by Pausanias. The same remark will apply to the account given by Xenophon<sup>2</sup>, of certain young persons, who, being surprised in the act of stealing corn, were scourged at the altar of Diana Orthia.

153. Τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος. *That part of the Bosphorus.* This place is clearly ascertained by Herodotus. The Abbé Barthélemy, taking this historian for his guide, has, in his Plan of the Thracian Bosphorus, very properly fixed the situation of this bridge of boats. M. D'Anville has omitted to point it out, although the locality of this bridge was a point sufficiently interesting to the lovers of ancient history. Herodotus, in lxxxv., places the bridge at Chalcedon, not because it was exactly there, but because that was the nearest town of any importance. He here expresses himself with exactness.

[The two ancient castles, Rumili-Eski-Hissar on the European side, and Anadoli-Eski-Hissar on that of Asia, are supposed to mark the points which the Persians joined by the bridge of boats.]

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. III. xvi. p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Lacedæmon. Polit. II. x. p. 68.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 329, D.

LXXXVIII. 154. Ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα. *Made him rich presents.* The strict signification of the Greek is, 'Darius made the architect a present of ten things of each kind;' that is to say, of each kind that the presents included.

Homer has several times used an expression which at the first glance appears to be the same, but which, on a closer examination, will be found very different. For example, in the Iliad, xviii. 373, speaking of Vulcan making the tripods, he says,

Τρίποδας γὰρ εἴκοσι πάντας ἔτευχεν.

Which signifies, 'he made twenty tripods at a time;' that is to say, neither more nor less.

155. Ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου. *Having a picture painted of the whole bridge of the Bosphorus.* Ζῶα γραψάμενος is for <sup>3</sup> ζωγραφήσας, as is remarked by Eustathius, who adduces many examples of a word being separated into two. We should observe also the distinction of the middle voice. Had he said ζῶα γράψας, it would have conveyed that he had painted the picture himself.

XCI. 156. Τέαρον ποταμοῦ κεφαλαί. *The sources of the river Tearus.* This inscription is necessarily in prose; and therefore I cannot conceive by what caprice we find it measured out into lines in the Anthologia of the Vatican, as if it had been written in verse, to which it does not bear the slightest resemblance. [The Thracian river here mentioned is now called the Tęara Suji.]

157. Πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου. *Of all the terra-firma.* The Persians termed Asia 'the Continent.' Now, it is certain that they were the masters of the greater part of this continent. We have seen before (III. cxxxiv.) that Darius talked of making a bridge to cross from the continent of Asia to that of Europe.

XCIV. 158. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. *They hold the tenet of immortality in this way.* The Getę were a nation who believed in the immortality of the soul, but not that they themselves were a sect of immortals, as M. De Pauw<sup>4</sup> imagines. [The Getę, occupying the modern Walachia and Moldavia, were known to the Romans as the Daci; "Getę, Daci Romanis dicti"<sup>5</sup>, or perhaps the Daci were included in the Getę.]

159. Παρὰ Ζάλμοξιν Δαίμονα. *To the genius Zalmoxis.* Strabo<sup>6</sup> calls him the god of the Getę, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός, and Iamblichus<sup>7</sup> 'the greatest of the gods of the Getę.' Herodotus also speaks of him as a god, in the sequel of this very paragraph. The expression ἀθανατίζουσι, in my opinion, means, that they believe in the immortality of

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. ad Homer. p. 626, lin. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Rech. Philos. sur les Egypt. &c. viii. p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. IV. xxv.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 457, A.

<sup>7</sup> Jambl. Vit. Pythag. clxxiii. p. 147.

the soul, as in the following passage of Josephus<sup>8</sup>, ἀθαναρίζουσι δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς, 'they believe in the immortality of the soul,' alluding to the Essenians.

In the same sense we must understand the passage of Arrian<sup>9</sup>, ἐπὶ δὲ Γέρας τοὺς ἀπαθαναρίζοντας: 'He then reached the country of the Getæ, who believe in the immortality of the soul.' Gronovius has evidently misunderstood it, as he translates, 'immortalibus consecrantes.'

Though Zalmoxis is more commonly written, I have preferred 'Zalmoxis,' with M. Wesseling: 1. because it is the reading of many MSS. and indeed of the best of them: 2. because it is more agreeable to etymology; for the Thracians call in their language a bear's skin, 'zalmos;' and Porphyrius observes, in his life of Pythagoras<sup>1</sup>, that the name of 'Zalmoxis' was given him, because he was covered with a bear's skin as soon as he was born.

160. Οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν ταῦτον νομίζουσι Γεβελείζιν. *Some call this same person Gebeleizis.* M. Bayer<sup>2</sup> interprets this name, 'he who gives, or is the author of, repose.' He founds this interpretation on the language of the Lithuanians, in which 'Gyva Leysis,' has this signification [giver of leisure]. 'Zemeluks' or 'Ziameluks,' a name which approaches very nearly to Zalmoxis, signifies, in the same language, 'the god of the earth.' Nothing, however, is less to be depended on than etymological inferences. M. Pelloutier<sup>3</sup> thinks with M. Bayer.

161. Διὰ πεντετηρίδος. *Every five years.* St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>4</sup> says it is every year, and he calls Zalmoxis 'a hero.' He had probably some sources of information, on this subject, quite distinct from those of Herodotus.

XCV. 162. Οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ. *With Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers.* In the Greek, 'a philosopher who was none of the weakest.' This is one of those figures called λιτότης, μείωσις, very common amongst the Greek and Latin writers, of which I will cite some examples. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, speaking of the Roman history, says, that 'it is not the most trifling of subjects', οὐκ ἐλαχίστην τῶν ὑποθέσεων, meaning that it is the most important and magnificent of which he could treat. Οὔτι κάκιστός ἀνὴρ<sup>5</sup>, he is not the most timid, for he is the bravest. "Polybius<sup>7</sup>," says Livy, "haudquaquam spernendus auctor," Polybius, an excellent author. . . . . and Horace, speaking of the same Pythagoras<sup>8</sup>, "Non sordidus Auctor naturæ verique." Οὐ πάνυ μοίρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ πρώτης<sup>9</sup>, 'of

<sup>8</sup> Joseph. Ant. Jud. XVIII. i. § v.

<sup>9</sup> Exp. Alex. I. iii. § ii. p. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Porphy. Vit. Pythag. xiv. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Origin. Sinic. p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. des Celtes, liv. iii. tom. II. p. 332.

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 590. lin. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. I. iii. p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Homer. Iliad. XVI. 570.

<sup>7</sup> Tit. Liv. XXX. xlv. p. 506.

<sup>8</sup> Horat. I. Od. xxviii. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Sophocl. Œd. Col. 144.

the lowest class of misfortunes.' On this expression the reader may consult the scholiast of Sophocles, and more especially Eustathius, in his Commentary on Homer.

This philosopher had learned from the Egyptians the absurd dogma of the Metempsychosis. He pretended to have been, at the siege of Troy, the same Euphorbus who wounded<sup>1</sup> Patroclus: which is well expressed by Horace in the Ode just referred to. It is somewhat wonderful that so great a man should have fallen into so miserable an absurdity, and that he should have found others mad enough to adopt it. Lactantius<sup>2</sup> forcibly ridicules it: "O felicem, cui soli tanta memoria concessa est! vel potius infelicem, cui translato in pecudem non licuit nescire, quid fuerit! Atque utinam solus delirasset! Invenit etiam, qui crederent, et quidem doctos homines, ad quos stultitiæ transiret hæreditas."

XCVII. 163. Ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. *His land army.* The phrase in Herodotus, and in all the best writers, such as Xenophon, Demosthenes, Thucydides, &c. always signifies a land army, in opposition to ναυτικὴ δύναμις, 'a naval armament.' We have already seen (III. xlv.) πεζομαχεῖν used to signify fighting by land, and we shall find (VIII. xv.) πεζομαχίη for a land battle. Xenophon expresses himself in the same manner: πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, λέξον ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως τήν τε πεζικὴν καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν<sup>3</sup>. 'First declare to us what are the forces of the republic by land and sea.'

But when this expression is followed by ἵππος, it always signifies infantry, as in cxxxiv. ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποισι. 'The Scythians, who remained in the country, ranged themselves in order of battle opposite to the Persians, as well infantry as cavalry;' and cxxxvi. πεζοῦ στρατοῦ is opposed to Σκυθικοῦ ἱππότηω.

XCVIII. 164. Ἀπάσας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα ἐν ἱμάντι. *He made sixty knots in a thong.* This mode of computing the time supposes great ignorance and barbarism on the part of the Persians. About a century and a half after this time, they used to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Minerva at Rome every year, and by these nails the lapse of time was calculated<sup>4</sup>.

Darius reckoned on conquering Scythia in two months; but it should seem that he was engaged in this object for at least five, without succeeding at last.

XCIX. 165. Μέχρι Χερσονήσου τῆς Τρηχέης. *As far as the Chersonesus-Trachea.* This does not refer to a peninsula, but to a Greek town,

<sup>1</sup> Homeri Iliad. XVI. 850.

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. Epit. Instit. Div. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. Mem. Socr. III. vi. § ix. p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Tit. Livius, VII. iii. See also Festus, voc. Clavus annalis, p. 82.

which was so called. Stephanus of Byzantium positively asserts this, and cites the passage of Herodotus.

[Schweighäuser maintains, and with good reason, that the peninsula called the rugged, *τρηχέης*, was here intended, and not the town. It is manifest that the town of Chersonesus, which stood near the modern Sevastopol, took its name from its situation.]

C. 166. *Πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοίης. Towards the sea which is on the east.* This description of Scythia involves a wonderful degree of difficulty. 1. It is not always easy to lay hold of the true meaning of Herodotus. 2. I do not think that this description conforms in all particulars to the real situation of the places. I am, however, astonished that it should, in general, be so exact as it is, when I consider how very little, at that time, the country was known. Our historian must have bestowed infinite pains in acquiring the information which he possessed.

M. Bellanger, by 'the sea which is on the east,' understands the Palus Mæotis. But this can scarcely be, for that sea is named in the same sentence. I am myself convinced, that Herodotus, in this description, means only, by the sea on the south, and the sea on the east, different parts of the Euxine sea. And this I think is sufficiently proved by what he says of the sea on the east. He says, that the Tauric nation extends as far as Chersonesus, which was called Trachea. This city, adds he, is on the borders of the sea which is towards the east. Now we know, that the city of Chersonesus is within the isthmus and on the borders of the Euxine sea. The city was towards the east as respects Scythia, which began on this side the Ister.

CI. 167. *Ἔστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰούσης τετραγώνου. Scythia forming a quadrangle.* Herodotus supposed Scythia to have four sides, and of these four, the Euxine sea and the Palus Mæotis form two. But he is evidently wrong in this particular. The maritime part of Scythia extends from the mouth of the Ister to that of the Tanais in a north-east direction, and, with the exception of some inflexions, forms a parallelogram. But the error of our historian may have been occasioned by the circumstance of the Tauric Chersonesus terminating in a point towards the south-west, which may have led him to suppose that the Euxine sea had two coasts in the European part of it.

This is also the opinion of Major Rennell, who explains<sup>5</sup> with great ingenuity the causes of the error into which Herodotus has fallen.

168. *Ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. I reckon the day's sail at 200 stadia.* The different writers are at variance with each other, and even with themselves, as to the extent of a day's journey. Herodotus here allows 200 stadia, and in bk. V. v. he computes it at 150. Strabo and Pliny reckon the Arabian gulf to be

<sup>5</sup> The Geogr. Syst., &c. p. 53.

1000 stadia in length ; and the first of these authors calls that a three or four days' voyage<sup>6</sup>, which would give 333 stadia for a third, or 250 for a day. What Livy, bk. XXI., calls a day's journey, Polybius, bk III., calls 200 stadia ; and in this agrees with the first number mentioned by Herodotus. The Roman lawyers allowed but 20 miles for each day, which is 160 stadia.

CII. 169. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον. *The Scythians having reflected.* The Latin translation is inaccurate. The Latin translator has almost always mistaken this expression, which is of very frequent occurrence in Herodotus. For example, II. clxii. he has translated the words, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα, "nullo verbo edito," 'without uttering a single word,' whereas it should have been, 'without giving himself the time to reflect.'

This turn of expression is not peculiar to our author : it is often found in the Attic writers<sup>7</sup>. "Α οὔτοι γνόντες, ἔδοσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λόγον.....' perceiving which, they took thought among themselves.' Plutarch likewise<sup>8</sup>, καὶ διδόντες ἑαυτοῖς λόγον, εἴτε ποιῆσαι βέλτιον εἴη, &c. 'discussing among themselves, if it would not be more advantageous to make<sup>9</sup>,' &c. Καὶ διδόντες λόγον, εὔρισκον αὐτοὺς, ὀλίγον δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ ὀργῆς; 'They discovered, by communicating their thoughts to each other, that jealousy and anger had rendered them almost mad.'

CIII. 170. Τῇ Παρθένῳ. *To the virgin.* This virgin was Iphigenia, as Herodotus says at the end of the same paragraph. Thus, according to the Tauri, Iphigenia was not the priestess who sacrificed<sup>1</sup> the strangers that landed on their coast, but the goddess to whom these inhuman sacrifices were offered.

171. Τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντας. *The Greeks who land there.* "I sacrifice," says Iphigenia in Euripides<sup>2</sup>, "according to the law which existed in this city before me, all the Greeks who land here."

172. Καταρξάμενοι. *After the accustomed ceremonies.* It should seem from the verse of Iphigenia in Tauris, which I have quoted in the preceding note, and by the following one from the same piece, ἥ δὲ τῶν ξένων κατήρξατο<sup>3</sup>, that in Tauris, as well as in Greece, preparatory ceremonies were performed before sacrificing the victim.

CIV. 173. Ἀβρόταροι ἄνδρες. *The most effeminate of all men.* This

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, I. p. 61, A.

<sup>7</sup> Andocid. de Mysteriis, p. 17. lin. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. Defect. Oraculor. p. 419, C.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, in Alexandro, p. 704, c.

<sup>1</sup> The priestess performed the preparatory ceremonies, which consisted in sprinkling the victim with the lustral

water, cutting the hair from his head, which was burned, and scattering on his forehead the sacred barley mixed with salt. Others were appointed to sacrifice the victim. Κατάρχομαι μὲν, σφάγια δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει. Iph. in Tauris, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Iphig. in Taur. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. 1154.

does not appear consistent with the conduct they pursued, when the Scythians were preparing to make a forcible entry into their territory. But an effeminate people will sometimes recall their former virtue, when the defence of their country requires it.

CV. 174. Ἐς δ, πιεζόμενοι, τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. *Until, being obliged to leave their own country.* There is nothing surprising in this. The town of Amyclæ, between Caieta and Terracina in Italy, was, according to Marcus Varro<sup>4</sup>, destroyed by serpents. But if any doubt attaches to that circumstance, as M. Heyne<sup>5</sup> proves to be the case, we may rely on the testimony of M. Cetti, who, in his description of Sardinia, printed in 1744, affirms that in 1736 a little colony was sent from Sardinia to San Pietro, an adjacent island, but they were obliged to return home, from the prodigious number of rabbits with which the island was infested. It became habitable only after they were extirpated.

175. Οἰκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων. *They took up their abode with the Budini.* It is difficult to conceive how the Neuri, who were situate to the south-west of the Androphagi, and to the north-east of the Agathyrsi, could traverse so immense an extent of country without meeting any opposition, either from the Royal Scythians or the Melanchlæni.

The Budini in all probability occupied the country now called 'Woronez,' or, according to De l'Ile, 'Veronecz.'

176. Κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι. *These people may peradventure be deemed.* This expression is very usual both with Plato and Xenophon. Κινδυνεύει σοφός τις εἶναι<sup>6</sup>: 'he appears to be a wise man.'

177. Γόητες εἶναι. *To be enchanters.* "Herodotus," says M. Pelloutier<sup>7</sup>, "was right in not giving credit to this fable; but it is strange that he did not perceive that these Greeks, established in Scythia, were practising on his credulity, in representing to him as a miracle, the most natural and ordinary occurrence in the world. The Neuri were Scythians, who, in the extreme cold, covered themselves with a garment made of wolves' skins, and who left off this furry dress when the weather became milder. This was the mystery which puzzled Herodotus, and all those who have copied him."

1. M. Pelloutier is mistaken. If his reasoning be just, these Greeks might have told Herodotus that the Neuri changed not only into wolves, but into foxes, into bears, &c. because in winter they clothed themselves in the skins of all those animals. 2. The Neuri not being the only people of the north who clothed themselves in the same manner, why did the Scytho-Greeks attribute this kind of metamorphosis to them alone?

<sup>4</sup> Plin. H. N. VIII. xxix. vol. I. Excursu ii. ad eund. libr. p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> Heynius ad Æneid. X. 564, et in

<sup>6</sup> Plato in Etyphron. vol. I. p. 2, c.

<sup>7</sup> Histoire des Celtes, tom. I. p. 305.



3. This people, according to M. Pelloutier, must have covered themselves with this fur during the whole winter ; but, according to the Scythians, they were changed into wolves only once a year, and then only for a few days. This proves that the Scythians and the Scytho-Greeks believed the reality of this metamorphosis, and were not playing on the credulity of our historian. Besides, have we not all heard of were-wolves ('loups-garou'), and other similar fables, by which numbers of the country people are still deluded? These tales, to which the peasants of the north still give credit, must have been much more readily believed at a time when they were in a state of semi-barbarism.

Evanthus<sup>8</sup>, an author of some consideration amongst the Greeks, says, that the Arcadians write, that the family of Anthus drew lots amongst themselves, which of them should repair to a certain pond, undress himself at the edge of it, hang his clothes on an oak, swim across the pond, go into the deserts, be changed into a wolf, and live with that species for nine years. If in the course of that time he did not devour a man, he returned to the same pond, re-crossed it, resumed his original form, but was nine years older. Pliny, from whom I borrow the story, adds very properly, "Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas! Nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat."

[In Abyssinia it is believed that the Falashas or Jews of that country change themselves into hyænas, and eat the flesh of the Christians. Those who can thus change themselves are called Búdas.]

CVI. 178. *Νομάδες. Nomades.* The Nomade people had no fixed residence. They perpetually changed their abode for the convenience of pasturage. They lived in their chariots, like the Scythians, or in tents, like some of the Libyans. They are called Nomades<sup>9</sup>, because they have no houses, but dwell in their wagons. . . . Their women pass their lives in the wagons<sup>1</sup>; the men ride on horseback, and are followed by their flocks of sheep, oxen, and horses. They remain in the same place as long as there is pasture enough for their cattle; when that fails, they remove elsewhere.'

179. *Ἀνθρωποφάγουσι δὲ μόνον τούτων.* *They are the only cannibals.* This, by a manifest transposition, stood at the end of what Herodotus had said of the Melanchlæni. I considered that a translator might be allowed a greater latitude than an editor, who is permitted to make no other changes in his author than those sanctioned by MSS., unless they are supported by incontestable evidence. This transposition must be of very ancient date, as Eustathius quotes the passage<sup>2</sup> in the order in which it is found in our editions. It was this which led Major

<sup>8</sup> Plin. H. N. VIII. xxii. vol. I. p. 450.

<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 353.

<sup>9</sup> Hippocr. de Aëre, xlv. vol. I. p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> In Dion. Perieg. 309. p. 55. col. i.



Rennell to attribute to the Melanchlæni the custom of eating human flesh, though that practice was confined to the Androphagi.

CVII. 180. Εἵματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες. *They all wear black clothes.* Major Rennell observes<sup>3</sup> in a note, "that Tamerlane found in the mountains of Kawuck, which form a part of the Indian Caucasus, a tribe, which Sherefeddin, the historian of the country, calls Siphosian, that is to say, dressed in black. The Getæ, who dwelt beyond the Iaxartes, had black standards<sup>4</sup>."

[The Siah-poosh or black coats, so called from their black sheep-skin jackets, occupy the central regions of the Hindoo-Coosh, and are styled by their Mohammedan neighbours, Kafirs<sup>5</sup>.]

CVIII. 181. Γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν. *It is (i. e. the nation of the Budini) extremely blue and red.* Some persons, says Salmasius<sup>6</sup>, refer this only to the colour of the eyes; but I interpret it of the whole body. Hence Virgil, in his Georgics, calls them 'picti Geloni'. See upon this verse M. Heyne's interesting note.

Hippocrates<sup>7</sup> says that the Scythians are red by reason of the cold, because in their country the sun has very little power. The whiteness being inflamed by the cold becomes red: πυρρόν δὲ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν διὰ τὸ ψύχος, οὐκ ἐπιγιγνομένου ὀξέος τοῦ ἡλίου· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ψύχεος ἢ λευκότης ἐπικαίεται καὶ γίγνεται πυρρή.

It is evident that this passage applies to a natural colour of the Scythians, occasioned by the intensity of the cold. But why does not this happen with the Budini? It cannot be the case with respect to these latter: 1. Because the air affecting equally all parts of their bodies, its action would be uniform, and they would be red all over like the Scythians, and there would be no admixture of red and sea-green. 2. If it be said that the Budini were πυρροὶ, 'red,' from the effect of the climate, and γλαυκοὶ, 'sea-green,' from art, I think that Herodotus would certainly have so expressed it. 3. The Budini are not Scythians; they are a numerous nation, whose manners and customs are very different from those of the Scythians: and it is therefore very likely that they might paint their bodies, whilst the Scythians left theirs of a natural colour. 4. It is certain that the Geloni painted their bodies. All the authors affirm it. But this custom was not original with them, as they were Greeks. They must therefore have borrowed it from some neighbouring people. Now, they had no neighbours but the Budini, by whom they were surrounded. They had therefore taken this custom from the

<sup>3</sup> Geogr. Syst. of Herodotus, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Exerc. in Solin. p. 133. col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Timur, by Sherefeddin, III. vi.

D, E.

<sup>7</sup> Virgil. Georg. II. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Elphinstone's Account of Caubul, vol. II. p. 375.

<sup>8</sup> Hippocr. de Aëre, xlviii. vol. I. pp. 355, 356.

Budini, though they did not use the same colour, as Herodotus remarks a little further on.

[The interpreters of Herodotus are divided on this passage; some understanding by the vivid blue and red of the Budini, the colours with which these people painted their bodies. Others, among whom are Mannert and Heeren, suppose that the blue eyes and florid complexions characteristic of the north are thus referred to. This latter interpretation is countenanced by an expression of Tacitus, who says of the Germans, 'Coerulei oculi, rutilæ comæ'.']

182. Τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι. *Every three years they celebrate.* "It is said<sup>10</sup> that the Greeks celebrate the Trieterica (triennial festivals) because Bacchus employed three years in his expedition. . . . Bacchus<sup>1</sup>, having passed three years in his expedition to India, returned to Bœotia with rich spoils, and was the first who triumphed on an Indian elephant. The Bœotians, and the rest of the Greeks, as well as the Thracians, have instituted triennial festivals in honour of this god, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of his expedition to India."

CIX. 183. Φθειροτραγέουσι. *Who eat vermin.* The Phthirophagi, or vermin-eaters, of Strabo<sup>2</sup> and Pliny<sup>3</sup> are a different people from the Budini.

184. Ἰδέην ὁμοῖοι. *Nor in the look of the face.* Thomas Magister boldly pronounces that no approved author has made use of this term in speaking of men, but that they use the terms εἶδος and ὄψις· οὐδεὶς<sup>4</sup> τῶν δοκιμωτάτων ιδέαν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει, ἀλλὰ εἶδος καὶ ὄψιν. Independently of this passage of our historian, we find the term in Plato, and in other authors no less remarkable for the purity of their style; which shows with how much caution we should receive the precepts of the ancient grammarians. Εἰς Διονυσίου τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ εἰσῆλθον, καὶ εἶδον αὐτόθι τῶν τε νέων τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τὴν ιδέαν<sup>5</sup>. 'Having entered the house of the grammarian Dionysius, I saw there some young people of a decent and modest demeanour.'

185. Τῶν τὰ δέρματα περὶ τὰς σισύρας παραβράπτεται. *The skins of which are sewed round the borders of their cloaks.* Παραβράψασθαι signifies 'adsuere.' Παραράμματα are borders affixed to garments. Hesychius explains παραιρήματα by παραράμματα ἱματίων. Thucydides has used<sup>6</sup> this word in a manner which leaves no doubt as to its signification.

CX. 186. Σαυροματέων. *The Sauromatæ.* Herodotus relates the

<sup>9</sup> Germ. iv. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Diod. Sic. III. lxiv. vol. I. p. 235.

<sup>1</sup> Id. IV. iii. vol. I. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XI. p. 754, A.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. H. N. VI. iv. vol. I. p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Magister, voc. ἰδέα, p. 464.

<sup>5</sup> Plat. Amator. vol. I. p. 132, A.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. IV. xlviii. p. 267. and comment.

origin of the Sauromatæ in this and the succeeding paragraphs up to the 117th inclusive. Diodorus Siculus gives a somewhat different account of it. The Scythians<sup>7</sup>, according to this author, having subdued a part of Asia, drove from it several tribes of people, amongst others a tribe of the Medes, who retreated towards the Tanais, and there formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.

187. Ἀμαζόσι. *Against the Amazons.* These women have been, and still are, ranked amongst the number of those fables with which Herodotus endeavoured to amuse the Greeks. The story was renewed in the time of Alexander, and it is affirmed that Atropates, satrap of Media, presented to that conqueror ten Amazons, armed after the fashion of their country. But Arrian<sup>8</sup>, not finding this circumstance mentioned by Ptolemy or Aristobulus, nor in any other authors worthy of credit, imagines that Atropates merely presented to Alexander a hundred barbarous women who had been taught to ride on horseback, and armed in the manner in which the Amazons were said to be. On this occasion he speaks of the Amazons as follows :

“ It does not appear that the nation of the Amazons lasted till that time. Xenophon, who lived before Alexander, makes no mention of them. He speaks, however, of the Phasiani, of the Colchi, and of all the nations whom the Greeks encountered on their march, whether on proceeding to Trapezus, or on their return from that city. Had they existed at that time, he would have met them in his way. I do not, however, think it probable that this nation never did exist, as a great number of celebrated writers affirm that Hercules made an expedition against them, and that he took from Hippolyta, their queen, her belt, which he carried to Greece ; and that the Athenians, under the command of Theseus, conquered these women, who had invaded Europe, and drove them back again. This history was written by Cimon with as much care as that bestowed on the battles of the Athenians against the Persians.”

It will scarcely, I think, be doubted that this nation really did exist ; but their manner of living being very precarious, they soon became extinct.

CXI. 188. Ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας. *Deceived by the uniformity of their height.* “ I here take ἡλικίη in the sense of ‘statura,’ and even of ‘forma,’ indeed all the peculiarity, of figure ; and such indeed were the Amazons, ἀντιάνειραι, having the height and figure of men. I therefore translate, ‘deceived by their height, or figure,’ &c. We must understand in the same sense the word ἡλικίη in III. xvi. ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν Ἀμάσι. So does the word

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. II. xliii. vol. I. p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Exped. Alex. VII. xiii. p. 506.

φυὴ signify both the form and the height of the body. Φυή, says Hesychius, φύσις σώματος, ἡλικία." CORAY.

CXIV. 189. Ἐκτιλώσαντο. *Tamed.* In the Greek, ἐκτιλώσαντο. This word comes from κτίλος, a ram. As that animal was usually accustomed to the hand of the shepherd, and was tamed, the word κτίλος was used adjectively to signify any tame animal: and hence the word κτιλόω.

190. Μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξεσι. *They do not quit their chariots.* As their chariots served them for houses. It is generally known, that the Grecian women very seldom went out from theirs; but I am apprehensive that Herodotus may have attributed to the Scythian women the manners of the Greeks.

CXV. 191. Τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον. *That portion of their patrimony which fell to their share.* The word μέρος is understood. Herodotus (VII. xxiii.) says, ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μύριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλε, ὦρουσον. We find in Demosthenes, τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν<sup>9</sup>. 'I think our city has had as large a portion of the good fortune that falls to the lot of man, as can come to its share.' We find the same phrase in Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>1</sup>, τούτων ὑπάρξει τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοις λάχος. 'Every one shall have the share which falls to him by lot, the share which fate shall assign to him.'

192. Ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος. *We should fear the consequences of it.* Φόβος is a sudden terror, δέος a permanent fear of a coming evil. See Ammonius<sup>2</sup>.

CXVII. 193. Πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ. *Till she had killed a man of the enemy.* "The women" of the Sauromatæ ride on horseback, draw the bow, throw the javelin from on horseback, and go to the wars, so long as they are unmarried. They do not marry till they have killed three enemies, and do not live with their husbands till they have fulfilled the sacred ceremonies prescribed by the law. The married women cease to mount on horseback, unless it becomes necessary to make a general expedition."

CXVIII. 194. Ὁ Πέρσης. *Darius.* In the Greek we find 'the Persian' for the king of Persia, and in cxix. the Gelonus, the Budinian, the Sauromatan, the Agathyrsus, the Neurus, the Androphagus, for the kings of the Geloni, of the Budini, the Sauromatæ, &c. Such is the phraseology of Herodotus and of most of the good writers. I think, therefore, that it is thus we must understand the following pas-

<sup>9</sup> Demos. de Coronâ, p. 182. segm. 435.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. VIII. lxxiv. p. 520.

<sup>2</sup> Περὶ διαφόρων λέξεων, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Hippocr. de Aër. XLII. tom. I. p. 352.

sage of Plutarch<sup>4</sup>: εἷ δὲ καὶ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίνες εἰσὶν ἡπιώτατοι τῶν Θετταλῶν, ἔφη, οἱ παυόμενοι πολεμεῖν. 'Some one having asked the king of Thessaly which were the mildest of the Thessalians, the latter answered, Those who have ceased to make war.' For though there had ceased to be a king in Thessaly long before the time of Plutarch, the saying may be an ancient one, and of the time when there were kings.

195. Τί γὰρ πάθωμεν; *For what can we do in this case?* This expression is generally a stumbling-block for the translators. The translation, 'quid enim cladem subeamus?' is bad; it should be, 'quid enim facere possimus?' πλὴν ἀλλὰ τί ἂν πάθοιμι; ἐμμενετέον γὰρ οἷς ἄπαξ προειλόμην. 'But what should I do in it? I must adhere to the choice which I have once made.' Τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάθῃ τις ὁπότε φίλος τις ἂν βιάζοιτο<sup>5</sup>; 'For what can you do, when pressed by a friend?' Τί πάθω; οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ αἴτιος τούτου. ἃ φύσις δέ μου ῥεῖ'. 'What would you have me to do in it?' (as has been very well rendered by M. Dacier, perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Belles Lettres,) 'it is not my fault; I have a soft brain; it is my temperament.'

CXXII. 196. Οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον. *The Persians having passed it after them, continued to pursue them.* There must have been a ford at this place; otherwise I can scarcely conceive how an army so numerous as that of the Persians, which must have been greatly encumbered with baggage, could have passed a river like the Tanais quickly enough to pursue the Scythians.

197. Ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων. *Arrived at that (the country) of the Budini.* The Scythians having crossed the Tanais, and the Persians immediately after them, passed into the territory of the Sauromatæ, and without stopping there, they returned through the country of the Budini, which was to the north of the Euxine sea and to the south of the Thyrsagetæ. Though Herodotus does not again mention the passage of the Tanais by the Scythians and the Persians, it must necessarily have occurred. As soon as Darius had passed the Ister, the Scythians, and the Persians after them, directed their march towards the east. When they had reached the country of the Sauromatæ, they turned to the north-west. Both armies in their retrograde march recrossed the Syrgis, which is to the east of the Tanais, then the Tanais, which is to the east of the Oarus, and, finally, the Oarus. Having passed this river, and having lost sight of the Scythians, who were greatly a-head of them, the Persians erected eight fortresses on the west bank of this river.

CXXIII. 198. [Τοῖσι οὐνόματα κείται τάδε, Λύκος, Ὀαρος, Τάναϊς,

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. de Liberis educandis, theus es, § vii. vol. I. p. 36. vol. II. p. 2, F.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian. in Contemp. ii. vol. I. p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Lucian. ad eum qui dixerat Prome-

<sup>7</sup> Æliani Var. Hist. IX. xxvii. p. 618.

Σύργις. *Their names are as follows: Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, and Syrgis.* The application of these names, that of the Tanais or Don being excepted, is now a matter of loose conjecture. Mannert<sup>8</sup> supposes the rivers Lycus, Oarus, and Syrgis to be, respectively, the Volga, Uzen, and Ural.]

CXXIV. 199. Ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα. *He built eight great castles.* These were really castles, as has been well expressed by the Latin translator, and not merely walls, as Du Ryer, and some authors after him, have rendered it. It is true, that this first signification is not found in the Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ of Stephens, nor in any other lexicon, if we except that of Portus; but a person must have a very superficial acquaintance with the Greek language, and never have read either Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon, to be ignorant that the word is taken in this acceptation. Herodotus had just said, speaking of the fortress or stronghold of the Geloni, which the Persians had reached, ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, 'having encountered in their march the wooden fortress of the Geloni.' Κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, 'the Geloni having carried away all their effects from their fortress.'

The same historian, VII. cviii., speaking of the places belonging to the Samothracians, says, Σαμοθρητικὰ τείχεα; and that no doubt may remain as to the signification of τείχεα, he adds, whose last city is called Mesambria. What he had just called τείχεα, he immediately afterwards calls πόλις: and in VII. cxii. he says that Xerxes passed near certain places of the Pieres, τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων, and he immediately afterwards names them; they were Niphagres and Pergamos, small towns or castles, which we hear of elsewhere. There were also many towns named 'Neon-tichos,' or 'new wall,' answering to the French 'Ville-neuve,' and to the English, 'New-town,' or 'Newton.'

Gobryas<sup>9</sup> the Assyrian told Cyrus, that he was master of a strong castle and a considerable country: εἰμὶ τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσσύριος, ἔχω δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χώρας ἐπάρχω πολλῆς. Plutarch gives this appellation to the citadel of Sardis. The Athenians, says he<sup>1</sup>, took all Sardis except the citadel. Χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιληίου<sup>2</sup>.

CXXV. 200. Ἀπείπαντας. *Forbidding them.* The construction is, οἱ μὲν Σκύθαι οὐκέτι ἀπικνέοντο ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους ἀπείπαντας. 'The Scythians did not enter the territory of the Agathyrsi, who forbade them.'

If we are surprised at the pusillanimity of the Budini, the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, we are not less so at the courage and firmness displayed by the Agathyrsi, although Herodotus (civ.) has

<sup>8</sup> Geogr. der Gr. und Röm. vol. IV. p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. IV. vi. § ii.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. p. 861, D.

<sup>2</sup> See also Henr. Valesii Animadv. in Notas ad Harpocratonem, p. 288.

represented them as an effeminate people. But we must consider that the former people occupied an open campaign country, which could easily be overrun; whereas the country of the Agathyrsi, strong by nature, was defended on the east by the chain of mountains anciently called 'Alpès Bastarnicæ' and 'Carpates,' and which are now called the Carpathian Mountains. It should seem that the Agathyrsi occupied Transylvania and the north-east part of Hungary.

CXXVI. 201. Δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. *Presenting to your Lord earth and water.* Among the ancient western nations, it was customary to gather grass and present it to the conqueror in token of submission; and by this action was implied the absolute and unconditional surrender of all right to the country. In Pliny's time, the Germans still observed this custom<sup>3</sup>: "Summum apud antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est, terrâ et altrice ipsâ humo, et humatione etiam cedere: quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio." Festus<sup>4</sup>, and Servius on the *Æneid*, VIII. 128,

Et vittâ comptos voluit prætere ramis,

say that 'herbam do' means the same thing as 'victum me fateor,' and 'cedo victoriam.' The same ceremony, or something akin to it, was observed in transferring any kind of landed property, either by sale or otherwise, to any individual: he was invested with the ownership of the soil, by being presented with grass or turf. See Ducange's Glossary, under the word 'Investitura.' In the east, and in other countries, it was by the presentation of earth and water that the prince was put in possession of the country. By this act he was acknowledged absolute master, for earth and water comprehend every thing. "To give earth and water," says Aristotle<sup>5</sup>, "is to renounce liberty."

CXXVII. 202. Τοῦτό ἐστι ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις. *Such is the answer of the Scythians.* The preceding expression, "As for thee, who boastest of being my master, it is for thee to lament thy doom," may have passed into a proverb; but I can scarcely think that the words, "such is the answer of the Scythians," can have been proverbial, and that Ctesias has used it in speaking of the death of Cyrus, as M. Wesseling asserts. Demetrius, in his Treatise on Elocution, chap. ccxxiii., says, "The messenger did not immediately announce to Parysatis that Cyrus was dead, 'such a message could not have come from the Scythians;' but he first told her that Cyrus was victorious. The princess abandoned herself to joy, her heart was moved," &c. I repeat, there does not appear in this the slightest trace of a proverb.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. XXII. iv. vol. II. p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Rhet. II. xxiii. p. 577, F.

<sup>4</sup> Festus de Verb. Signif. VIII. p. 170.



CXXIX. 203. Οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὔτε ὄνος, οὔτε ἡμίονος. *Nor is there in the whole of Scythia either ass or mule.* And yet the Scythians sacrificed asses, if we may rely on Clement of Alexandria<sup>6</sup>; but it is probable he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, for he cites as an authority a verse of Callimachus, which alludes to the latter only. We learn likewise from Pindar<sup>7</sup>, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed to Apollo hecatombs of asses.

CXXX. 204. Ὅπως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν. *That they might abandon to them some of their flocks.* This appears to M. Wesseling directly contrary to the intention and object of the Scythians, which was to cut off all supplies from the Persians. He would therefore wish us to read ὅπως . . . . μὴ καταλάβοιεν, . . . . 'that they might not be able to seize upon,' &c. In this instance I must differ from the learned commentator. The Scythians, as Herodotus says, wished to detain the Persians longer in Scythia. If they had driven all their flocks away, the Persians, finding the country wholly destitute, would have immediately retired, to save themselves from famine. What, then, do the Scythians? They abandon to them a small part of their flocks; for the genitive τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων is a genitive of partition. The Persians, elated by this success, ἐπληρόμενοι τῷ πεποιημένῳ, hoped for a continuance of it, and flattered themselves they should find out the place where the Scythians had concealed the rest of their flocks. This feeble succour, though no cure for the famine which had begun to be felt in the Persian camp, yet held out to them a hope of future abundance. This hope induced them to prolong their stay in Scythia; and the longer they remained, the more their misery increased, as the Scythians desired it should.

CXXXII. 205. Ὅρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ. *But a bird has most resemblance to a horse.* I do not see how a comparison can be instituted between a bird and a horse, except with reference to the rapidity of their motion, and that is very far-fetched. But supposing the comparison to be just, it is not easy to see how it bears upon the explanation given by Darius. De Pauw appears to me to have obviated this difficulty, by reading ὅρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε τῷ ἵππῳ τὸν τοῦς τε δίστοῦς, κ. τ. λ. We must then translate, 'the bird has considerable analogy with the horse, which they deliver to us with their arrows, as constituting their force.' See Wesseling's note.

CXXXV. 206. Σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ. *With the flower of his troops.* Τὸ καθαρὸν is susceptible of various explanations, according to the context. In the passage of Thucydides quoted by Wesseling, it signifies the citizens of Athens, in opposition to the allies and troops

<sup>6</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 25. lin. 11.      <sup>7</sup> Pindar. Pyth. Od. x. 51.



assembled from other parts; but what has immediately gone before, viz. that Darius left in the camp the invalids and his worst troops, clearly determines its signification in this passage to be the best troops of his army.

CXXXVI. 207. Αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθίων. *The two divisions of the Scythians.* There were two armies of them which moved always together, and another which accompanied the Sauromatæ, as is clearly expressed above by Herodotus (in cxx. cxxviii. and cxxxiii). It is of the last body that we must understand the words καὶ ἡ μίη.

CXXXVIII. 208. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντες τε τὴν ψῆφον. *Those who were of this opinion.* Διαφέρειν τὴν ψῆφον is taken for φέρειν, as in the Orestes of Euripides<sup>8</sup>, κυρία δ' ἦδ' ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ διοίσει ψῆφον Ἀργείων πόλις, 'this is the day fixed for the city of Argos to give its vote.'

CXLI. 209. Τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι. *At the first cry.* Κέλευσμα or κέλευμα strictly signifies the cry used to animate the sailors to row vigorously. It is also applied to the song which they sing whilst rowing. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said, 'Celeusma'.<sup>9</sup>

CXLIV. 210. Μηδίζοντας. *Friendly to the Medes.* Herodotus, and most of the ancient writers, generally comprehend the Persians under the denomination of Medes. Claudian<sup>1</sup> says, "remige Medo sollicitatus Athos," alluding to the foot of Mount Athos being excavated and traversed by the fleet of the Persians.

CXLV. 211. Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας. *By the Pelasgi, who had carried away the Athenian women from Brauron.* Plutarch relates this circumstance with some variations and some additions. "The Tyrrheni," says he<sup>2</sup>, "formerly occupied the islands of Lemnos and Imbros. They carried off from Brauron the wives of the Athenians, and had children by them, whom the Athenians drove from those islands as mongrels and semi-barbarians. These young people, having put to sea, reached the promontory of Tænarus, and rendered essential services to the Spartans in their war with the Helotes. In return for these services, they were admitted to the rights of citizenship, and permitted to marry Spartan wives, without however being admitted into the magistracy or into the senate. They were at length suspected of a desire to disturb the public peace, and of being engaged in conspiracies against the state. Upon this they were put in prison, and kept under a strict guard, in the expectation of

<sup>8</sup> Eurip. Orest. 48.

<sup>9</sup> Hygini Fab. XIV. p. 55. cum notis Munckeri et Van Staveren.

<sup>1</sup> Claudian. in Rufin. I. 335.

<sup>2</sup> De Virtut. Mulierum, p. 247.

convicting them, on undeniable evidence, of the crime of which they were accused. Their wives repaired to the prison, and accosted the gaolers with such pressing entreaties, that they were admitted into the prison to speak with their husbands. On their obtaining access to their husbands, they urged them to change clothes with them, and immediately to attempt their escape, carefully concealing their faces. This was immediately effected. The husbands presented themselves at the gate thus disguised, and the gaolers taking them for the women, suffered them to pass, the wives remaining in their place, prepared to meet the consequences. The Tyrrhenians then repaired to Mount Taygetus, excited the Helotes to revolt, and concluded with them a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. The Spartans, alarmed by the escape of the one party and the revolt of the other, sent a herald to them, and concluded a treaty of peace, by which it was agreed—that their wives should be restored to them, that a sum of money and certain vessels should be furnished, that they should set sail, and that when they had found elsewhere a country and a town, they should be considered as a colony of Lacedæmon. This treaty concluded, the Pelasgi chose for their chiefs and conductors, Pollis, Adelphus, and Cratais, who were Lacedæmonians. One party of them established themselves in the island of Melos; but a more numerous division sailed under the guidance of Pollis to Crete, in the hope of witnessing the accomplishment of the oracle, which had predicted to them, that when they had lost their goddess and their anchor, the first country they reached should be the end of their voyage, and that there they should build a city. Having landed during the night, they were seized with a panic, rushed to their vessels without any order, and left behind them the statue of Diana, which their ancestors had brought from Brauron to Lemnos, which had been preserved from generation to generation, and which from Lemnos they had carried every where with them. Their fears at length abated, and order was restored. They were then out in the open sea, when they first perceived that they had lost their image; and Pollis at the same time discovered, that the anchor of his vessel was without the flukes. It had been hastily and violently torn up, and the flukes had been broken against the rocks. Upon this, exclaiming that the oracle was accomplished, he gave the signal to return to Crete. They regained that island, and Pollis took possession of the country. His advance was opposed; but he defeated all those who disputed the field with him; took Lyctus and several other towns, and established himself in them. For this reason they still call themselves relations of the Athenians on their mother's side, and a colony of Spartans."

1. Plutarch calls Tyrrheni those who had carried off from Brauron the wives of the Athenians; he afterwards calls the same people Pelasgi: Herodotus does the same. The Tyrrheni having conquered the country occupied by the Pelasgi in Ombria, the latter were called by the name of their conquerors, to distinguish them from the other

Pelasgi. Amyot says, in his translation, that they carried off some of the Athenian women from the town of Lauria; but the text of Plutarch has *Βραυρωνόθεν*, 'from Brauron.'

2. According to Herodotus, it was the Minyæ who came to mount Taygetus, having been driven from Lemnos by the Pelasgi. According to Plutarch, it was the children of the Tyrrheni or Pelasgi who repaired to that mountain, after having been driven out by the Athenians.

3. According to Plutarch, the Lacedæmonians did not admit them to the offices nor honours of the magistracy. Herodotus, on the contrary, says, that they begged of the Lacedæmonians to be admitted to those trusts, and that the latter granted their request.

4. According to Plutarch, they arrived at Cape Tænarus; according to Herodotus, they advanced thence as far as Mount Taygetus.

5. The Tyrrheni or Pelasgi of Plutarch retired to Melos and to Crete, whereas the Minyæ of Herodotus<sup>3</sup> went partly to Thera or Caliste, and partly to the country of the Paroræi and Caucones.

Plutarch has confounded the Minyæ with the Pelasgi. The latter had come from Tyrrhenia, and established themselves in Attica. Driven from Attica, they invaded the island of Lemnos, from which they expelled the Minyæ. These last were the descendants of the Argonauts. I take this opportunity of correcting a passage of Pausanias<sup>4</sup>, where we find, *Μινύας τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πελασγοῦ ἐκ Δήμνου*, which should be read *ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν*.

CXLVI. 212. *Μετ' ἡμέρην*. *By day*. The Athenians say *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, and not *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*, as we learn from the scholiast of Airstophanes<sup>5</sup>. *Μεθ' ἡμέραν*, says he, *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα μεθ' ἡμέραν γὰρ φασιν, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*. We find numerous examples of this mode of speaking, especially in Plato.

CXLVII. 213. *Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος*. *Theras son of Autesion*. Theras was the sixth descendant of Œdipus, the tenth from Cadmus. "The sixth descendant of Œdipus led a colony from Sparta to Thera<sup>6</sup>." The scholiast of Callimachus supposes that Theras was the son of Tisamenes, and grandson of Autesion. But the contrary is the fact. His genealogy is as follows :

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Cadmus arrived in Bœotia . . . . .	3165	1549
Polydorus, son of Cadmus . . . . .	3217	1497
Labdacus, son of Polydorus . . . . .	3264	1450
Laius, son of Labdacus, being only a year old, is deposed by Lycus . . . . .	3298	1416

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, cxlvii. and cxlviii. ; and Pausan. VII. p. 524.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. VII. ii. p. 524.

<sup>5</sup> Plutus, 931.

<sup>6</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Apol. 74.

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Laius re-ascends the throne . . . . .	3324	1390
Œdipus, son of Laius . . . . .	3360	1354
Polynices, son of Œdipus, leagues with the Argians against the Thebans . . . . .	3396	1318
Thersander, son of Polynices . . . . .	3415	1299
Thersander, having preceded the fleet of the Greeks which was going to Troy, is killed in Mysia . . . . .	3433	1281
Tisamenes, son of Thersander, a minor . . . . .	3434	1280
He assumes the government . . . . .	3445	1269
His son Autesion driven out by Damasichthon . . . . .	3465	1249
Birth of Theras, son of Autesion . . . . .	3500	1214
Theras, guardian of Procles and of Eurysthenes, kings of Lacedæmon . . . . .	3536	1178

214. Τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλεί. *Maternal uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles.* He was brother of Argia, their mother<sup>7</sup>. I am inclined to think that Procles is an abbreviation of the copyists for Patrocles. We find in Plato<sup>8</sup>, Βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἄργους Τήμενος ἐγίγνῃτο· Μεσσήνης δὲ, Κρεσφόντης· Λακεδαιμόνος δὲ, Πατροκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης. 'Temenus became king of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, Patrocles and Eurysthenes of Lacedæmon.' We read also in Suidas, under the word Λυκούργος: Λυκούργος, Σπαρτιάτης, Πατροκλέους ἀπόγονος. 'Lycurgus of Sparta, a descendant of Patrocles.'

This name is written in the same manner by Strabo<sup>9</sup> and by Plutarch<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Davis opposes<sup>2</sup> to these authorities those of Herodotus, of Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyrius. But this is only relying on the first editors of those authors, who, not knowing how to read the abbreviation, have been followed in their error by subsequent editors. We know that the copyists wrote ἄνῶς and ὀνῶς, for ἄνθρωπος and οὐρανός, and that the erroneous reading of these words has given rise to a thousand fruitless conjectures.

215. Τῶν ἐωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίαρον. *Membliarus, one of his kindred.* Pausanias<sup>3</sup> says, on the contrary, that Membliarus was a man of the lower order. He adds, that Theras felt assured that the descendants of Membliarus would yield to him the sovereignty of the island, and that they would the more willingly do so, as Theras traced his descent from Cadmus, whereas they were descended from Membliarus, a man of low extraction.

Herodotus says, that before Theras came to Calliste, the family of Membliarus had reigned there for eight generations. But as Theras was the tenth descendant from Cadmus, there should have been the same number of generations from Membliarus to the prince who was sovereign of Calliste at the time Theras landed there. This diffi-

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. III. i. p. 205.

<sup>8</sup> De Legibus, III. vol. II. p. 683, D.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, Geogr. X. p. 737, C.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 40, B.

<sup>2</sup> Ad Cic. de Divinat. II. xliii. p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. III. i. pp. 205, 206.

culty has not been perceived either by the commentators or the translators.

CXLIX. 216. Καταλείψειν ὄν ἐν λύκοισι. *That he will leave him as a sheep among the wolves.* Theras had probably experienced but little gratitude from his nephews, though he had brought them up with the greatest care, and had wisely governed the state during their minority. He did not choose to expose himself to the caprice of these young princes, and this motive weighed with him perhaps more than his ambition in founding a colony. The fears which he entertained for himself, he felt also for his son. He apprehended that the desire of possessing the share of the conquered territories which had fallen to him, might induce those princes to put him to death. And this appears to me to be the meaning of the expression which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Theras.

CL. 217. Ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης. *The family of Euphemus.* In all the editions, and in most of the MSS., there is 'Euthymedes' or 'Euthymides;' that is to say, of the race of Euthymes. Notwithstanding these authorities, I have substituted 'Euphemides,' that is, of the race of Euphemus.

1. In no catalogue of the Argonauts do we find the name of Euthymes, whereas there is that of Euphemus.

2. This Euphemus was, according to the scholiast of Pindar <sup>4</sup>, of the town of Tænarus, at which place he reigned, and son of Neptune and Europa, daughter of Tityus. But the same scholiast writes in another place <sup>5</sup>, that he was the son of Neptune and Merionice, daughter of the Eurotas; which shows that the grandees of former times, like those of our own, mixed up a considerable proportion of fable with their genealogies, by way of rendering them more respectable. He married Laonone <sup>6</sup>, daughter of Alcmena, and sister of Hercules, from whom Battus, founder of Cyrene, was descended in the seventeenth <sup>7</sup> generation. Pindar himself informs us of this in the 15th verse of the 4th Pythic Ode, on which line the scholiast also may be consulted. The same scholiast says, that Euphemus had <sup>8</sup> a son by a Lemnian woman, whose posterity, having been obliged to quit Lemnos, went to Lacedæmon, and thence to the island of Calliste, otherwise called Thera. When Pindar praises the posterity of Bacchus, he calls them 'the race of Euphemus <sup>9</sup>.'

Edward Simson <sup>1</sup>, who discovered that the text was corrupt, has

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. Od. IV. 77. p. 217. col. 2. lin. penult.

<sup>5</sup> Id. Schol. ad vers. 39. p. 214. col. 2. lin. 4 ante finem, et ad vers. 15. p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> Id. Schol. ad Pyth. Od. IV. 15. p. 213. col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> I think we should read the twenty-first generation. See note to clxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Pind. ad Pyth. Od. IV. 455.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon Histor. Cathol. completens ad annum 3389, p. 567.

corrected it in his Chronology. He has been followed by Paulmier de Grentemesnil, and the late President Bouhier<sup>2</sup>.

218. Τῶν Μινυέων. *Of the race of the Minyæ.* This Battus<sup>3</sup> was not a descendant of Minyas; but Minyas having given his name to certain people of Thessaly, who followed Jason in search of the golden fleece, all the Argonauts were called by that name. Jason himself was descended from Minyas, by his mother Alcimede. Herodotus, therefore, means to say merely, that he was one of the Argonauts.

219. Βαρὺς αἰρῆσθαι. *Bowed down by the weight of years.* This is the true signification of the words βαρὺς αἰρῆσθαι, 'too heavy to be able to rise;' 'pressed down by the weight of years.' The Latin translators, who have rendered it 'gravis ad moliendum,' do not appear to me to have hit the true meaning of the author.

CLII. 220. Τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. *As this port had not, up to that time, been frequented.* This seems to contradict what our historian has elsewhere advanced, (I. clxiii.) that the Phocians were the first who made Tartessus known to the Greeks. But if we examine more closely, we shall find that Herodotus is in perfect accordance with himself. The Samians having first discovered Tartessus, did not communicate their discovery to the rest of the Greeks, but kept to themselves the commerce of that city. The Phocians having become acquainted with it nearly a century afterwards, more generous than the Samians, communicated their good fortune to the Greeks at large.

CLIV. 221. Ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός. *Persuaded by this woman.* All the versions, as well in Latin as those in modern languages, interpret ἀναγνωσθεὶς by 'deceptus,' 'deceived.' But this word signifies 'persuaded,' as has been clearly explained by Suidas<sup>4</sup>, who cites this very passage of Herodotus. Thomas Magister also remarks<sup>5</sup>, that in our historian ἀναγινώσκω signifies 'I persuade.' Εὗρηται δὲ παρ' Ἡροδότῳ ἀναγινώσκω τὸ ἀναπείθω. It is a term peculiar to the Ionians, as the Archbishop of Corinth<sup>6</sup> informs us.

CLV. 222. Πολύμνηστος. *Polymnestus.* Polymnestus, a man of distinction in the island of Thera, married Phronima, daughter of Etearchus, king of the city of Oaxus, in the island of Crete. Pindar speaks of him in his 4th Pythic Ode, verse 104.

Mention is made of a certain Polymnestus of Colophon in Plutarch's<sup>7</sup> Treatise of Music, who, according to this same Plutarch, is spoken of by Pindar<sup>8</sup>. M. Burette, who has translated this treatise into French,

<sup>2</sup> Rech. &c. sur Herod. XII. p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Palmerii Exerc. ad opt. Auct. Græc. p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Under the word ἀναγνωσθεὶς.

<sup>5</sup> Under the word ἀναγινώσκω.

<sup>6</sup> Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. de Musicâ, p. 1132, c.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Musicâ, p. 1133, A.

and who has accompanied his translation with excellent notes, remarks, that in the works of Pindar, Polymnestus of Thera, father of Battus, is alone alluded to, and he proceeds to say, "Plutarch is mistaken, unless we suppose<sup>9</sup> that in some work of Pindar's which has not reached us, but which existed in Plutarch's time, that poet has spoken of another Polymnestus."

223. Ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλός. *Who stammered and lisped.* Ἰσχνόφωνος is usually translated 'sono vocis gracili,' having a shrill voice. But this was not the defect of Battus. Aristotle gives a very exact definition of this defect, as well as of the following<sup>1</sup>: ἡ μὲν οὖν τραυλότης, τῷ γράμματός τινος μὴ κρατεῖν, καὶ οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος . . . . ἡ δὲ ἰσχροφωνία, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι ταχὺ συνάψαι τὴν ἑτέραν συλλαβὴν πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν. 'The τραυλότης consists in the inability to pronounce a certain letter, and not the first that occurs. . . . The ἰσχροφωνία is the inability to join one syllable rapidly to another.' Budæus, in his Commentaries on the Greek language<sup>2</sup>, expresses an opinion that we should write ἰσχοφωνία and ἰσχνόφωνος, because Cicero calls this defect 'hæsitantia linguæ.' This correction is authorized by the Glossary of St. Germain-des-Prés, in which we read Ἡρόδοτος ἰσχνόφωνον.

224. Ἄλλο τι. *Some other name.* His true name was Aristotle, according to Callimachus<sup>3</sup> and his scholiast.

225. Ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. *From his rank.* Βάττος signifies 'king' with the Libyans. See Hesychius on that word.

CLVI. 226. Συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως. *It eventually turned out ill.* Herodotus gives us no further information, and leaves us to conjecture what these misfortunes were; but Menecles supplies this deficiency. "There were commotions in the isle of Thera," says he<sup>4</sup>, "and the citizens were divided into two factions. Battus having placed himself at the head of one of these factions, had the worst in an encounter, and was obliged to quit his country. As he had lost all hope of returning to it, he resolved to establish himself elsewhere, together with those who had accompanied him in his flight. Having repaired to Delphi, he questioned the god whether he should fight to obtain re-admission into his own country, or whether he should seek an establishment elsewhere. The god answered him: 'Battus, the first measure is bad, the second is good. Go, quit a country surrounded by water; the continent is better. Renounce the east, where your first home was. Obey my orders, and inhabit the terra-firma, according to the will of the gods. Have a care of undertaking an unjust voyage, by returning to your country; and remember that as a man's works are, so will be his success.'"

<sup>9</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. X. p. 228.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Probl. XI. xxx. p. 740, B.

<sup>2</sup> Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. 76. See also the Remarks of Spanheim.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. IV. 10.

p. 212.



CLVIII. 227. Ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος. *To the fountain said to be Apollo's.* This is probably the fountain of Cyre<sup>5</sup>, from which the city of Cyrene took its name, as is remarked by Eustathius<sup>6</sup>.

It may, however, be the same fountain which Herodotus, in the following paragraph, calls Thestis. If the fountain of Thestis flowed near Irasa, it might also water Cyrenaica. And though this country was well watered, it may still happen that Cyre and Thestis were two different names for the same rivulet; that Thestis was the Libyan, and Cyre the Greek name. M. Hennicke<sup>7</sup> accuses me of having confounded these two fountains. But I have not confounded them; I have merely expressed a doubt, and this doubt appears to me to be authorized by the way in which Herodotus has expressed himself.

[It is a characteristic of the Berber language that nouns feminine begin with *t* or *th*, and end with *t*. Hence 'Thest' may be fairly conjectured to be a Berber name. In Marocco the names tesset and teseut are found applied to streams, and also tesewin (the plural of the latter), which, Leo Africanus tells us, signifies the two margins. Respecting the fountain of Cyrene, where a stream issues from a cavern, Dr. Della Cella says<sup>8</sup> that it is the most copious spring he ever saw.]

CLX. 228. Τοῖσι ἐωντοῦ ἀδελφείοις. *With his brothers.* They were named Perseus, Zacynthus, Aristomedon, and Lycus<sup>9</sup>.

229. Δόλφ κτείνει. *Kills by stratagem.* According to Plutarch<sup>10</sup>, Learchus was the friend and not the brother of Arcesilaus, whose death he caused by administering poison to him, which brought on a consumptive disorder. He afterwards wished to marry Eryxo his widow. This discreet and chaste princess testified no repugnance, but, desirous of avenging her husband, told her criminal suitor he had only to obtain the consent of her brothers. Her brothers purposely delaying to give him an answer, Eryxo sent to him to say, that if he would come and meet her, she would grant him her favours, and that after that her brothers could not oppose her marriage. Learchus accordingly came, unattended by his guards. Eryxo had introduced into her bed, in her place, Polyarchus her eldest brother, accompanied by two young men armed with swords, who put Learchus to death as soon as he appeared.

CLXI. 230. Ἐκ Μαντινέης. *From Mantinea.* The Mantineans had the reputation of possessing excellent laws<sup>1</sup>. This man of Mantinea, whom Herodotus omits to name, was Demonax<sup>2</sup>, who had become celebrated for his prudence and his love of justice. He had no sooner

<sup>5</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Apoll. 88.

<sup>6</sup> Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. p. 38. col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> J. F. Hennicke, Geogr. Afr. Herod. p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Viaggio, &c. p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> Stephanus Byzant. voc. Βάρκη.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch. de Virtutibus Mulierum, p. 260, D, E, F; 261. A, B.

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. II. xxi. p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Excerpta Vales. ex Diod. Sic. p. 234.



reached Cyrene than the reins of government were confided to him. He made use of this authority to establish peace and union among the different towns.

CLXII. 231. Βάττω τεμένεα ἐξελών. *Selecting portions of land for Battus.* Τέμενος was a portion of land dedicated to the gods, and which served for the support of the altars or the maintenance of the priests. We always find the word used in this sense, and especially in the Iliad. But similar portions, bearing the same name, were also sometimes assigned to princes and persons who had distinguished themselves. "The Lycians gave to Bellerophon a portion<sup>3</sup> of land," οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον. "As they have set apart portions of land for the kings and the generals," ὥσπερ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἡγεμόσι τεμένη καὶ χώρους ἐξαφοῦσιν<sup>4</sup>.

CLXIII. 232. Ἐπὶ τέσσερας Βάττους, καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς. *To four named Battus and four named Arcesilaus, eight generations of men.* The dynasty of Battus reigned at Cyrene two hundred years, according to the scholiast of Pindar on the 1st Pythic Ode. The eight generations spoken of by the Pythoness are as follows :

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Battus I. surnamed Οἰκιστῆς, i. e. the founder, began to reign, according to Eusebius, in . . . . .	4083	631
Arcesilaus I. . . . .	4123	591
Battus II. surnamed 'the fortunate,' . . . . .	4139	575
Arcesilaus II. surnamed Χαλεπός, 'the difficult,' or 'the bad.' . . . .	4160	554
Battus III. surnamed Χωλός, 'the lame' . . . . .	4170	544
Arcesilaus III. . . . .	4185	529
Battus IV. surnamed Καλός, or 'the handsome' . . . . .	4196	518
Arcesilaus IV. . . . .	4250	464
Who was killed . . . . .	4282	432

Battus, the son of this last-named prince, wished to ascend the throne ; but the Cyreneans having driven him away, he retired to the country of the Hesperides, where he ended his days.

I have borrowed these dates from the President Bouhier<sup>5</sup>. But we must not believe with that learned writer that Battus I. was only the seventeenth descendant from Euphemus the Argonaut. I know that he relies on the authority of a passage from the scholiast of Pindar ; but that passage is certainly corrupt. Supposing that Battus, who founded Cyrene in the year 4083 of the Julian period, was thirty years

<sup>3</sup> Homer. Iliad. VI. 194.

lin. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Aristid. Orat. in Minerv. p. 70. b.

<sup>5</sup> Dissert. sur Hérod. XII.

old in 4075, which is the year in which, together with the Thereans, he colonized the island of Plataea, he must have been born in the year 4045 of the Julian period. The expedition of the Argonauts having taken place in the year 3364, and the birth of Battus in the year 4045, it follows that between the birth of Euphemus, the first ascertained ancestor of Battus, and that of Battus, there was a period of 711 years, which makes a little more than twenty-one generations, instead of seventeen, as the scholiast of Pindar would have it.

[It is shown by Schultz that the reign of Battus I., or the Founder, extended from 632 to 600 B. C., and that Battus II. succeeded Arcesilaus in 584 B. C. <sup>6</sup>]

CLXVI. 233. Δαρειῶς μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀνεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο. *Darius refining as much as possible the purest gold, had money coined of it.* These pieces of gold were called darics. The daric was worth 20 drachmæ, and the drachma 18 sous of our money. The daric was therefore worth 20 francs (16s. 8d.). Harpocraton, Suidas, and the scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>7</sup>, contend that this coin did not derive its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes, but from another king of the same name. But Herodotus appears to me an authority preferable to these three grammarians. M. Venema justifies them, as we learn from M. Wesseling's note, and endeavours to reconcile them with Herodotus, by supposing that Darius the Mede had first coined darics in Media, and that Darius, son of Hystaspes, had after his example first coined them in Persia. But what proof does he bring of this? We shall do better to conclude with M. Wesseling<sup>8</sup>, that the authority of these three grammarians is not of sufficient weight to counterbalance that of our historian. As this prince had employed the purest gold in the manufacture of this money, the expression of the 'gold of Darius,' became usual to signify gold of exceeding fineness<sup>9</sup>.

CLXVIII. 234. Ψέλιον . . . . χάλκεον. *A ring of copper.* This custom is still in use amongst most of the African nations, as we find from the accounts of modern travellers. In the kingdom of Angola<sup>1</sup>, the women wear below their knees bands of copper, which reach to the calf of the leg.

235. Τοὺς φθειρας ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει. *Each bites her own vermin in return.* This custom is so filthy and disgusting as to lead us to doubt it. But the most celebrated travellers assure us that "the filthiness<sup>2</sup> of the Hottentots exposes them to all kinds of vermin, and especially to lice, which are of an extraordinary size. But if they are devoured by them,

<sup>6</sup> Specimen Apparatus ad Annales Criticos, &c. p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. ad Concionatrices, 589.

<sup>8</sup> Observat. Var. II. xxii.

<sup>9</sup> See Plutarch. in Pactolo, p. 1152, A.

<sup>1</sup> Histoire des Voyages, tom. V. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 152.

they devour them in their turn; and if any one asks them how they can swallow so revolting a species of food, they plead the law of retaliation, and contend that there can be no harm in devouring animals which devour them."

CLXIX. 236. Τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου. *The Silphium begins from this place.* This would be the proper place for describing this plant; but it is scarcely possible to add any thing to the learned researches of the Abbé Belley, who, in a memoir upon an amethyst in the cabinet of the Duke of Orleans, has collected with his usual erudition and judgment all the information to be obtained on the subject from the ancients<sup>3</sup>.

Arrian<sup>4</sup> observes, that sheep are particularly partial to the silphium; that they smell it a long way off, run towards it, eat the flower, and uncover the root, which they devour. It is for this reason, he adds, that at Cyrene they keep the flocks of sheep from the places where the silphium grows, and surround the fields which contain it with very thick hedges, to render it impossible for them to approach it; for the Cyreneans hold this plant in great estimation.

[The Silphium of the ancients is now supposed to be the plant called by the Arabs Derias, and which our botanists have thence named *Laserpitium Derias*<sup>5</sup>.]

237. Τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος. *The mouth of the Syrtis.* This refers to the greater Syrtis, the mouth of which is not far distant from Barca, and is much nearer to Egypt than the lesser one.

CLXX. 238. Ἀσβύσται. *The Asbystæ.* These people were adjacent to the Ammonians; if we are to rely on the authority of Nonnus, who, being of Panopolis, may be considered adequately informed on the subject. There is between them, however, an immense tract of country, the eastern part of the desert of Barca, considerable mountains, the country of Augila on the south-east, and still more to the south-east, the plain of Gegabib, which borders on the Oasis of Ammon.

CLXXI. 239. [Κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης. *At Tauchira a city in the territory of Barca.* The site of this town may still be traced in the ruins at a place called Tokrah, about ten hours' journey distant from Ptolemais<sup>6</sup>.]

CLXXII. 240. Τὸ θέρος. *In summer.* "It is not probable," says Vossius<sup>7</sup>, "that these people gather their crop of dates in summer, as Herodotus says, since this fruit never ripens any where till autumn.

<sup>3</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. p. 250.  
XXXVI. p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Arriani Exp. Alex. III. xix. p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> Pacho, Voy. dans la Marmarique,

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 183.

<sup>7</sup> Annotat. in Scylacem, p. 55.

But if we read οἱ μετὰ τὸ θέρος, 'after summer,' the difficulty disappears."

The correction of Vossius appears to me superfluous. Our historian does not say that the Nasamones gathered the dates in summer; but that they set off at that season, without saying whether it was in the middle or at the end of it, to gather the dates in autumn. For ὀπώρα signifies not only the autumn, but also the fruits of autumn; and ὀπωριεύντες is the Ionian future participle of the verb ὀπωρίζω, which means, 'I gather the fruits of autumn.'

241. Ἀναβαίνουνσι ἐς Αὐγίλα χῶρον. *They go up to a certain district called Augila.* In going from the sea, we may be generally supposed to go up or to ascend. Hence the expedition of Cyrus into Upper Asia is called Ἀνάβασις.

The western extremity of Augila is ten days' journey from the eastern extremity of the Garamantes. Hadjee Abdalla reckons it twenty-six days' journey of a caravan from Fezzan to Augila, probably from the western extremity of Fezzan, which is in the country of the Garamantes, to the commencement of Augila. The same writer reckons it twenty-seven days' journey from Augila to Cairo. The geographer of Nubia, Edrisi, reckons it ten days' journey from Barca in Cyrenaica to Augila. Proceeding from these data, Major Rennell<sup>8</sup> discusses with much perspicacity the respective distances of these places.

Herodotus adds, that the Nasamones go into that country in autumn to gather dates. Major Rennell says<sup>9</sup>, that we learn from modern travellers that the people of the coast of Derna, a town of Cyrenaica, still go to gather the dates of Gegabib, which is five days' journey to the east of Augila.

242. Γυναῖκας δὲ πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος. *Each to have several wives.* After these words, M. Valckenaer suppresses ἐπικοινωνοῦν αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, 'they have intercourse with them in common.' If, in fact, this were the custom, why should Herodotus mention as a peculiar circumstance, that on the night of the marriage, the bride grants her favours to every male guest? Herodotus alluded only to the singular custom of the Massagetæ<sup>1</sup>, of having intercourse with their wives in public after affixing their quivers to their wagons.

243. Τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται. *Like the Massagetæ.* The Massagetæ publicly enjoy their women, after having fastened their quivers to their wagons. See Bk. I. ccxvi.

This identity of custom between people so remote from each other as the Massagetæ, the Nasamones, and the Tyrrhenians, mentioned in the preceding note, ought to caution us against inferring that nations have the same origin from their having similar customs. I wish to impress this observation upon those who contend that the Massagetæ are Scythians.

<sup>8</sup> Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 568.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. I. ccxvi.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 613.

244. Ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα. *Going to the tombs of their ancestors.* "Nasamonas<sup>2</sup> propria oracula apud parentum sepulchra mansitando captare, ut Heraclides scribit, vel Nymphodorus, vel Herodotus."

245. Ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς δίδοι πιεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου πίνει. *He lets the other drink out of his hand, and he drinks out of the other's hand.* "The ancient<sup>3</sup> custom of the Nasamones, of plighting their troth by drinking out of each other's hands, is at this time the only ceremony which the Algerines use in marriage."

246. Ἐντὸς τῆς Σύρτιος. *Within the Syrtis.* By which we are to understand the greater Syrtis. The territory of the Psylli extended from the country of the Nasamones to that of the Macæ; it was therefore bounded on the north by the greater Syrtis, which Herodotus means by being 'within the Syrtis.'

CLXXIII. 247. Ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον. *Make war against the south wind.* Such a project would have been highly extravagant, and is not probable. Neither does Herodotus give credit to it. 'I repeat,' says he, 'the discourse of the Libyans.' Such is the form of expression invariably used by our historian when he relates a fable or a history of doubtful character. There is every appearance that the Nasamones destroyed the Psylli with the view of taking possession of their territory, and that they circulated this fable amongst the neighbouring people. "Hæc<sup>4</sup> gens ipsa quidem prope internecione sublata est à Nasamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent sedes: genus tamen hominum ex his qui profugerant, aut cum pugnatum est, abfuerant, hodieque remanet in paucis."

It may have happened, however, as the Abbé Souchay<sup>5</sup> observes, that the Psylli having gone to seek water for themselves and their flocks at the river Cyniphus, an impetuous wind arose, which buried them all under the sand. But this writer is wrong in making Herodotus say, that the Psylli were indignant at finding their springs dried up. Their country had no springs, χώρα σφι πᾶσα . . . ἦν ἄνυδρος, but reservoirs or cisterns for the rain-water, ἑλυττρα τῶν ὑδάτων.

The Psylli had the art<sup>6</sup> of charming serpents. This art did not perish with them, and in the sequel the name of 'Psylli' was given to those jugglers who possessed it. Plutarch<sup>7</sup> gives this name to those whom Cato took with him when he traversed Libya. This secret was known likewise to the eastern nations. It is often mentioned in the Scriptures, and the learned Villoison has made some curious observations on it, in a memoir read to the Academy of Belles Lettres, but which has not been printed. This secret, however, was not infallible,

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian. de Animâ, lvii. p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 239, 2nd edit. 4to.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. ii. vol. I. p. 371. lin. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. VII.

p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, XVII. p. 1169, B. Ælian. de Nat. An. XVI. xxviii. p. 901.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. in Catone Minore, p. 787, A.

as those who pretended to possess it were sometimes victims to the failure of it. It is to this that allusion is made in Ecclesiasticus, (xii. 13.) "Who pitieth the charmer whom the serpent hath bitten?"

CLXXIV. 248. Γαράμαντες. *The Garamantes*. These people may be divided into the Nomadian or wandering Garamantes, and those who had fixed dwellings. It is the latter that are here alluded to. Herodotus, in clxxxiii., speaks of those who were Nomadian.

CLXXV. 249. Στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. *They carry bucklers made of the skins of ostriches*. This is not more surprising than that the skins of cranes should serve the Ethiopians for bucklers<sup>8</sup>.

Herodotus calls the ostrich στρουθὸς κατάγαιος; Ælian<sup>9</sup> στρουθὸς χειρσαῖος, and in another place<sup>1</sup>, στρουθὸς μεγάλη; and Aristotle<sup>2</sup>, στρουθὸς λιβυκός. The Athenians called it simply στρουθός. Hesychius<sup>3</sup> says, στρουθός· ὁ καταφερῆς καὶ λάγνος. Ἀπτικοὶ δὲ τὰς στρουθοκαμήλους. This is confirmed by Aristophanes, who says<sup>4</sup>,

Καὶ στρουθῶ, Μεγάλῃ  
Μητρὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων·

and again<sup>5</sup>,

Καλὸν γε καὶ λευκὸν τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν.

Eustathius<sup>6</sup>, on the Odyssey of Homer, says, that the poets knew another sort of στρουθοὶ (sparrows), not that small kind, but another quite large, as the words 'great strouthi' convey, and with which the comic poet (Aristophanes) was acquainted. But Eustathius is mistaken in asserting that Aristophanes calls the ostrich μέγας στρουθός: on reference to the verse of the Aves above quoted, we shall find that μεγάλη relates to Μητρί. They were also called 'strouthi of Libya,' or simply 'strouthi.'

CLXXVII. 250. Οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζῶουσι. *Who subsist on no other food than the fruit of the lotus*. Polybius<sup>7</sup>, who had seen the lotus, thus describes it in the 12th book of his History. "The lotus is a tree which does not grow high. It is rough and thorny: its leaf is green, and resembles that of the rhamnus; but it is somewhat larger and thicker. At first the fruit resembles, both in size and colour, the berry of the myrtle, which is white; but as it grows, its colour becomes red, and of the size of a round olive. Its kernel is very small; it is gathered when ripe . . . . In taste, it resembles the fig and the date; but its smell is much more pleasant. By

<sup>8</sup> Herod. VII. lxx.

<sup>9</sup> Ælian. de Nat. An. XIV. xiii. p. 783.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. II. xxvii. p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> De Partibus Animal. IV. xiv. p. 1046.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychius, voc. στρουθός.

<sup>4</sup> Aves, 974.

<sup>5</sup> Acharnenses, 1105.

<sup>6</sup> Ad Odyss. A. p. 1411. lin. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIV. xviii. p. 651,

D, E, F.

steeping it in water, and afterwards pressing it, a very agreeable wine is produced, much like the sweet wine. It is drunk without water. It will not keep more than ten days ; and very little is therefore made at a time, as occasion requires." This description agrees, in general, with that given by Theophrastus<sup>8</sup>.

The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see Dr. Shaw's account of this fruit<sup>9</sup>.

"After the palm, we are to describe the lotus, whose fruit is frequently mentioned in history : the Lotophagi also, a considerable people of Sahara and the adjacent deserts, received their name from the eating of it. Herodotus informs us, that the fruit was sweet like the date ; Pliny, that it was of the bigness of the bean, and of a saffron colour ; and Theophrastus, that it grew thick like the fruit of the myrtle-tree. From which circumstances, the 'lotus arbor' of the ancients appears to be the same plant with the seedra of the Arabs. This shrub, which is very common in the Jereed and other parts of Barbary, has the leaves, prickles, flower, and fruit of the zizyphus or jujube ; only with this difference, that the fruit is here round, smaller and more luscious ; at the same time the branches, like those of the paliurus, are neither so much jointed nor crooked. This fruit is still in great repute, tastes something like gingerbread, and is sold in the markets all over the southern districts of these kingdoms. The Arabs call it 'Aneb enta el seedra,' or the jujube of the seedra."

Mr. Bruce<sup>1</sup> contradicts the account of Dr. Shaw ; but it seems that these travellers are speaking of different countries.

Mr. Park, who has lately traversed a part of the interior of Africa, confirms<sup>2</sup> what the historians and naturalists, both ancient and modern, have written on the lotus. "It is rather," says this enterprising traveller, "a thorny shrub than a tree. Its fruit is a farinaceous berry of the size of an olive, which is piled up, and dried in the sun, to make cakes, which are of an agreeable taste<sup>3</sup>."

CLXXIX. 251. 'H 'Αργώ. *The ship Argo*. There are four different opinions amongst the ancients, as to the name of Argo given to this ship. The first is that of those writers who maintain, according to Diodorus Siculus<sup>4</sup>, that it took its name from Argus, who constructed it. The second is that of authors who affirm, according to the same historian<sup>5</sup>, that this name was given to it on account of its swift sailing, ἀργός amongst the Greeks signifying 'rapid.'

Bochart<sup>6</sup> appears to me to be nearer the mark. "The Greeks,"

<sup>8</sup> Hist. Plant. IV. p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 143, 2nd edit. 4to, 1757.

<sup>1</sup> Travels to discover the source of the Nile, &c. vol. I. Introduct.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of the African Association to encourage the discovery of the inner parts of Africa, London, 1798,

4to. p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> See also Rennell, Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 625.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. xli. vol. I. p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> Bochart, Geog. Sacr. Chanaan, II. xi. pp. 738, 739.



says this learned writer, "had learned the arts of navigation and ship-building from the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus into Bœotia. This people had two sorts of vessels, viz. round ones, which were called 'Gauli,' and long ones, named 'Arca' or 'Arco.' The Greeks, according to custom, changed the C into G, and made of it Argo. But in the sequel, forgetting this etymology, they invented, as is usual with them, a variety of fables, to account for this denomination."

252. Ἐν τοῖσι βραχέσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. *They were in the shallows of lake Tritonis.* Apollonius Rhodius<sup>7</sup> asserts, that it was on their return from the conquest of the Golden Fleece. It is very probable that there were various traditions as to the voyage of the Argonauts: perhaps, too, the poet, for the sake of embellishing his poem, has thought fit to connect this adventure with the return of the Argonauts, though it happened on a special voyage made by Jason to Delphi, for the purpose of consulting the oracle respecting the expedition which he meditated to Colchis.

253. Τὸν διέκπλουν τῶν βραχέων. *The navigation through the shoals.* Διέκπλοος is here taken in its ordinary signification, for the action of a vessel in working out from any place, and passing between other objects, as between two other vessels, two shores, two points of a harbour, &c. It has the same signification in VII. xxxvi.; but we shall also find it, farther on, employed to describe the evolutions of ships of war. Διεκπλῶειν is also sometimes used in the former sense, and sometimes in the latter.

Apollonius Rhodius has made some variations from the account given by Herodotus, which I shall not stop to point out<sup>8</sup>.

CLXXX. 254. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος ἀπῆχθαι. *The buckler and the helmet came from Egypt.* Plato in his Timæus<sup>9</sup> makes the priests of Egypt hold nearly the same language.

255. Τὸν δὲ Δία ἔωντοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. *But that Jupiter made her his daughter.* This adoption perhaps gave rise to the idea of that goddess having sprung forth ready armed from the brain of Jupiter. Though there were many traditions amongst the Greeks on this subject, it was generally allowed that Jupiter was her father. "Jupiter<sup>1</sup> had commerce with Metis. But she having told him that she should first bring forth a daughter, and afterwards a son who should rule the heavens, Jupiter devoured her. When the time for her parturition was arrived, Prometheus, or, as others say, Vulcan, split open the head of Jupiter with a hatchet. Minerva immediately sprang forth, ready armed, on the borders of the lake Tritonis." In all the editions of Apollodorus, we find μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Θέτιδι. I have no doubt, however, that we should read Μήτιδι, and I have translated accordingly. I have done so, on the authority of Hesiod, who says the same thing<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Apollon. Rhod. IV. 1232, et s.

<sup>8</sup> Id. IV. 1551—1617.

<sup>9</sup> Plat. vol. III. p. 24, B.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodor. I. iii. § vi. pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiodi Theogon. 885, et s.



But as that poet might have adopted some other tradition, I rely more fully on a passage of the scholiast of Homer, which authorizes this conjecture: for, after relating the same fable as Apollodorus, he adds, 'Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱστορεῖ', 'Apollodorus relates it.' Apollonius Rhodius has followed the same fable, when he says that "the heroines, protectresses of Libya, washed in the waters of Tritonis the goddess Minerva, when she sprang, ready armed, from the head of Jupiter." The scholiast of this poet says, on this passage, that Stesichorus was the first who advanced that Minerva came forth armed from the head of Jupiter. If we may rely on this scholiast, the 27th hymn, attributed to Homer, is not from that poet's pen.

The error of Θέτιδι for Μήτιδι has not escaped the sagacity of Heyne, who has inserted the correction into the text, and supports it by the same reasons<sup>5</sup>.

CLXXXI. 256. Ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἁλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκύ. *Cool and fresh water darts up from the midst of the salt.* If this water springs up in the middle of the salt, it must melt the salt and become salt itself. It is very probable that the dew melts a part of this salt, which being afterwards evaporated by the heat of the sun, crystallizes afresh. It is not at all surprising that habitations should be found around these springs of fresh water; there were streams of water in all these Oases, but they did not issue from the salt-hills.

[These Oases have been well described by Browne and Hornemann, and more recently by Von Minutoli. Springs of perfectly fresh water are found issuing from the ground covered with salt and in the vicinity of salt springs. The first of these travellers also mentions a spring which was alternately hot and cold.]

257. Τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐόν. *Among other fountains they have one.* "Near the second temple of Jupiter Ammon," says Diodorus Siculus<sup>6</sup>, "is a fountain called the Fountain of the Sun, from what happens to it. Its water varies (in temperature) with the hour of the day, in a most wonderful manner. It is tepid at the beginning of the day, and gradually cools as the day advances<sup>7</sup>."

CLXXXIII. 258. Γαράμαντες. *The Garamantes.* These are the wandering Garamantes. Herodotus had before spoken of those who had a fixed abode.

259. Οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες. *The oxen which feed walking backwards.* Athenæus<sup>8</sup> says that Alexander of Myndus, in the 2nd Book of his History of Beasts of Burden, has spoken of these oxen that feed walking backwards; but that what he says of them is not credible, and that

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Homeri ad Iliad. I. 195.

<sup>6</sup> Apoll. Rhod. IV. 1309.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus & Heyne, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XVII. 1. vol. II. p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> See also Plin. H. N. II. iii. p. 120 ; Quint. Curt. IV. vii. p. 125.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. V. xx. p. 221, E, F.

no other historian has spoken of them. He did not remember this passage of Herodotus.

Pliny<sup>9</sup> relates, that in Scandinavia there is an animal called 'achlis,' whose upper lip is so large, that it is obliged to go backwards as it feeds, lest the lip should fold over. But in another place he says<sup>10</sup>, that oxen are the only animals that feed going backwards, and that they never feed otherwise in the country of the Garamantes. We cannot, however, conclude from this, that the achlis and the ox of the Garamantes are the same animal, as the former<sup>1</sup> can neither bend its knee nor lie down; whereas no such peculiarity is mentioned of the Garamantic ox. The only inference, therefore, is, that Pliny has contradicted himself.

260. Τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύρητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. *The thickness and toughness of the skin.* M. Wesseling has very well observed, that τρίψις signifies 'attritus,' 'frictio,' and that it has never been employed in the sense of hardness. But what sense shall we give to 'frictio?' I imagine that τρίψις is here used to signify the softness or suppleness which the skin of these oxen acquires when it is prepared. That a thin skin, such as that used in the manufacture of the Inspruck gloves, should be supple, is not at all wonderful; but that a very thick skin should acquire this suppleness, is more remarkable. Such is the skin of the elk, which, though more than a line in thickness, is extremely supple. Τρίψις signifies rubbing. Now from rubbing to suppleness is not so very remote, as the one is commonly produced by the other.

CLXXXIV. 261. Ἀτάραντες. *Atarantes.* In the Greek, Atlantes; but it should seem from what Rhianus says, that we must read Atarantes. "Rhianus" speaks of the Atarantes; and beyond this people he places the Atlantes, who are said to have no dreams." That people were ten days' journey distant from the Atlantes, and therefore could not be the same. In the text of Eustathius, we have Arrian, instead of Rhianus; but I have followed the correction of Holstenius in his notes on Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word Ἀτλαντες. Nicolaus of Damascus<sup>3</sup> relates the same thing of the Apherantes. But we must certainly read Atarantes.

262. Ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτέων ὄνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. *Have no names by which to distinguish one another.* This seems particularly strange; and perhaps many readers may conceive it to be a fable, with which the credulity of the father of history was abused. Leo Africanus, however, in his description of Africa, says<sup>4</sup>, that there is in the kingdom of Bornou a people who profess neither the Jewish nor the Mahometan religion, who live like wild beasts, having their women and children in common, and that the individuals among them have no proper names.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. VIII. xv. vol. I. p. 442. p. 14. col. 1. lin. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Id. ibid. XV. p. 471.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. XV. p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. LXVI. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Nic. Damasc. p. 521.

<sup>4</sup> Joan. Leon. Afric. Afr. Descr. VII.

I am aware that Libya is very distant from the kingdom of Bornou; but both countries are in Africa; and if what Leo Africanus says of one be true, we may with the less scruple believe what Herodotus asserts of the other.

263. Ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἄλός. *Another hill of salt.* Dr. Shaw<sup>5</sup>, who has been in this country, says that it abounds in salt; he speaks of the salt-mines of Arzen, which are six miles in circumference, of Jibel Had-Deffa, which is an entire mountain of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks, &c.

264. [Τῷ οὐνοῦ ἔστι Ἄτλας. *The name of which is Atlas.* Our author adds that the summit of this mountain is never visible, and that the natives believe it to be the pillar of Heaven. It is manifest therefore that Herodotus had in contemplation those lofty mountains which still bear the name of Atlas, and to which the Greeks, after the voyages of the Samians had made them acquainted with the great mountains of Western Mauritania, transferred their mythological Atlas, the supporter of heaven<sup>6</sup>. The Atlantes took their name, as Herodotus informs us, from the mountain, the name of which is Greek. The Berber name of Atlas is Adraren, the plural of Adrar, a mountain. From the word Adraren some have proposed<sup>7</sup> to derive the name Atarantes, but etymological guesses of this kind will never bring us nearer to the truth. If we must suppose that the Greeks met with some name in Mauritania which prompted them to locate there the fabled Atlas, that name might have been Et-Lamta or Ait-Lamta, 'the nation or tribe of Lamta,' which tribe has held possession of the desert immediately eastwards of the Zenagah territory and Mount Atlas from time immemorial.

It may be here remarked, that Herodotus generalizes when he says that in the sandy tract which extends from the Egyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules, there are springs of water at distances of ten days' journey. So far as the route described by him is distinctly recognizable, as from Siwah to Aujelah and thence to Germa, the distances assigned fall far short of the truth. When, therefore, he goes from Germa or the Garamantes to Atlas in two stages of ten days' each, he only perseveres in his generalization, his error in respect of distance increasing as he goes further from the sources of his information. This kind of mistake is very natural and very obvious. Heeren<sup>8</sup> and his followers, therefore, who trace towards Negroland the route described by our historian, and adhering to his measures, place Mount Atlas in the desert of Bilma, only succeed in misrepresenting his conceptions where they are just,—for his intention certainly is to place Atlas in the line from Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules;—while they maintain those detailed distances which are manifestly incorrect, and in a great measure assumed.]

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>6</sup> See Letronne, Essai sur les Idées cosmographiques, &c. in the Bulletin

Univ. Hist. 1831, p. 137.

<sup>7</sup> Castiglione, Mém. Numism. p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Ideen, II. i. p. 242.

265. Οὐτε ἐνύπνια ὁρᾶν. *Nor have they dreams.* Pliny<sup>9</sup> has confounded the Atarantes with the Atlantes. He attributes to one and the same people what Herodotus relates of two different people. Which proves that in his time there was an error in the MSS. of our historian. Pomponius Mela<sup>1</sup> also asserts the same thing.

CLXXXV. 266. Τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοις παῖσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέσθαι. *The houses of all these people are built of blocks of salt.* Gerrha<sup>2</sup>, a city on the Persian gulf, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt. The salt of the mountain Had-Deffa<sup>3</sup>, near the Lake of Marks, is hard and solid as a stone. [The houses of Tegazah on the road to Tomboctu, built of rock-salt and covered with camels' skins, are described by Ibn Batutah<sup>4</sup>.]

267. Καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος. *Both white and of a purple colour.* Had-Deffa is an entire<sup>5</sup> mountain of salt, situated at the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks<sup>6</sup>, the lake Tritonis of the ancients. Its salt<sup>7</sup> is in every respect different from that of the salt-pits, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or purple colour; but the salt which the dew detaches from the mountain, changes its colour, and becomes as white as snow; it also loses the usual bitterness of rock-salt.

CLXXXVII. 268. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες. *The Libyans to the west of the lake Tritonis are not nomadic.* Herodotus here speaks in a general way; for farther on, (cxci.) he reckons the Auses amongst the Nomadic people. Now it is certain that they are beyond the lake Tritonis, and the first people we meet with on the western border of that lake.

269. Οἷσπη προβάτων. *With wool which has not been scoured.* Instead of the word οἷσπη or οἰσύπη Aretæus<sup>8</sup> has used a periphrasis, ἔριον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰὸς ξὺν τοῖς λύμασι. And hence Petit, in his Commentary, takes occasion to reproach the Ionians with using a loose and diffuse style, as though Herodotus and Hippocrates<sup>9</sup> had not employed the proper word, and as if Aretæus, who lived in the fifth century, were to be considered as a model for style.

270. Ὡς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλῆται. *Prevents them from being incommoded by phlegm proceeding from the head.* "The Scythians<sup>1</sup> applied fire to their shoulders, their arms, the palms of their hands, their breasts, &c. on account of the moisture and softness of their temperament. . . . This operation dries up the

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. V. viii. vol. I. p. 252.

<sup>1</sup> Mela, I. viii. § xxxix. &c.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XVI. p. 1110, c.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw's Travels, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>4</sup> Lee's Ibn Batutah, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Aretæi Cappadocis de Morborum Curatione, II. v. p. 131, c.

<sup>9</sup> Foësius, Œconom. Hippocr. p. 449.

<sup>1</sup> Hippocr. de Aër. &c. p. 355.

superfluous moisture which is in the joints, and gives them a freer action. They become stronger, and their bodies receive more nourishment."

M. Wesseling remarks, after Scaliger<sup>2</sup>, that this custom still subsists amongst the Ethiopians, Christian, Mahometan, and Pagan.

271. Ἐξεύρηται σφι ἄκος τράγου οὔρον σπείσαντες ῥύονται σφεα. *A remedy has been devised by them; sprinkling them with goats' urine, they relieve them.* This remedy is excellent; its volatile alkali [ammonia] produces the same effect as the hartshorn in use with us.

CLXXXVIII. 272. Τῷ Ποσειδέωνι. *To Neptune.* Neptune was a god originally of Libya, and the Greeks had taken him from the people of that country, as Herodotus informs us. (II. 1.) The horse was consecrated to this god, and the mythologists assure us that it was first tamed by him. Ἰππων δμητήρ is the epithet given by Homer<sup>3</sup> to this divinity. In Pindar, the title εὔππος, 'famed for its horses,' with which that poet honours the city of Cyrene, is not an unmeaning epithet, as the scholiast remarks<sup>4</sup>; but is founded on the circumstance of Neptune having taught the Libyans to attach horses to a chariot. It is also said, continues the same scholiast, that Minerva Equestris was born in Libya, and that the art of managing horses was invented in that country. The mythologists say also<sup>5</sup>, "that the earth, having imbibed the seminal liquor shed by this god whilst sleeping, produced the first horse, which was called 'Scyphius.'" It appears to me very probable, that the Phœnicians formerly landed in Africa, and were the first who tamed horses; that the savage inhabitants observing their power over an element so dreaded as the sea, and over an animal so proud and fiery as the horse, looked on them as divinities. And perhaps the Greeks have intended, under the cloak of their fables, to convey this very idea.

CLXXXIX. 273. Αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται. *They wear goat-skins* (over their ordinary dress). This is not at all surprising. Hippocrates remarks, speaking of the Libyans of the interior, "that<sup>6</sup> they sleep upon the skins of goats, and eat the flesh of that animal. They have no covering, nor clothes," adds he, "nor shoes, but what are of the same skin; for they have no other cattle than goats and oxen." Apollonius Rhodius, a very exact observer of costume, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason: "Whilst I was plunged in affliction, three goddesses appeared to me; they were clothed in goat-skins, which from their necks hung over their backs and loins."

274. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων. *From these goat skins.* From αἰξ

<sup>2</sup> De Emend. Temp. VII. p. 682. See col. 2. lin. 15.

also Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. III. vi. § xlii.

<sup>3</sup> Homer. Hymn. in Neptunum, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Pind. ad Pyth. IV. 2. p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. 246. p. 229. col. 1. lin. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Hippocr. de Morb. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 326.

<sup>7</sup> Apoll. Rhod. IV. 1347.

αἰγὸς, a goat, the Greeks have made αἰγίς, αἰγίδος, both a goat's skin and the Ægis of Minerva.

275. Ἡ ὀλολυγή. *The hallooing.* These cries were seldom uttered but in honour of Minerva, as is remarked by the scholiast of Æschylus<sup>8</sup>. accordingly, Homer makes use of this expression, in describing the prayers offered by the Trojans to Minerva.

Αἱ δ' ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χειρας ἀνέσχον<sup>9</sup>.

'They all stretched out their hands to Minerva, uttering loud cries.'

It is in imitation of this poet, that Virgil<sup>1</sup> has said, 'Summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphæ,' which does not mean howlings, as the Abbé Des Fontaines has ridiculously translated, but the chanting of the Epithalamium of Dido by her nymphs.

CXCI. 276. Ἀρκτοί. *Bears.* Pliny<sup>2</sup> says that there are no bears in Africa, though he quotes the Annals of Rome, which attest, that in the consulate of Marcus Piso and Marcus Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus, in the course of his edileship, gave games, in which were exhibited a hundred Numidian bears.

Justus Lipsius contends that they were lions that appeared in the games of Domitius Ænobarbus, and that this animal must be understood even by the 'Libystis ursa' of Virgil. "When any thing<sup>3</sup> extraordinary was brought to Rome," says he, "the people, astonished at the novelty, called it, not by its proper name, but by the first that occurred to them, and which was usually suggested by some object found within their own territory. . . . The first time that they saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears, because that name was more familiar to them." The Abbé Des Fontaines renders 'Libystis ursa' by panther.

Granting to Justus Lipsius that, at a time when bears were well known and lions very little so, lions should have been called the bears of Africa, how can we suppose that they were so called, when they became as well known as bears themselves? It is true, that the Romans called the elephant 'bos luca,' and the ostrich 'passer marinus;' but it is from themselves that we learn this. Let a single Latin author be quoted who calls lions bears. Pliny, in the chapter in question, speaks of bears; and if he mentions it as a remarkable circumstance that Domitius Ænobarbus should have exhibited to the people a hundred bears, it is because they were bears of Africa; and had it not been for that peculiarity in all probability he would not have mentioned it. Virgil, in a hundred places, names the lion; we cannot therefore suppose that he means the same animal when he says a bear.

There are many other authors who, with Herodotus, think that bears

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Æsch. ad Sept. c. Thebas, 274.

<sup>9</sup> Iliad. VI. 301.

<sup>1</sup> Æneid. IV. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. H. N. VIII. xxxvi. vol. I. p. 461. lin. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Elect. II. iv.



have been found in Africa; but see Salmasius <sup>4</sup>. Dr. Shaw also <sup>5</sup> mentions the bear amongst the animals indigenous to Africa.

277. "Ονοι οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες. *Asses with horns*. Aristotle speaks of asses with one horn; this refers to the ass of India. But as he speaks of it only on the authority of others, it is probable that he has borrowed his account from the History of India by Ctesias. This ass of Ctesias appears to me fabulous, and that of Herodotus no less so.

278. Οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι, καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι. *The Cynocephali and the Acephali*. All these fables are not to be imputed to Herodotus. He merely reports what the Libyans said, as he himself remarks, and by no means warrants the truth of it. These Cynocephali, whom the Africans conceived to be men with dog's heads, were a species of ape <sup>6</sup>, stronger and more ferocious than the common ape. They were brought to Alexandria <sup>7</sup> from Ethiopia and the country of the Troglodytæ <sup>8</sup>.

The Acephali were called also Blemmyes. "Blemmyis <sup>9</sup> traduntur capita abesse, ore et oculis pectore affixis." The Emperor Probus conquered them, and transported some of them to Rome, by which the Romans were very much astonished; but Flavius Vopiscus, who relates this fact, does not say what excited their astonishment. "Blemmyas <sup>1</sup> etiam subegit, quorum captivos Romam transmisit, qui mirabilem sui visum, stupente populo Romano, præbuerunt."

Θηρία very often signifies venomous animals, and especially serpents. Hence θηριόδηκτος is said, in a hundred passages of Dioscorides, of a man who is bitten by a serpent. St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles (xxviii. 4), terms the viper which bit St. Paul in the island of Malta, θηρίον. Θηριακά are remedies applied to cure the bite of serpents.

CXCII. 279. Πύγαργοι. *Pygargi*. Aristotle <sup>2</sup> reckons the pygargus among the birds of prey; it is with him a species of eagle. But as Herodotus is here speaking only of quadrupeds, it is most likely an animal of that description. Pliny <sup>3</sup> also mentions it, in a chapter which relates only to quadrupeds. "Sunt et damæ, et pygargi, et strepsicerotes, multaque alia haud dissimilia." Hardouin makes it a species of roebuck. This appears to be confirmed by the place assigned to it in the Scriptures <sup>4</sup>: "cervum et capream, tragelaphum, pygargum." Dr. Shaw thinks <sup>5</sup>, with Bochart, that it is the 'addax' or 'addace' of Pliny, and the 'lidmee' of the Africans.

The zorcas appears to be the same animal as the δόρκος of Oppian, which is our roebuck. Ζόρ, says Hesychius, is the δόρκος. Oppian

<sup>4</sup> Plin. Exerc. in Solini Polyhist. p. 220. col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> Aristot. Hist. An. II. viii. p. 783.

<sup>7</sup> Agatharch. de Rubro Mari, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> See Ctesias XX.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. V. viii. vol. I. p. 252. lin. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. August. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 667.

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. Hist. An. VI. vi. p. 864, c; IX. xxxii. p. 937, d.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. H. N. VIII. liii. vol. I. p. 482, lin. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Deuteronomy, XIV. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 171.

gives a description of the δόρκος<sup>6</sup>, which may be consulted<sup>7</sup>. [The pygargus and dorcas are African antelopes, which are now restored to their ancient titles.]

280. Βουβάλιες. *Bubali*. The bubalis seems to be the feminine of the bubalos, which is described by Oppian<sup>8</sup>. Buffon<sup>9</sup> thinks after Aldrovandinus, that this is the animal which we call the Barbary cow. M. Belin de Ballu argues, in his notes on this verse of Oppian, that it is not the Barbary cow, because the horns of the bubalis are composed of several branches, like those of the stag. He infers this from the term ἀκρέμονες, by which Oppian designates them. But the poet so calls them, because they are two in number; for ἀκρέμων in the singular number signifies but one branch. [The animal here referred to is the antelope bubalis, called by the Arabs babru-l-wahash, or wild cow.]

281. Ὀρυες. *The oryxes*. Pliny asserts that this animal has but one horn, "unicorne<sup>1</sup> et bisulcum oryx." But Oppian<sup>2</sup>, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle<sup>3</sup> classes the oryx amongst the animals which have but one horn; but this philosopher spoke, probably, only from the report of others. Bochart<sup>4</sup> did not think that the oryx was the same with the gazelle. But in another place he expresses the opposite opinion, and on the authority of Damis, an Arabian author, asserts that it is the aram, which is a kind of antelope. But amongst all the different species described by Buffon, it is difficult to fix on any one. The oryx of Oppian is a formidable animal: which leads me to doubt whether it can belong to the antelope species. [It is supposed to be the antelope leucoryx.]

282. Τοῖσι φοίνιξι. *Of the cithara*. For thus I interpret τοῖσι φοίνιξι, with Salmasius<sup>5</sup> and Bochart<sup>6</sup>, who imagine that this name was given to the instrument, because the Greeks had the horns of the oryx from the Carthaginians, who were called Pœni. Athenæus<sup>7</sup> reckons the φοίνικες amongst the instruments of music; but he says only, "that the phoenix is an instrument of music which takes its name from the Phœnicians, who were the inventors of it, as we learn from Ephorus and Scamon, in their respective works on Inventions."

It has been already advanced<sup>8</sup>, that the cithara was different from the lyre; but no proof was given of it. A passage in the Republic of Plato renders this difference very perceptible. That philosopher thus expresses himself<sup>9</sup>: Λύρα δὲ σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, καὶ κιθάρα λείπεται, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν χρήσιμα. 'There remain to you, answered I, the lyre and the cithara, which are useful in the city.' The following passage, from the

<sup>6</sup> Oppian. Cyneget. II. 315.

<sup>4</sup> Hierozoic. pars i. III. xxvii. p. 946.

<sup>7</sup> See Camus, Trad. d'Aristote. Hist. lin. 48.

An. tom. II. p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> Plinianæ Exercit. in Solin. p. 157.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. 300.

<sup>6</sup> Hierozoic. p. 946.

<sup>9</sup> Histoire Naturelle, tom. XI. p. 297.

<sup>7</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIV. ix. p. 637, B.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. XI. xlv. vol. I. p. 640.

<sup>8</sup> Note 41, bk. I.

<sup>2</sup> Oppian. Cyneget. II. 450.

<sup>9</sup> Plato de Republ. III. vol. II. p.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. de Partibus Animal. III. ii. 399, D.  
p. 1001, B.



Oration of Æschines against Timarchus, is not less decisive<sup>1</sup>: 'Αεί τινας ἔχειν εἰωθὼς περὶ αὐτὸν κιθαρωδούς ἢ κιθαριστής. 'He was accustomed to have always about him players on the cithara, or on the lyre;' for κιθαρίς is the lyre. Julius Pollux<sup>2</sup> enters into some details on the different parts of the cithara. As this instrument is very little known, I shall copy his description.

The superior extremities of the two sides forming the body of the instrument, were called κέρατα, the horns, because, as they bent outwards, they had the form of a bull's horns. The inferior extremities, bending inwards, were called ἀγκῶνες, the elbows. The parts comprised between these superior and inferior curvatures were called πηχῦς, the arms. These two sides were fixed to a hollow base, called ἡχείον, 'vas quo sonus editur,' because this rendered the sound melodious. The extremities of these arms were joined at top and at bottom by cross-pieces, named κάλαμοι and δόνακες, because they had originally been made of reeds. The cross-piece at top, called ζυγός and ζύγωμα, was pierced with several holes, which received pegs, κόλλοπες or κόλλαβοι, to which the cords were fastened. These cords were tightened by means of a key, χορδότονον. Pollux calls the lower cross-piece ὑπολύριον, and Lucian<sup>3</sup> μαγάδιον. But see on this word of Lucian, the note of Hemsterhuis, from which I have borrowed the greater part of mine. I am only sorry that that learned critic should have applied it to the lyre. It had, doubtless, at the moment escaped him that the lyre was invented by Apollo, and the cithara by Mercury. Now in this Dialogue of Lucian, allusion is made only to the instrument invented by Mercury.

In consequence of this description, I ought to have translated πῆχες, the arms: but the authority of Hesychius had greater weight with me. He says, under the word πῆχυς, κιθάρας δὲ πῆχυς, ὁ ἀγκών. 'The πῆχυς of the cithara is the elbow.' To this description of the cithara I may add, that it was struck with a small rod, πλήκτρον. See Homer's Hymn to Mercury, 47th and following verses.

Philostratus<sup>4</sup> confounds the cithara with the lyre.

283. Βασσάρια. *Foxes*. Hesychius informs us, that the Cyreneans called the fox 'bassaris.' See his Lexicon, under the word Βασσαρίς.

M. Sonnini<sup>5</sup> says that there are no foxes in Africa. I am not at all disposed to dispute with this traveller what he has himself observed, but he must pardon me if, in this instance, I prefer the testimony of Herodotus and Prosper Alpinus.

284. Θῶες. *Thoes*. Homer also speaks of the Thos. This animal appears to be the jackal. There was one in the Tower of London, when I was in England in 1752. It is of a somewhat darker colour than the fox, but about the same size. It yelps like that animal. The

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. contra Timarchum, p. 6. lin. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. Pollucis Onomast. IV. § lxii.

<sup>3</sup> Luciani Deor. Dialog. VII. p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Philostr. in Imag. I. x. p. 777.

<sup>5</sup> Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte, tom. I. p. 155.

Arabs call it 'deebh' or 'khathal.' The English word jackal comes no doubt from this latter, and not because he is the lion's provider, as is the vulgar opinion in England. So little is he the provider for the lion, that if that animal<sup>6</sup> comes upon him whilst he is devouring his prey, he flies immediately. "In the night", indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these as well as others are prowling after their sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackal have been often found gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This, and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackal make with the lion, are the only circumstances which I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion."

M. Camus admits<sup>7</sup>, that there are some reasons for supposing the jackal to be the same with the thos; but yet he hesitates to adopt the opinion.

285. Στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι. *Ostriches*. In the Greek, 'land strouthi.' This bird is called στρουθὸς μεγάλη, χαμαιπετής, Ἀραβικὸς, Λιβυκὸς, στρουθοκάμηλος, for the purpose of distinguishing it from the sparrow, which is called simply στρουθός. The Latins also sometimes called it 'passer marinus,' because it was foreign to them, and came from countries beyond the sea.

286. Ὅς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ οὐκ ἔστι. *The wild boar does not exist in Libya*. Aristotle is of the same opinion<sup>8</sup>, which does not appear to M. Camus to be correct<sup>1</sup>. Dr. Shaw goes much further than the latter writer; and affirms<sup>2</sup> that "they are found in great numbers, that they are the chief prey and food of the lion, and have been sometimes known to defend themselves with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side: the carcasses of them both having been found lying one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces." This testimony of Dr. Shaw is confirmed by Mr. Bruce. We are however less entitled to refuse credence to Herodotus, who asserts that Africa produces no such animal, as he is supported by Aristotle. For I do not think we ought to conclude with M. Camus<sup>3</sup>, that this philosopher borrowed his opinion from our historian, as if Africa were totally unknown to the Greeks. We must presume that since the time of Herodotus and Aristotle, wild boars have been carried thither. [Clapperton amused himself with hunting wild boars during his residence in Socatu<sup>4</sup>.]

287. Δίποδες. *Dipodes*. Which means, 'two-footed.' There is every probability that this species of rat<sup>5</sup> is the jerboa of Shaw; it is not that the animal possesses only two feet, but that its fore-legs are extremely short, and it usually stands upon its hinder ones.

<sup>6</sup> Homer. Iliad. XI. 481.

<sup>7</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Aristot. trad. par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 805.

<sup>9</sup> Hist. An. VIII. xxviii. p. 919, B.

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. trad. par M. Camus, tom. II.

p. 741.

<sup>2</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. trad. par M. Camus, tom. II. p. 741.

<sup>4</sup> Narrative of a second Exped. p. 247.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 176.

Bruce has also given a description of it in his *Travels to the Sources of the Nile*<sup>6</sup> together with a plate which represents it to the life, and shows us at a glance how it came by the name of Dipode or Biped.

This traveller remarks that it is the rat, mentioned by Isaiah, (lxvi. 17.) the eating of whose flesh was as strictly interdicted as the eating of pork. He observes that the Hebrew version terms it a rat, but that the Arabian version calls it jerboa. This is greatly in favour of his opinion; but I shall leave the point to be discussed by commentators on the sacred writings.

288. *Bovvoi. Hills.* The Greek word signifies 'hills.' Was this animal so named because it delighted in elevated situations? Bochart<sup>7</sup> changes this word to *Bovvῖνοι*, which he derives from *Bovviόν*, which is a species of turnip, called in the Punic language 'zigar;' from 'zigar' has been made 'zegeri,' in the plural 'zegeries.' And he adds, that this name has no doubt been given to the animal because it feeds on that plant. This conjecture appeared to me rather a happy one. M. Beekmann, in his notes on a Treatise attributed to Aristotle<sup>8</sup>, thinks, with M. Pallas, that it is the Cape rat. This rat, says M. Beckmann, digs itself a hole under ground, and, in so doing, throws up the earth in the form of a hill. Hence the name *Bovvoi*, which Bochart is wrong in changing to *Bovvῖνοι*.

CXCV. 289. *Λίμνην. A lake.* Achilles Tatius<sup>9</sup> describes, with his usual affectation, the method of drawing the gold from this lake.

290. *Ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρεον. I myself saw pitch borne to the surface in a lake in Zacynthus.* The reader may consult Spon, who observes<sup>1</sup>, that there is in this island a fountain of pitch, which issues from the bowels of the earth with a beautiful clear water, and that the pitch from its weight remains at the bottom. This renders credible the assertion of Antigonius<sup>2</sup> after Eudoxus, that there are fish in this lake.

291. *Τῆς Πιερικῆς. Of Pieria.* This pitch was very highly esteemed. Didymus asserts<sup>3</sup> that the ancients considered as the best that which came from Mount Ida, and next to it that which was obtained from Pieria, a country of Macedonia. Pliny says also, "Asia<sup>4</sup> picem Idæam maximè probat, Græcia Piericam."

CXCVI. 292. *Ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπικωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία. To whom when they have come and produced their wares.* This method of trading is still practised in the same country. "However<sup>5</sup> it must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still con-

<sup>6</sup> Bruce's Trav. vol. VII. p. 225.

<sup>7</sup> Geogr. Sacr. II. iii. col. 714. lin. 12.

<sup>8</sup> De Mirabil. Auscult. XXVII. p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> Achill. Tat. Clitoph. et Leucippes lin. 26.  
Amor. II. p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> Travels, vol. I. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Antigoni Histor. Mirab. clxix.

<sup>3</sup> Geoponic. VI. v. p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. H. N. XIV. xx. vol. I. p. 726.

lin. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw's Travels, p. 239.

tinue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations, bordering upon the river Nigar, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce, which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this : At a certain time of the year (in winter, if I am not mistaken.) they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold dust, lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians, the next morning, approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold dust, or else make some deductions from the latter, &c. And in this manner transact their exchange without seeing each other, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side." Cada Mosto<sup>6</sup> relates also, that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Melli exchange in a similar manner salt for gold.

CXCVIII. 293. 'Επὶ τριηκόσια. *About three hundred for one.* "Even<sup>7</sup> some grains of the Murwaany wheat, which I brought with me to Oxford, and sowed in the physic garden, threw out each of them fifty (stalks). But Muzeratty, one of the late Kaleefas or viceroys of the province of Tlemsan, brought once with him to Algiers a root that yielded four-score ; telling us that . . . . the Emir Hadge, or prince of the western pilgrims, sent once to the Bashaw of Cairo one that yielded six-score . . . . It likewise happens, that some of these stalks will likewise bear two ears ; whilst each of these ears will as often shoot out into a number of lesser ones. . . ."

CXCIX. 294. 'Οργᾶ. *The harvest.* The Greek term indicates the time when the fruits approach maturity. See the learned note of Ruhnken upon this word<sup>8</sup> in the Lexicon of Timæus.

CC. 295. 'Ανὴρ χαλκεύς. *An artificer in copper.* This proves that the art of constructing mines to effect the capture of fortified places is very ancient, and that that of countermining is no less so. This historical fact is valuable in the history of the art of attacking and defending places. Æneas has<sup>9</sup> done well to quote it. M. Wesseling in his notes cites the passage from that author with his corrections ; to which I refer the reader.

CCIII. 296. Διὸς Λυκαίου. *Lycæan Jupiter.* Lycaon<sup>1</sup> erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and in honour of him instituted<sup>2</sup> cer-

<sup>6</sup> Hist. des Voy. V. ii. tom. II. p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> Shaw's Travels, vol. I. p. 251.

<sup>8</sup> Lexicon Voc. Platon. p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Æneas Poliorcet. xxxvii. p. 1711.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Eurip. in Orest. 1646.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. VIII. ii. p. 600. The Latins called these games 'Lupercalia.'

tain games, which were called Lycæan, Λύκαια. No one<sup>3</sup> was permitted to enter this temple. Those who infringed this prohibition were stoned. The Lycæan Jupiter being adored so near Cyrene, leads us to suppose that there must have been some Arcadians in that colony; and indeed we learn from Herodotus, (clix.) that there came thither Greeks from various countries. But I cannot venture to say, whether in giving to this hill the name of Jupiter, they erected a temple or an altar to that god, or observed the same customs which were practised in Arcadia.

The ancient grammarians remark that the word ὄχθη is said of the borders of a river, and ὄχθος of a mountain. But in Anacreon (Ode xx. 2) I find—

‘Η Ταντάλου ποτ’ ἔστη  
Λίθος Φρυγῶν ἐν ὄχθαις.

‘The daughter of Tantalus (Niobe) was formerly changed into a stone on the Phrygian mountains.’

297. Φόβος ἐνέπενε. *Terror seized them.* The Greeks, by the term ‘panic,’ expressed such fear as had no assignable cause; and they gave to it this name, because<sup>4</sup>, in the war of the Titans, Pan armed the allies with sea shells, the sound of which so frightened the Titans, that they took to flight. Plutarch relates<sup>5</sup>, that the Fauns and Satyrs who inhabited the neighbourhood of Chemmis were the first who gave notice of the death of Osiris, which spread terror over the country.

CCIV. 298. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. *This army of Persians penetrated no further than the Hesperides.* Thus the Cyreneans, and the Libyans to the east of Cyrenaica, were not subjugated by the Persians. It was on the part of the latter an invasion and not an established possession. In fact, the Persians kept a garrison<sup>6</sup> at Marea, in order to secure Egypt against the incursions of the Libyans. Had Libya, together with Cyrenaica, been in the power of the Persians, their military station would most probably have been in the latter country. It is true that the Cyreneans and the Libyans sent<sup>7</sup> presents to Cambyzes and to Darius<sup>8</sup>, or rather, perhaps, a tribute; but this step was the effect of fear, and was productive of no consequences.

CCV. 299. Τῆς Βάττεω. *Wife of Battus.* Valla had translated ‘Pheretimæ Batti filiæ;’ a gross error, which has escaped Gronovius. This Pheretima was the wife of Battus (clxii). The late President Bouhier<sup>9</sup> was the first who corrected this error of the translators.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Græc. p. 300, A.

<sup>4</sup> Eratosthenis Catasterismi, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 356, D.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. II. xxx.

<sup>7</sup> Id. III. xiii.

<sup>8</sup> Id. III. xci.

<sup>9</sup> Rech. et Diss. sur Hérod. XII. p. 146.

## TERPSICHORE. BOOK V.

I. 1. Περινθίους Ἑλλησποντίων. *The Perinthians of the Hellespont.* Perinthus, otherwise called Heraclea, is on the borders of the Propontis.

2. Ἐπαιώνιον. *They sang the Pæon.* The Pæon, or Pæan, was a hymn, of which there were two kinds. The first<sup>1</sup> was sung before battle, in honour of Mars; the second after a victory, in honour of Apollo. This hymn began with the words 'Io Pæan.' The allusion made to the Pæonians in the name of this hymn, is obvious.

III. 3. Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι. *The Thracians form the most numerous nation.* Thucydides<sup>2</sup> reckons it next to the Scythians, and Pausanias next to the Celts<sup>3</sup>.

4. Πλὴν Τραυσῶν. *Except the Trausi.* Hesychius<sup>4</sup> considers them to be a Scythian nation; and yet it should seem, by the particulars which he relates, that it is of the Trausi of our historian that he meant to speak. Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>5</sup> says that they are the same people as the Agathyrsi; but in this he is widely mistaken. The Agathyrsi were very remote from them. Herodotus, who has spoken very distinctly of the latter, would not have failed to make the remark, had the opinion any foundation in truth.

IV. 5. Τὸν μὲν γενόμενον ὀλοφύρονται. *They lament over a child that is born.* We find the same thing in the following fragment<sup>6</sup> of the Cresphontes of Euripides, which has been preserved in whole or in part by Æschines the pupil of Socrates<sup>7</sup>, Strabo<sup>8</sup>, Plutarch<sup>9</sup>, Stobæus<sup>1</sup>, and Clement of Alexandria<sup>2</sup>.

Ἦδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους  
Τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὃς ἔρχεται κακά·  
Τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον,  
Χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

<sup>1</sup> Scholiast. MSS. apud Barnesium ad Homer. Iliad. XXII. 391; Schol. Thucyd. I. l. et IV. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. II. xcvi.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. ix. p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. voc. Τραυσός.

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byzant. voc. Τραυσοί.

<sup>6</sup> Eurip. Fragm. vol. III. p. 557, ex edit. Musgrav.

<sup>7</sup> In Axiocho, x. p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Geogr. XI. p. 790.

<sup>9</sup> De Audiendis Poetis, p. 36, f.

<sup>1</sup> Serm. CXIX. p. 603.

<sup>2</sup> Stromat. III. p. 517.

Which is thus translated by Cicero<sup>3</sup>:

Nam nos decebat cœtus celebrantes, domum  
Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus,  
Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala :  
At, qui labores morte finisset graves,  
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitiâ exsequi.

V. 6. Σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον. *She is sacrificed on the tomb.* This custom was also observed<sup>4</sup> by the Getæ. In India, the women burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, even to the present day. The custom is of great antiquity in that country. Diodorus Siculus<sup>5</sup> speaks of it in reference to a chief of the Indians named Ceteus, who perished in the year 316 before our era, in the battle between Antigonus and Eumenes. Propertius also alludes to this custom in the following verses :

Et<sup>6</sup> certamen habent leti, quæ viva sequatur  
Conjugium ; pudor est non licuisse mori.  
Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent  
Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

“Mulieres<sup>7</sup> vero in India, cum est cujusvis earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit. Plures enim singulis solent esse nuptæ. Quæ est victrix, ea læta, prosequen-  
tibus suis, una cum viro in rogam imponitur : illæ victæ, moestæ dis-  
cedunt.”

Though Herodotus does not say that the Thracians, like the Getæ, believed in the immortality of the soul, we may nevertheless presume that they did so. For what other motive could have induced the women to make this voluntary sacrifice ?

VI. 7. Τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται. *To be tattooed is thought a proof of nobility.* If we may rely on Plutarch<sup>8</sup>, the Thracians in his time still imprinted marks on their women, to avenge Orpheus, whom they had put to death. Phanocles agrees with Plutarch in a poem on Orpheus, of which Stobæus has preserved to us a fragment<sup>9</sup>.

If this reason for their so doing be the true one, it is remarkable that what was originally a punishment, should in the sequel have become a mark of distinction and honour.

8. Ἀργὸν εἶναι, κάλλιστον. *To be idle was most honourable.* Ἀργός, opposed to γῆς ἐργάτης, signifies a man who does not occupy himself in agricultural labour.

<sup>3</sup> Cicer. Tuscul. I. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byzant. in Γετία.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XIX. xxxiii. xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Propert. III. Eleg. xiii. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cicer. Tuscul. V. xxvii.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Num. Vind. p. 557.

<sup>9</sup> Stob. Serm. clxxxv. p. 624.



VII. 9. Διόνυσον. *Bacchus*. The worship of Bacchus by the Thracians is affirmed by several authors, and amongst others by Euripides. Thus we find, in the play of Rhesus, attributed to that poet, that the prince having been killed by Ulysses, was carried into the caverns of Thrace by the nymph who had given him birth; that from a man, which he had been, having become a god, he there delivered<sup>1</sup> the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the same author, Bacchus<sup>2</sup> is called the diviner of the Thracians. The Bacchic fury<sup>3</sup>, and madness in general, observes the scholiast of Euripides, have considerable affinity with divination. Some<sup>4</sup> fix the place where the oracle of Bacchus was given on Mount Pángæus, others near Mount Hæmus.

VIII. 10. Ἐπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι. *They then perform the rites of sepulture*. Θάπτω, with the Greeks, 'sepelio' with the Latins, and thence 'sepultura,' are general terms, and include all the various manners in which the last offices were performed to the dead. When it alludes to the customs of the Greeks or Romans, it usually signifies 'comburo.' Θαπτομένῳ παρέστησαν<sup>5</sup>. 'They were present whilst he was burned,' speaking of the body of Gracchus. Πυρὶ is often added, which determines the meaning; as Herodotus has said, θάπτουσι κατακάυσαντες. Clitarchus remarks<sup>6</sup> that the Magi consider it an impiety to burn dead bodies, ἀνόσιον ἡγεῖσθαι πυρὶ θάπτειν. Philostratus has used the same expression in speaking of the body of Ajax<sup>7</sup>, which was put into the ground, because Calchas taught that it was contrary to religion to burn those who had killed themselves. Ἐθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν, καταθέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, ἐξηγουμένου Κάλχαντος, ὥς οὐχ ὅσιοι πυρὶ θάπτεσθαι οἱ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτείναντες. Θάπτω is said also with reference to water. Statyllius<sup>8</sup> has said of a child, which had drowned itself in the Hebrus, ἔθαψεν ὕδωρ, 'water afforded him a burial-place.'

The Hyrcanians caused the bodies of their dead to be devoured by dogs, and called that giving them sepulture<sup>9</sup>. "In Hyrcaniâ plebs publicos alit canes; optimates domesticos: nobile autem canum genus scimus illud esse. Sed pro suâ quisque facultate parat, a quibus lanietur, eamque optimam illi censent esse sepulturam." Pliny has remarked that this expression is general, and this is what he wishes to convey when he says<sup>1</sup>, "Sepultus vero intelligatur quoquo modo conditus: humatus vero humo contectus." Euripides also, wishing to indicate that the Argian women desired to bury the bodies of

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. in Rheso, 972.

<sup>2</sup> Id. in Hecub. 1267.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Eurip. ad ver. sup. laud.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Gracch. p. 830, E.

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laërt. Procem. § vii. p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Philostr. Heroic. iii. p. 721.

<sup>8</sup> Antholog. Græc. III. xxii. p. 250; Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. II. p. 264. xii.

<sup>9</sup> Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. xlv. p. 271.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. liv. vol. I. p. 410.

such of their countrymen as had fallen before Thebes, says<sup>2</sup>, *θάψαι χθονί*<sup>3</sup>.

11. *Χῶμα δὲ χέαντες. Having heaped up a mound of earth.* On the burial-place of distinguished persons was thrown up a mound of earth brought thither for the purpose, as is admirably expressed by Virgil<sup>4</sup>, "*Ingens adgeritur tumulo tellus*:"

12. *Karà λόγον. On account of the esteem in which they hold them.* I think this is the true meaning of *κατὰ λόγον*. We know, that in Herodotus, *λόγος* frequently signifies 'pretium,' 'æstimatio,' 'honor,' 'auctoritas,' as is remarked by Æmilius Portus, in his *Ionian Lexicon*.

[Our historian says that in those funeral games, very great prizes were given, *κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης*, 'in proportion to the single combat,' or in plainer terms, 'according as matches were made.']

IX. 13. *'Αγχοῦ 'Ενετῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Αδρίῃ. Near the Veneti in the Adriatic.* Herodotus, for the sake of softness, calls them Eneti, which has been followed by the Latin translators. But I have considered it proper to conform to the usage of the Latins, who called these people 'Veneti,' because of the digamma, which the ancients commonly placed before vowels, and which was pronounced sometimes like 'w' and sometimes like 'v.' The Æolians say, *Ἔναξ, Φοῖκος, Φοῖνος*<sup>5</sup>, for *Ἄναξ, Οἶκος, Οἶνος*, whence the Latins have 'vicus,' 'vinum.' The digamma was peculiarly affected by the Æolians, who, not liking the aspirate sound, substituted this character for it. They often placed it in the middle of words: for example, *Δῖφος, Ἀρχεῖφον, Νᾶφους*, whence the Latins have taken 'Divus,' 'Archivum,' 'Navis,' &c.

14. *Μήδων ἀποίκους λέγουσι. They say that they (the Sigynnæ) are a colony of Medes.* Strabo says that this people for the most part followed the customs of the Persians, *τ' ἄλλα Περσίζουσιν*<sup>6</sup>. Thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes we might be led to consider as real Persians, from his practice of applying to one people the name of another, were not the sense of the passage determined by Diodorus Siculus.

15. *Γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. Every thing is possible in the course of time.* "When the Scythians<sup>7</sup> conquered a part of Asia, they drove from it several tribes of people; amongst others, one of Assyrians, who removed to Asia Minor, and one of Medes, who passed towards the Tanais, and formed the nation of the Sauromatæ." Might not a branch of these same Sauromatæ have spread themselves in the course of time to the borders of the Danube, and the Sigynnæ have

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Suppl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Gisberti Cuperi Observ. I. iv. p. 44. et s.; Dorvill. ad Charitonem, pp. 73, 74; Hemsterhusium, ad Xenoph. Observ. Miscell. vol. V. p. 21; Mark-

landum, ad Suppl. Eurip. 935.

<sup>4</sup> Virgil. Æneid. III. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. I. xx. p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, XI. p. 790, B.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. II. xliii. p. 155.

descended from them? This is not at all inconsistent with probability. It would be hazardous however for us to attempt to decide on a national origin which was unknown to Herodotus, who lived so many ages nearer to the time than ourselves.

In the Greek, these words follow: "The Ligurians, who live above Marseilles, call chapmen 'Sigynnæ,' and the Cyprians give the same name to javelins." This appears like the observation of some grammarian, which has crept from the margin into the text, and which, so far from having any relation to what Herodotus says, only confuses the meaning. MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer are of the same opinion. [Some have supposed that the Sigynnæ were the forefathers of the modern Zingani or Gipsies, called by the Germans, Zigeuner.]

XII. 16. Ἐπεὶ ἀπῆκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. *After she came to the river.* Nicolas<sup>8</sup> of Damascus relates a similar story of Alyattes, king of Sardis. Whilst that prince was sitting without the walls of the city, he saw a Thracian woman pass with an urn on her head, a spindle and a distaff in her hand, and behind her a horse, which she held by the bridle. The astonished king asked her who she was, and of what country. She answered, of Mysia, a small province of Thrace. Whereupon this prince, by his ambassadors, entreated Cotys, king of Thrace, to send him a colony of that people, men, women, and children.

XIII. 17. Πεπολισμένη. *Adorned with towns.* Appian<sup>9</sup> says, that the Pæonians have no towns or cities, but that they live either dispersed over the country or in villages. This does not, however, contradict what Herodotus has just said; because the Pæonians of Appian, as M. Wesseling very justly remarks, are not those of Herodotus. Those of Appian are the same with the Pannonians of the Latins. They inhabited the right bank of the Danube, from the frontier of Noricum to the mouth of the Save.

XVI. 18. Ἰκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐζευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ. *Floors of planks stand upon very lofty piles driven into the bed of the lake.* This manner of constructing their huts reminds me that Tcherkask, the capital of the Don Cossacks, is built in the same manner, with this difference only, that the waters of the lake Prasias are still, whilst those of the Tanais are very rapid; which renders the construction of these habitations the more wonderful.

19. Τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθῦς. *Instead of hay, they give their horses fish.* Athenæus<sup>1</sup> speaks of a certain people of Thrace who fed their cattle on fish. He describes them as, 'those who live near Mosyna of Thrace.' As no place of that name in Thrace is known, I

<sup>8</sup> Excerpta e Nic. Dam. pp. 494. 497. p. 859, ex edit. Schweighæuser.

<sup>9</sup> Appian. de Rebus Illyricis, vol. I. <sup>1</sup> Athen. VIII. vii. p. 345.

suspect he means the same people mentioned by Herodotus, and that he gives to this town the name of Mosyna because of their wooden houses. I am of opinion that the Mosynœci, mentioned by Xenophon in the retreat of the Ten Thousand, as well as by our historian, were so named only from their wooden houses.

Torffæus<sup>2</sup> asserts, in his History of Norway, that in the cold and maritime countries of Europe cattle are fed on fish.

20. Τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακας τε καὶ τίλωνα. *Which they call papraces, and tilones.* I do not think that any author has spoken of the paprax: at least it is wholly unknown to me. As for the tilo, I imagine it to be the same that Aristotle<sup>3</sup> calls 'tillo.' He classes it with the ballenus, another fish of which I am equally ignorant. "The ballenus," says that able naturalist, "and the tillo, are subject to a worm which forms in their bodies during the dog days, and so weakens them that they are obliged to rise to the surface of the water, when they perish from exposure to the heat."

But Aristotle says too little of this fish to enable us to recognize it.

XVII. 21. Ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης. *From the lake Prasias.* It is the more difficult to determine the situation of the lake Prasias and that of the Mount Dysorum, as Herodotus is, I believe, the only ancient author that speaks of them. Opposite to the isle of Thasos and to the north of it was the town of Datos<sup>4</sup>. It was afterwards called Crenides, and when it came into the possession of Philip, was named, after him, Philippi. There were upon the hill of Bacchus, near this town<sup>5</sup>, mines of gold, which yielded very abundantly; and to the south-west of it is a lake or marsh, which we must conclude to be the lake Prasias. The Mount Dysorum is probably a branch of Pangæus, or else some insulated hill, of which there are many in that country; and it may perhaps be situate near the plain of Syleum. M. D'Anville thinks, but without mentioning any authority for his conjecture, that the lake Bolbe and the lake Prasias are one.

XVIII. 22. Ἀλγηδόνας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν. *The torment of their eyes.* Longinus<sup>6</sup> censures this expression, and most of the critics concur with him. The passages from those authors which have been cited in justification of it, are by no means parallel. Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Bangor, who has commented on the above celebrated rhetorician, deems it a metonymy, or the placing of the effect for the cause, which has drawn on it the censure of Longinus, only from being rather strained and extravagant. He moreover pleads in excuse of our historian, that it is into the mouths of barbarians that he puts this expression, and at a time when they are heated by wine. But this excuse could apply only

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Norv. I. ii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Hist. An. VIII. xx. p. 915,  
B.

<sup>4</sup> Appian. Bell. Civ. IV. p. 1040.

<sup>5</sup> Appian. Bell. Civ. Zenob. Ad. p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Longin. de Sublim. IV. p. 18.

if the terms selected were characteristic of the persons who used them, and from that circumstance necessary.

If, after all that has been written on this subject by so much greater men, I might be allowed to express my opinion, I would suggest, that when we passionately desire the possession of any object, and that object is constantly exposed to our sight, in aggravation of the desire, and without the hope of attainment, it may with propriety be termed a torment to our eyes.

Plutarch was of an opposite opinion to Longinus, as he puts these very words into the mouth of Alexander. That prince<sup>7</sup>, remarking that the Persian women were very handsome and of very elegant figure, said jestingly, that they were the torment of the eyes.

XIX. 23. Ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξειν μέλλει. *That he was meditating some dangerous project.* Which literally translated is, 'that he was about to do something new.' This expression is usually considered to have an evil meaning; which perhaps arises from the supposition that the existing state of things being desirable, any innovation must be bad. It is familiar not only to Herodotus, but to all the tragic writers.

Ὡς φόβος . . . .

Μή μοί τι μήτηρ, ἣν μεταστείχω ποδὶ,  
Χρονίαν ἀποῦσαν ἐκ δόμων, ἔχῃ νέον<sup>8</sup>.

'The long absence of my mother has urged me to come in search of her. I am apprehensive that something disastrous may have happened to her.'

XX. 24. Ἐπιδαψιλευόμεθα ὑμῖν. *We generously surrender to you, &c.* Suidas, who under the word ἐπιδαψιλευόμενος quotes this passage of Herodotus, does not seem to have understood it; neither does Kuster, who translates it, 'Matres et sorores vestras in vestram gratiam splendide tractamus.' See the note of the late M. T. Hemsterhuis, on Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, XXX. p. 452, [T. II. p. 549. Ed. Bipont.] where this learned critic has discussed with his usual erudition all the significations of the verb ἐπιδαψιλεύομαι, on which Stephens says very little, contenting himself with quoting, in his Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ, a single passage of Synesius in which it occurs.

XXI. 25. Σφέας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ. *Alexander stopped them by his prudence.* I explain κατέλαβε δὲ, with M. Abresch<sup>9</sup>, 'stopped their pursuit, or inquiries.' Suidas interprets ἐπέλαβεν by ἐπεῖχε τῆς ὁρμῆς.

26. Βουβάρη. *Bubares.* He was the son of Megabyzus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch, in Alexandro, p. 676, r.

<sup>8</sup> Euripid. Suppl. 90.

<sup>9</sup> Dilucidationes Thucydideæ, p. 509.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VII. xxi.

27. Τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν. *One of the generals appointed to make inquiries respecting those who had perished.* I have not ventured to follow the correction of M. Valckenaer, who reads τῷ στρατηγῷ instead of τῶν στρατηγῶν, though it is in some measure supported by the following passage of Justin<sup>2</sup>: “Interfectis omnibus, ignarus rei Megabazus, cum legati non redirent, mittit eo cum exercitûs parte Bubaren, ut in bellum facile et mediocre . . . . . sed Bubares . . . . . amore filiæ Amyntæ captus, omisso bello, nuptias facit; depositisque hostilibus animis, in affinitatis jura succedit.”

Let us now examine the reasons of that learned critic. Bubares was the chief of those sent to inquire into the transaction. Of this I am satisfied; and indeed Herodotus clearly enough conveys it, when he informs us that Amyntas arrested the progress of the investigation by giving him his sister in marriage, together with large sums of money. If Bubares had not been the person of the greatest influence, the prince would not have addressed himself to him in preference to the others. But, says M. Valckenaer, these seven deputies are no where distinguished by the title of generals, nor indeed could they be so. I answer, that they are so in this place, which is sufficient for our purpose. This title certainly applied to them; but it must not be taken literally. They were general officers: and at the present day, in England, the title of General is given by way of abbreviation to all general-officers: and how can M. Valckenaer satisfy us, that the same was not the case in Persia? We find, in the latter part of xxxii., that Megabates is named General of the troops sent by Artaphernes against the island of Naxos. Aristagoras, however, held a superior command, since of his own authority he releases Scylax, whom Megabates had caused to be bound; and, when reproached by that Milesian for the little respect he had shown him, answers: “Has not Artaphernes sent you hither to be obedient to me?” Aristagoras, then, was the actual general. But, continues the same critic, Herodotus should here have spoken not only of the general-officers who had perished, but only of their suite, who perished with them. Herodotus names only the general-officers, as being the most distinguished persons, and because any investigation as to their fate must of necessity apply to that of their suite. And would not the same form of expression be used in the present day, if seven lords of the court and all their suite should be massacred in one of the provinces; would not an historian in all probability content himself with saying that an inquiry was made respecting the death of those seven noblemen?

XXII. 28. Οἱ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων. *The Hellenodicæ.* This title was given to the judges who presided over the Olympic games. Their number varied<sup>3</sup> at different times. For a long time it continued

<sup>2</sup> Justin. VII. iii. p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. V. ix. p. 397.

at ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the tribes of the Eleans; but it returned to the number ten in the 108th Olympiad, and remained so till the time of Pausanias, who flourished in the year 174 of our era. They did not all decide upon each kind of<sup>4</sup> contest; but only those commissioned for the express purpose. Their decision might be appealed from, and themselves accused<sup>5</sup> before the senate of Olympia, which sometimes reversed their judgments. Those who were elected to this office<sup>6</sup>, lived ten consecutive months in a palace appropriated to their use at Olympia, and which was called Ἑλλανοδικαίων, Hellenodicaëon, for the purpose of informing themselves on the subjects on which they would have to decide when they entered into office.

29. Καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο. *And having entered the lists.* Lucian has said<sup>7</sup>, Κατάβητον ἐς τὸ μέσον. The Latins also used the word 'descendere' in the same sense.

30. Ἐξεῖργόν μιν. *Wished to exclude him.* The Greek has been ill rendered 'arcebant eum;' for we find that, in fact, they did not succeed in excluding him. It should have been translated 'arcere nitebantur.' The imperfect and the second aorist mark the desire and the effort. From want of attention to this signification of those tenses, translators, in other respects intelligent, have either produced misconstructions, or proposed changes in the text which are by no means necessary. Examples of this form of speaking are frequent, as well in Herodotus as in other writers. I have already cited some of them; and I now give two from Euripides which occur to me:

Ὁ πρόσθε τρωθεῖς στέρνα Πολυνείκου βίῃ  
Διῆκε λόγχην . . . .<sup>8</sup>

Those who have translated 'trajecit hastâ,' have not understood this verse. The point of the javelin broke, and it could not penetrate. Ἀπὸ δ' ἔθρουσ' ἄκρον δόρυ. This passage should therefore be rendered 'trajicere conatus est,' and not 'transegit hastam per pectus Polynicis,' as Barnes has it. Eteocles, who had been wounded before, endeavoured to pierce Polynices with his javelin. The same Barnes has not been more correct in rendering another passage from the same piece<sup>9</sup>, ἐσκύλευέ νιν 'spoliabat eum;' for it is certain that Eteocles did not despoil his brother. Statius has properly translated it<sup>1</sup>, 'arma etiam spoliare cupit.'

31. Συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ. *Came out of the urn with the first.* "The following mode<sup>2</sup> was practised at the Olympic games for matching the combatants. There was a silver urn consecrated to the god,

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. V. p. 396.

<sup>5</sup> Id. VI. iii. p. 458.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. xxiv. p. 514.

<sup>7</sup> Lucian. Vit. Auct. xiii. p. 553.

<sup>8</sup> Euripid. Phœniss. 1406.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. 1426.

<sup>1</sup> Stat. Thebaid. XI. 562.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian. Hermotim. sive de Sectis, xl. vol. I. p. 782.



into which were put little balls about the size of a bean, two marked A, two B, and so on, according to the number of competitors. The champions then advanced in succession, and offering their prayers to Jupiter, drew from the urn one of these balls. They were forbidden to look at the letter marked on it, by a herald who stood by, armed with a wand, and ready to strike any who attempted to do so. When they had all drawn, the Alytarchus, or one of the Hellanodicæ, took the ballot of each of the champions, as they were ranged in a circle, looked at it, and paired together those who had the same letter. If the number of the combatants was uneven, he who drew the single letter was matched against the conqueror; which was no trifling advantage, because he had to contend, quite fresh, against a man already exhausted."—  
BELLANGER.

'Εξέπιπτε is the same with ἐκ δ' ἔθορε in Homer<sup>3</sup>. The following passage of Livy also comes to nearly the same thing with that of Herodotus: "Ut<sup>4</sup> primam ipsius et antagonistæ sortem exiisse optimus auctor significat."

XXIII. 32. 'Εγκτήσασθαι πόλιν. *To possess a town.* 'Εγκτίσασθαι is not Greek. Wesseling and Valckenaer read ἐγκτήσασθαι, which is the reading I have followed, and signifies 'to acquire possession.' In the decree of the Byzantines quoted by Demosthenes in his Oration in favour of Ctesiphon, we find ἔγκτασις γᾶς, and in the new edition of the Oxford Marbles, Append. clvi. γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησις.

33. Πολλοὶ κωπέες. *Plenty of wood fit for oars.* Hitherto this has been translated 'rowers,' as if every peopled country could not furnish rowers. All countries do not, however, produce the wood most fit for oars; and this is what is most needed, where there is wood fit for the construction of vessels, and a navigable river. Κωπεὺς, and in the plural κωπέες, signifies wood proper for oars. Κωπεῖς, says Hesychius, τὰ εἰς κώπας εὖθετα ξύλα. See M. Valckenaer's note, and also that of M. Brunck on verse 542 of the Acharnenses of Aristophanes.

XXV. 34. 'Ενέτεινε τὸν θρόνον. *He stretched them (the thongs) upon the seat.* It appears that it was the custom in Persia to cover the justice-seat with the skins of such judges as had been convicted of corrupt practices in the execution of their office. Sometimes they were put to death before being flayed, and sometimes they were flayed alive. Artaxerxes<sup>5</sup> punished in the latter manner certain judges who had rendered iniquitous sentences. After they had been flayed alive, the skins were stretched upon the judgment-seat, that succeeding judges might have a constant memento of the fate of those who had abused the office.

35. Καλχηδονίους. *The Chalcedonians.* Chalcedon, Lamponium, and

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. VII. 182-3.

<sup>4</sup> Livius, XXIII. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. X. x. vol. II. p. 11.

Antandros were in Asia, and consequently not under the jurisdiction of Otanes, the successor of Megabyzus, who commanded only in Europe. But perhaps Otanes was governor of the Asiatic coasts before he succeeded to the command of Megabyzus.

XXVI. 36. Ἀμφοτέρως ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκούμενας. *Both which were still inhabited by Pelasgians.* It appears from the commencement of the preceding paragraph, that Darius did not appoint Otanes to his government till after his expedition against the Scythians, nor even till he was on the point of quitting Sardis on his return to Susa: consequently not till the year 507 or 508 before our era. Now at that time the islands in question were no longer inhabited by Pelasgians, as they had been driven thence by Miltiades three years before<sup>6</sup>. This confirms what I have observed in the preceding note; namely, that Otanes commanded on the coasts of Asia before he succeeded Megabyzus in the government of Europe. This reconciles all the statements. Otanes took possession of the isles of Lemnos and Imbros in the year 511 or 512 B. C., and, content with the submission of the Pelasgians, had left them in peaceable possession, till they were driven thence by Miltiades in the year 510 before our era.

37. Ἀνὰ χρόνον. *In the sequel.* I have joined ἀνὰ χρόνον to ἐκακώθησαν, as I find it in the Greek edition of Stephens. I translate it, 'in the sequel,' with Viger<sup>7</sup>.

XXVII. 38. Πάντας κατεστρέφετο. *Otanes subdued, &c.* If the words αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε refer to Lycaretus, what follows should do so likewise, and they must signify that he died a violent death, occasioned by the barbarous manner in which he treated the people under his command. But had his death been occasioned by violence, Herodotus would scarcely have contented himself with saying τελευτᾷ: he would most likely have added, as is usual with him, κακῶς τὸν βίον τελευτᾷ. The Lemnians, moreover, could not have harassed the army of Darius on its return from Scythia. Lycaretus, therefore, could not have availed himself of this pretext for reducing them to slavery; but the Thracians and other Europeans under the government of Otanes had in all probability fallen on the stragglers, or on some detached corps of the army, and that general, bearing in mind the punishment of his father, thought it necessary to visit them with a severe retaliation, lest he too should incur the penalty of negligence. Στρατηγῆσας can apply only to Otanes, who had been named στρατηγός. I think, therefore, with MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, that αἰτίη δὲ τούτου ἦδε, as well as what follows, refers to Otanes. Τοῖσι δὲ περιεοῦσι, &c. down to αἰτίη exclusively, should be within parentheses.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VI. cxxxix.

<sup>7</sup> Idiom. Gr. IX. i. R. v.

XXVIII. 39. Πρόσχημα. *The ornament.* The Greeks, in the same sense, say also σχῆμα, but this term is less frequently employed than πρόσχημα<sup>1</sup>. 'Ἀσιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα, Θηβαία πόλις: 'The city of Thebes is the ornament of Asia.'

40. Τούτους ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήνων εἵλοντο. *They selected those (the Parians) from all the Greeks.* This choice does honour to the Parians, and proves that they were considered to possess both integrity and good sense. They have the same reputation to this day<sup>2</sup>; and are frequently chosen by the Greeks of the neighbouring islands as the arbiters of their differences.

XXIX. 41. Ἐν ἀνεστηκυίῃ τῇ χώρῃ. *In the desolate country.* The Greek cannot, I think, signify 'acclivi regione,' as Gronovius has translated it; but 'in regione devastatâ et a suis incolis desertâ.' See Stephens's Thesaurus. [Perhaps it rather means the country raised or awakened from the state of nature, i. e. cultivated.]

XXX. 42. Ὀκτακισχιλίην ἀσπίδα. *Eight thousand men heavily armed.* In the Greek, 'eight thousand bucklers:' now the 'aspis' was properly the buckler of the heavy troops, as the 'pelta' was that of the light troops.

43. Ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. *In Asia.* Herodotus designedly adds these words, to distinguish this government from that of Otanes, who was likewise governor of the coasts. He commanded in Thrace, and on the coasts of Europe, as he had succeeded to Megabyzus<sup>1</sup>, whose authority was confined to those countries. Artaphernes had within his department Asia Minor and the coasts of the Ægean sea.

XXXI. 44. Τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας. *Which depend on that.* The other Cyclades were not under the government of the island of Naxos; but that being the most considerable among them, its capture involved the others.

45. Ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλῆος. *To the king.* In the Greek, 'to the house of the king.' M. Wesseling, in a note, proves that this is an oriental figure of speech, and is used to signify the kingdom, and the royal family.

XXXII. 46. Εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος. *If what they say is true.* It should appear from this, that Herodotus had no knowledge of the letter of Pausanias demanding the daughter of Xerxes in marriage<sup>2</sup>.

XXXIII. 47. Ἐς Καύκασα. *To Caucasa.* This place is now

<sup>1</sup> Euripidis Androm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Relation d'un Voyage au Levant, par M. de Tournefort, lettre V. p. 204.

<sup>1</sup> See supra, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxviii.

totally unknown; no other ancient author having spoken of it. Was it a port, or merely a road or anchorage of the isle of Chios? This it is scarcely possible to decide at the present day. Strabo mentions only the port of Phanos<sup>3</sup>, of which Livy<sup>4</sup> also speaks. In Thucydides we read<sup>5</sup> of that of Delphinium, and in Ælian<sup>6</sup> of that of the Old Men. These different ports being thus variously and casually mentioned, it is very probable that there were others in the island, the names of which have not reached us.

48. Ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορέη ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι. *For the purpose of passing from thence with the north wind to Naxos.* Διαβάλλω is most commonly said of a passage by sea<sup>7</sup>. Διεβάλομεν τὸ πέλαγος εἰς Μεσσαπίους. 'We repaired by sea to the territory of the Messapians.' It is likewise sometimes said of a journey by land.

Πρὶν λιπὼν Κάδμου πόλιν  
Φυγῇ πρὸς Ἄργος διαβαλεῖν αὐθαίρετος<sup>8</sup>.

'When he went voluntarily to Argos, before his exile from the city of Cadmus.'

49. Τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις; *Why intermeddle with what does not concern you?* The Latin translation, 'quid multa agis?' is not correct; at least it is not clear. The signification is, 'why do you interfere in matters which do not concern you?' Πολλὰ πράττειν is often taken in an unfavourable sense; it is said in opposition to πρήσσειν ὀλίγα, which the Emperor Antoninus uses, bk. IV. 24, or to τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, which we find in Xenophon, Ἀπομνημ. Bk. II. ix. Aristophanes often employs it in this sense. See verse 230 of the Ranæ, with Bergler's note. M. Brunck has very happily rendered it, 'male curiosus;' it is in the 228th verse of his edition. Πολυπράγμων is an impertinent fellow who intermeddles in the affairs of others, the 'ardelio' of the Latins. See also verse 761 of the same piece, which is the 749th of Brunck's edition, and the note of that critic.

XXXV. 50. Τὴν βασιληΐην τῆς Μιλήτου. *Of the government of Miletus.* In the Greek, 'of the sovereignty of Miletus.' Aristagoras was not tyrant of Miletus; but in the absence of Histiaëus he filled the office.

51. Τὰ δὲ στίγματα. *The tattooed characters.* Polyænus<sup>9</sup> says, that upon the head of the slave were these words: Ἰστιαῖος Ἀρισταγόρα, Ἰωνίαν ἀπόστησον: 'Histiaëus to Aristagoras; raise Ionia in revolt.'

52. Μετήσσεσθαι. *To bring Aristagoras to him.* Instead of ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τι, the poets and the ancient authors used to write ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τι.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 955, A.

<sup>4</sup> Tit. Liv. XXXVI. xliii.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. VIII. xxxviii. p. 527.

<sup>6</sup> Ælian. de Nat. Anim. XII. xxx.

p. 695.

<sup>7</sup> Athen. Deipnos. III. xxv. p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Eurip. Suppl. 930.

<sup>9</sup> Polyæn. Strategem. I. xxiv.

This form of speech is preserved in the verbs *μετελθεῖν*, *μεθεῖναι*, *μεθήκειν*, and others of the like nature. *Μετῆσαν στρώματα*, 'ibant peti-tum stragula<sup>1</sup>.'

XXXVI. 53. Τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι. *Temple of the Branchidæ*. The temple of the Branchidæ, or of Didymæan Apollo, as it was afterwards called, was but a short distance from Miletus, either by sea or land. It was built on the promontory Posideum, eighteen stadia from the shore<sup>2</sup>; or, according to a MS., twenty stadia. This latter reading is supported by the testimony of Pliny the naturalist: "Posideum<sup>3</sup> promontorium et oppidum, oraculum Branchidarum appellatum, nunc Didymæi Apollinis, a littore stadiis viginti." And at the distance of 180 stadia stood Miletus. "Et inde centum octoginta Miletus Ioniae caput."

The name of Branchidæ came from a family who claimed to be descended from Branchus, the real or supposed founder of this temple, and who continued in possession of the priesthood till the time of Xerxes. It was a practice with the ancient families of Greece to mingle a considerable portion of fable with their genealogy, and to pretend a descent from the gods, for the purpose of imposing on the people, and acquiring a title to a larger share of their deference. Though the history of Branchus is ridiculous enough, yet as it is related by the learned Varro, and may be a help in interpreting many passages of the ancient authors, I have thought it right not to omit it here.

"A certain Olus<sup>4</sup>," says Varro, "who was descended from Apollo through ten generations, being on a voyage, took his repast on the sea-shore. He afterwards continued his course, leaving his son Simerus<sup>5</sup> behind him. The child repaired to a spot belonging to a man named Patron, who received him into his house, and sent him with his own children to tend the goats. These children one day took a swan, and a dispute having arisen amongst them which of them should present it to their father, they covered the bird over with a garment and fought. When they were tired of fighting, they uncovered the swan, and found a woman in its place. At the sight of her they fled; but the woman called them back, and ordered them to desire their father Patron to love Simerus in preference to themselves. They reported to Patron what the woman had said to them, and he in obedience to her mandate cherished Simerus as his own child, and gave him his daughter in marriage. During her pregnancy, the young woman, in a dream, saw the sun enter her body by the throat, and come out by the womb. Her son was for this reason called Branchus, (Branchos in Greek signifying

<sup>1</sup> See Bergler ad Aristoph. Eq. 602, 933, and Concion. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 941, A.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxix. vol. I. p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Varr. Div. Rer. lib. apud Scholiast. Statii ad Thebaid. VIII. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Or rather Smicrus, according to Conon, apud Photium, p. 441.

throat,) and having one day, in a wood, given Apollo a kiss, he was seized by the god, from whom he received a crown and a wand, and began to prophesy, after which he suddenly disappeared. A temple was erected to him, called Branchiadon: another was also erected to Apollo Philesius, on account of the kiss which Branchus gave him<sup>6</sup>."

The temple of the Branchidæ or of Didyme was long anterior to the<sup>7</sup> Ionian colony; but I cannot fix the precise time at which it was built. Machæreus<sup>8</sup> of Delphi, one of the ancestors of Branchus, and a priest<sup>9</sup> of Apollo, killed Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, who wanted to plunder the temple of Delphi. He therefore must have lived at the time of the siege of Troy, or a little afterwards; but Strabo, from whom we learn this circumstance, does not inform us by how many descents Branchus was distant from Machæreus.

Without, however, farther discussing the fabulous part of the story, we may conclude that Branchus was of a sacerdotal family established at Delphi, that he went to Miletus, and there finding the minds of the people as strongly disposed to superstition as they were at Delphi, he established an oracle there, in imitation of that which subsisted at the latter city. Branchus<sup>1</sup> adopted a child, which Leodamas king of Miletus had presented to the temple of Didyme, as the first fruits of the victory he had obtained over the Carystii. Having observed in him a good disposition and great prudence, he appointed him to deliver the oracles, and for this reason named him Evangelus, or the bearer of good tidings. He afterwards succeeded Branchus, and was the chief of the family known at Miletus by the name of Evangelidæ.

This temple was burned by Xerxes. It was afterwards restored. Pæonius<sup>2</sup> of Ephesus and Daphnis of Miletus were the architects. They were contemporary with Scopas, and flourished about the 87th Olympiad. The temple was of the greatest magnificence. Vitruvius, an excellent judge of these matters, reckons it among<sup>3</sup> the four temples which have immortalized their architects.

Seleucus, one of the successors of Alexander, sent back to this temple<sup>4</sup> a bronze statue of the god, which had been carried to Agbatana in Media.

Seleucus Callinicus bestowed large presents on this temple, as may be seen by an inscription found on the spot, between 1709 and 1716, by Mr. Sherrard, the English consul, and quoted by Chishull in his *Asiatic Antiquities*<sup>5</sup>.

This temple possessed the right of sanctuary in common with many others; but as that was the occasion of many crimes, Tiberius so modi-

<sup>6</sup> This legend is given by Conon with some slight variation. See bk. VI. xix. note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VII. ii. p. 525.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 645, A.

<sup>9</sup> Eusebii Chronic. lib. posterior, p. 94.

<sup>1</sup> Conon. Narrat. XLIV. apud Phot. Cod. clxxxvi. p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruv. Præfat. VII. p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xvi. p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Antiquit. Asiat. p. 67.

fied the privilege that it was reduced to a mere name<sup>6</sup>. Suetonius affirms that that emperor destroyed all sanctuaries, and in this he appears to contradict Tacitus: but M. Ernesti<sup>7</sup> reconciles these two writers with his wonted ingenuity.

This temple, under Constantine and his successors, declined from its former grandeur, and perhaps was even pillaged, as so many others were. Julian restored its splendour, which, however, was but of short continuance. It is now<sup>8</sup> a mere pile of ruins, of which nothing remains entire but two columns with their architraves. Very perceptible traces of its vast extent are still visible.

XXXVIII. 54. *Στρατηγούς. The Strategi.* *Στρατηγός* is not here the general of an army, but a magistrate, whose functions probably answered to those of the Archons in Athens, the Cosmi in Crete, and in other Dorian cities, &c. The Strategi were substituted for the Archons at Athens, about the commencement of the fourth century, as is proved by Father Corsini<sup>9</sup>.

We often find the Strategi on medals. Chariton of Aphrodisium speaks of them at Priene, a city of Ionia<sup>1</sup>. It may be said that he has written merely a romance; but still he adheres strictly to the manners of the times in which he supposes the events he relates to have happened. This is likewise the opinion of M. D'Orville on the passage of Chariton.

XL. 55. *Καὶ οἱ γέροντες. With the senators.* *Οἱ γέροντες*, at Lacedæmon, are senators. All the authors abound in passages in which this word is used in that sense. I shall cite only the following<sup>2</sup>; *Πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου, πρῶτον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων.* 'Amongst numerous innovations made by Lycurgus, the first and most considerable was the institution of senators.'

*Γερουσία* signifies the senate. *Ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίοις κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας*<sup>3</sup>. 'The senate is, with the Lacedæmonians, the tribunal possessing the highest authority of the state.' I should scarcely have noticed so obvious a truth, had not M. Bellanger translated, 'the ancients.'

56. *Γυναῖκας δύο. Two wives.* "He is the only one of the Lacedæmonians," says Pausanias<sup>4</sup>, "who had two wives, and who inhabited two houses (or who had two establishments) at a time." *Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ὁ Λέοντος Λακεδαιμονίων μόνος γυναῖκας τε δύο ἄμα ἔσχεν, καὶ οἰκίας δύο ἄμα ᾗκησε*: which does not signify 'Anaxandrides Leontis

<sup>6</sup> Tacit. Annal. III. lxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Excurs. in Sueton. ad Tiber. cap. xxxvii. p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Ionian Antiquit. p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Fast. Att. Dissert. I. p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Charitonis Aphrodit. Amator. Narrat. IV. pp. 72 and 407.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 42, E.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. III. xi. p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. iii. p. 211.



filius, unus ex omnibus Lacedæmoniis uxores duas eodem tempore habuit, unde illi soboles duplex,' as the Latin version, which accompanies the Greek, has it, and which some scholars read instead of the text, but 'et ædes duas simul,' or 'eodem tempore habitavit.' This latter interpretation is the only one which corresponds with the text of Herodotus. Γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο, διῆας ἰστίας οἶκεε: 'uxores habens duas, binis ædibus habitabat.' Οἰκέω, 'habito,' makes, in the third person singular of the imperfect of the indicative, οἶκεε, 'habitabat,' he did inhabit or was inhabiting; and in the third person singular of the first aorist of the indicative, ᾤκησε, 'habitavit,' he inhabited. Pausanias has borrowed the fact from Herodotus, merely changing διῆας ἰστίας, double hearth or fire-place, into οἰκίας δύο, two houses or establishments; and οἶκεε, he was inhabiting, to ᾤκησε, he inhabited, the imperfect to the first aorist. Amasæus, the author of the Latin version which accompanies the Greek, is mistaken, if I have rightly apprehended the meaning of Herodotus and of Pausanias. The Abbé Gedoyn, of the French Academy and of that of Inscriptions, in his translation of Pausanias, pp. 251, 252, will likewise be in error, he having strictly adhered to the Latin version, thus: "Anaxandrides, son of Leo, 'by an abuse, of which Sparta had as yet furnished no example,' had two wives at a time, and, 'contrary to his expectation,' left a double posterity." These last words are a tolerably literal translation of the Latin of Amasæus; but Amasæus was wrong, and the *double* academician has been wrong with him, in his '*double* posterity.'

57. Ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτητικά. *Contrary to the usage of Sparta.* St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>5</sup> says, however, that in Lacedæmon a penalty was inflicted on monogamy; but Cragius<sup>6</sup> with reason conjectures, that we should read κακογαμίου, and then the prohibition will only apply to certain degrees of relationship, for there were some between which marriage was forbidden.

XLI. 58. Οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκήϊοι. *The relations of the second wife.* The Latin version of Laurentius Valla, in which οἰκήϊοι is rendered by 'domestici,' has deceived both Du Ryer and Bayle; the former of whom in his translation of Herodotus, and the latter under the word 'Anaxandrides,' render it by 'domestics.' The relations of the queen might be interested in preventing the diffusion of an opinion that there existed a son by the first wife of Anaxandrides, and might take steps in the business, which would not be consistent in servants. This is not, however, the only error that has crept into Bayle's excellent work.

XLII. 59. Τῶν νομιζομένων. *The ceremonies usual, &c.* Among

<sup>5</sup> Stromat. II. p. 505.

rum, III. Tab. iv. Instit. X. p. 234.

<sup>6</sup> Cragius de Republicâ Lacedæmonio-

other customs observed by those who were about to establish a colony, one was, to take fire from the Prytaneum of the Metropolis; and if by any accident it became extinguished in the colony, it was necessary to have recourse to the Metropolis for its renewal.

60. [Κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. *The Thereans were the guides.* The reason of this will be manifest, when it is considered that Cyrene was a colony of the Thereans, who may be therefore supposed to have habitually frequented and become acquainted with the coast of Libya.]

XLIII. 61. Ἐκ τῶν Λαίου χρησμῶν. *From the oracles delivered to Laius.* All the translators have rendered this 'ex Laii oraculis.' But when or where did Laius ever deliver oracles? St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>7</sup> makes no mention of such a soothsayer, in his list of the soothsayers; several annotators have therefore changed this name for that of some known diviner. But is it not rather bold to do so in spite of the authority of the MSS., which without exception give this name? I am persuaded that these changes have been resorted to merely from misconception of the real meaning of Herodotus. Λαίου χρησμοὶ are not the oracles of Laius, but the oracles delivered to Laius; as in Sophocles<sup>8</sup>, Λαίου παλαιὰ θέσφατα are the ancient oracles delivered to Laius; and in Euripides<sup>9</sup>, ὀνείρατ' ἀγγέλλουσα τὰ γαμέμνονος, 'acquainting him with the dreams which Agamemnon sent him,' and not the dreams of Agamemnon. This turn of expression is common with the Greeks: take another example; τὰ μὰ νουθετήματα<sup>1</sup> does not signify 'my advice,' but 'the advice which you give me.' It is natural to suppose that Laius consulted the oracle, not only with regard to his son, but on many other subjects, as we have seen in the case of Croesus (I. lv.); that these various oracles were collected together; and that that which Antichares communicated to Dorieus was of the number. That which related to Œdipus having been accomplished in every particular, would give a sanction to the others.

62. Αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. *Hercules himself having acquired it.* "Hercules<sup>2</sup> desiring to make a complete tour of Sicily, started from the promontory of Pelorus, on his way towards Eryx. As he traversed the sea-shore, it is said that the nymph caused to issue from the earth warm baths to assuage his fatigue. There are two of them, the baths of Himera and of Ægesta, which take their names from those of the neighbouring places. Hercules approaching the country that borders on Mount Eryx, Eryx, the son of Venus by Butes, who had previously reigned there, challenged him to wrestle. As Eryx had staked his country on the issue of the contest, and Hercules only his oxen, the former was displeased at the inequality of the wager; but

<sup>7</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. pp. 398, 399.

<sup>8</sup> Sophocl. Œdip. Tyr. 907.

<sup>9</sup> Euripid. Orest. 617.

<sup>1</sup> Sophocl. Electr. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. xxxiii. vol. I. p. 268.

Hercules having explained to him, that with his cattle, he should also lose his immortality, Eryx accepted the terms, measured his strength against that of his adversary, and being conquered, was deprived of his dominions. Hercules left the country to the inhabitants, and permitted them to enjoy the fruits of it until the time when some descendant of his should claim it from them; an event which time brought about; for, many generations afterwards, Dorieus of Lacedæmon came to Sicily, recovered the country, and built the city Heraclea. This city quickly increased to such a degree, that the Carthaginians, jealous of its power, and apprehensive lest it should one day become more powerful than Carthage, and deprive them of the sovereignty of that country, attacked it with a considerable force, and having taken it, razed it to the ground."

XLIV. 63. Συβαρίται. *The Sybarites.* Sybaris<sup>3</sup> was destroyed twice: the first time was about the third year of the 67th Olympiad; the second time, about the third year of the 83rd Olympiad, six years after its re-establishment. Sybaris was not rebuilt on the same site, but at a short distance from it, and took the name of Thurium<sup>4</sup>. Plutarch, however, relates<sup>5</sup>, that Apollo predicted to the Sybarites that they should arrive at the termination of their misfortunes, after they had expiated the wrath of Leucadian Juno, by three destructions. Either Apollo or Plutarch, or perhaps both, are here in error; for it was destroyed but twice. The cause of this wrath of the goddess will be explained in the following note.

64. Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωνυῶν βασιλῆα. *Telys, their king.* Heraclides of Pontus<sup>6</sup>, in his work on Justice, says, that the Sybarites having overthrown the tyranny of Telys, massacred, even on the altars, those who had had any share in the administration of government; that the statue of Juno turned aside, and that there sprang from the earth a fountain of blood, which could be stopped only by being confined by walls of brass: and he adds, that this crime was the cause of their destruction.

The authority of Herodotus, who lived nearer to the time, and is moreover supported by that of Diodorus Siculus, appears to me, as it did to the late M. Wesseling, of greater weight than that of Heraclides.

65. Συνελεῖν. *And took it.* According to Diodorus Siculus<sup>7</sup>, the cause of this war was as follows. Sybaris was a powerful city, governed by Telys, who was its demagogue. This man, by means of his accusations, persuaded the Sybarites to banish 500 of the most opulent citizens, and to sell their goods by public auction. The exiles retired to Crotona, and took sanctuary near the altars in the public place. Telys

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. x. p. 484.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>5</sup> De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 557, c.

<sup>6</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. iv. p. 521, F.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. ix. vol. I. p. 483.

sent ambassadors to Crotona, to demand the exiles, and if they were not given up, to declare war. The people were disposed to surrender them; but Pythagoras the philosopher having persuaded them to protect them, they resolved to defend them to the last. The Sybarites put in motion 300,000 men; the Crotoniatæ, commanded by Milo the wrestler, went forth to meet them, to the number of 100,000. The commander of the latter, who had six times gained the prize in the Olympic games, and who was no less remarkable for greatness of soul than for vigour of body, at the first onset broke through those who were opposed to him. The Sybarites were defeated, the greater part of them killed in the pursuit, and their city, after being taken and burnt, was reduced to a perfect solitude. Fifty-seven years afterwards<sup>8</sup>, a certain Thessalus collected together the Sybarites who had survived the former disaster, and having rebuilt the city, it was again destroyed by the Crotoniatæ. But after an interval of six years, the Athenians sent thither a colony, and gave to the city the name of Thurium. Diodorus Siculus fixes this event under the archontate of Callimachus<sup>9</sup>. We must therefore place the destruction of Sybaris in the year 4204 of the Julian period, 510 years before our era. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who fixes the foundation of Thurium<sup>1</sup> two years later, appears to me more likely to be in the right, as Lysias, who was then but fifteen years old, and Herodotus, who was forty, were among the colonists. It will therefore follow that the destruction of Sybaris by the Crotoniatæ took place in the year 4207 of the Julian period, 507 years before the vulgar era.

66. Τῶν Ἰαμιδέων. *The Iamidæ.* Iamus was a soothsayer of Elea, son of Apollo<sup>2</sup> and Evadne, who was the daughter of Neptune and Pitane<sup>3</sup>, daughter of the river Eurotas. Apollo<sup>4</sup> granted the gift of divination to him and all his descendants, who were called Iamidæ<sup>5</sup>.

67. Παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν. *Near the torrent Crathis.* Near the dry Crathis. It was so called, because it was dry during one part of the year. The ancient glossary, which we find in the Appendix to Stephens's Thesaurus, explains ξηροπόταμος by 'torrens.' This has determined me to give the same signification to ξηρὸς Κράθις.

The water of this torrent, according to Strabo<sup>6</sup>, whitened or rendered flaxen the hair of those who bathed in it. Ovid asserts the same thing<sup>7</sup>.

Crathis, et huic Sybaris nostris conterminus arvis,  
Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos.

It is for this reason, probably, that Euripides gives to the Crathis the

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xc. p. 472.

<sup>9</sup> Id. XII. x. p. 484.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. in Lysiâ, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar. Olymp. Od. VI. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. VI. ii. p. 455.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, VI. p. 404, B.

<sup>7</sup> Ovid. Metamorph. XV. 315.

epithet of flaxen<sup>8</sup>. "Which is watered by the beautiful Crathis, sparkling in the brilliancy of its flaxen hair."

This fable probably had its origin in the circumstance of this torrent carrying with it part of the soil it passed through, and so becoming white or yellow, according to the nature of that soil.

68. Ἐξάιρετα. *Select lands.* Ἐξάιρετα in the Greek : which, in my opinion, is a certain portion of land selected and set apart for the purpose of rewarding any noble action or important service. Homer calls this portion of land, the recompense of heroes, τέμενος. The term ἐνέμοντο, which occurs in the next line, and which necessarily relates to the culture of the earth, is decisive in favour of the sense which I have adopted.

69. Πάρεστι ὁκοτέροισι τις πείθεται ἀντέων, τούτοις προσχωρεῖν. *Every one may adopt whichever opinion, &c.* Though Herodotus leaves his readers to choose between the traditions of the Sybarites and the Crotoniatæ, he appears himself to lean to the latter. In fact, he himself says, (xlvii.) that Philip of Crotona perished with Dorieus. If Dorieus had been killed in Magna Græcia, Philip must have perished there likewise, and the inhabitants of Ægesta would not have had his tomb among them. He followed Dorieus, Thessalus, &c. into Sicily, and was killed in an action, from which Euryleon<sup>9</sup> was the only one who escaped. See also VII. cxlviii. and ccv. where it is clearly expressed that Dorieus was killed in Sicily.

Perhaps the Crotoniatæ thought it derogated from their glory, to pay to Dorieus the honours which were his due; and they might be the more disposed to withhold them, as no one had the right of punishing them for so doing. Besides, by rendering great honours to Callias the soothsayer, they considered that they did all that religion required of them, or that was necessary to propitiate the gods.

XLVI. 70. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεῖ καὶ ἄλλοι. *Others too sailed with Dorieus.* There were doubtless many others; Pausanias<sup>1</sup> names amongst them the hero Athenæus, to whom a temple was erected at Lacedæmon.

71. Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν. *The altar of the Agoræan Jupiter.* The altar of this god was on the place called ἀγορά, where the people assembled to deliberate on the national affairs. Ἡ βουλευτικὴ ἀγορά<sup>2</sup>. And hence the surname of Agoræan, given to Jupiter.

XLVII. 72. Ὀλυμπιονίκης. *He had obtained the prize at the Olympic games.* It is not known in what Olympiad Philip the son of Butacides gained the prize, but it must have been between the 64th and the 67th. He joined Dorieus in the 68th : and he must then have

<sup>8</sup> Eurip. in Troad. 226.

<sup>9</sup> Herod. V. xlvī.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. III. xvi. p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. A. p. 45, lin. 11.

been forty years old, and must have gained the prize in the course of the sixteen preceding years: it could not be further back, as his age would not admit it.

XLVIII. 73. Γοργώ. *Gorgo*. She married<sup>3</sup> Leonidas. When<sup>4</sup> that prince quitted her to take his post at the pass of Thermopylæ, Gorgo having inquired what were his orders—"Marry a worthy man, and become a mother of brave citizens," was his answer; which shows that he expected to fall there. This princess was remarkably virtuous, and is one of those women proposed by Plutarch<sup>5</sup> as a model for Eurydice.

XLIX. 74. Χάλκεον πίνακα, ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδος ἐνετέμνητο. *A plate of copper, on which was engraved the circuit of the whole earth.* This is a very remote epoch for geographical charts, at least in Greece, as the voyage of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon must have been in the first year of the 69th Olympiad, 504 years before the vulgar era. They must have been then rather common, too, as Anaximander had made them 71 years before; for we know that he flourished 575 years before our era. It is Strabo who informs us<sup>6</sup>, on the authority of Eratosthenes, that Anaximander, who had been a disciple of Thales, was the first who published a geographical chart. The testimony of Eratosthenes is confirmed by that of Diogenes Laërtius<sup>7</sup>. We must not, however, fancy that these charts came near to ours in point of perfection.

Geographical maps were much more ancient in Egypt, and we may presume that this was one of the branches of knowledge which the Greeks acquired in that country. Sesostris left with the colony which he had established at Colchis<sup>8</sup> geographical tables, in which were marked the routes and the distances between Egypt and other known countries, that the colonies might be able to maintain a correspondence with their metropolis. The use of such charts was known in Egypt long before the reign of Sesostris. We learn, indeed, from the Scriptures<sup>9</sup>, that Joshua sent three men of each tribe to examine the land of promise, and to bring him a description of it on a scroll. These Hebrews could have learned this science no where but in Egypt. If we might rely on St. Clement of Alexandria, we should date this knowledge much farther back. This father of the Church informs us<sup>1</sup>, that the ministers of the Egyptian religion carried in their processions the works attributed to Thoth; that among these works were four which formed a complete body of geography. The first was a Cosmography

<sup>3</sup> Herod. VII. ccxxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Lacon. Apophth. p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Conjugalium Præcepta, p. 145, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, I. p. 13, c.

<sup>7</sup> Diog. Laërt. II. ii. p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Apoll. Rhod. IV. p. 272, et Schol.

<sup>9</sup> Joshua xviii. 4—9.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. VI. iv. p. 757.

or description of the universe, the second a Geography or description of the earth, the third a Chorography or particular description of Egypt, and the fourth contained a description of the Nile and of the different canals which with the waters of that river conveyed fertility into the different provinces of Egypt.

75. Τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχεία. *Bows and short spears.* Valla, Brisson<sup>2</sup>, and Stanley<sup>3</sup> have concluded from this description of Herodotus, that the bows of the Persians were small. But βραχεία refers only to αἰχμὴ, as Gronovius has pointed out in his notes. See also Hutchinson on the Anabasis<sup>4</sup>, where Xenophon expressly says, that the Persians used long bows. M. Wesseling likewise makes the same remark. [Βραχεία is for βραχέη, which is Ionic for Βραχεῖα.]

76. Ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες. *Wearing trowsers.* These anaxyrides were a species of large trowsers which came down to the ground. Strabo<sup>5</sup> attributes them to the Belgians, and Diodorus Siculus<sup>6</sup> to the Gauls, who called them 'braies.' Ἀς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν<sup>7</sup>.

77. Κυρβασίας. *And tiaras.* This word, which also signifies the crest of a cock, is used to express the tiara of the Persians. "Images," says Demetrius Phalereus<sup>8</sup>, "are agreeable; as for instance, if you compare the cock to the king of Persia, because that bird bears his crest erect." The kings wore the tiara upright.

78. Πολυαργυρώτατοι. *Rich in silver.* I have elsewhere spoken of the greater part of the offerings of Cræsus to the temple at Delphi<sup>9</sup>. They were all works in gold, and amounted to nearly a million sterling. It seems, therefore, surprising that the people who were under his dominion should pay their tribute to Darius in silver only; and not less so, that in the enumeration made by Aristagoras of the riches of Lydia, he mentions its silver, and not its gold.

LI. 79. Ἑσελθὼν δὲ εἴσω. *Going straight to the hearth (or fireplace).* In the Greek, 'entering into the interior of the house.' Supplicants always approached the hearth. This custom has been already explained; (I. xxxv.) and I have thought it best to use an expression in conformity with it.

LII. 80. Σταθμοί. *Stathmi.* These stathmi, stages, or royal station-houses, probably served likewise for the accommodation of travellers. We know that hospitality has at all times been practised in the East, and that at the present day, on all the public roads, there are spacious and commodious edifices where travellers and their attendants are lodged, free of expense. They are called caravanserais.

<sup>2</sup> De Princ. Pers. III. xvii. p. 648.

<sup>3</sup> Ad Æschyl. Pers. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Cyri Anab. III. p. 239, ed. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, IV. p. 300, A.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. V. xxx. vol. i. p. 353.

<sup>7</sup> See Scaliger on Propertius, IV. El. xi. p. 626. edit. Variorum.

<sup>8</sup> De Elocutione, clxi. p. 112.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 93. bk. I.



81. Σταθμοὶ εἴκοσι. *Twenty stages.* The number of these royal houses does not always answer to the number of parasangs. Sometimes there are more than five parasangs between the stages, and sometimes scarcely four. M. De la Barre<sup>1</sup> supposes that if there were fewer of these edifices in Lydia and in Phrygia, it was because in those delightful countries, where there were no hills to ascend and descend, travelling was more easy and expeditious. But were this reason valid, the stathmi ought to be much more numerous in mountains and difficult countries, such as Cilicia; the contrary, however, is the case, as the following table will show:—

*On the road from Sardis to Susa, are 111 stages with royal houses, and 450 parasangs.*

	Stages.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia . . . . .	20	94½
In Cappadocia . . . . .	28	104
In Cilicia . . . . .	3	15½
In Armenia . . . . .	15	56½
In Matiena . . . . .	4	
In Cissia . . . . .	11	42½

The separate numbers of the stages do not amount to 111, but only to 81: neither do the parasangs amount to 450, but only to 313.

Now there must certainly be an error either in the total number of royal houses and of parasangs, or in the particular numbers assigned to the different districts. It cannot be in the total. Aristagoras had just said that it required three months, or ninety days, to travel from Sardis to Susa; according to Herodotus, (V. liii.) the day's journey was 150 stadia. If we multiply these by 90, the number of days employed in the journey, we shall have 13,500 stadia.

Herodotus counts also 450 parasangs, which being multiplied by 30, the number of stadia, according to the same author, contained in the parasang, we have equally 13,500 stadia.

The error must therefore be in the particular numbers. M. De la Barre suspects<sup>2</sup> that it is only in the number of royal houses in Matiena, and the number of parasangs in that province. It is certain that there is a palpable error in this place, and that the copyists have omitted to insert the number of parasangs in that country. But if with M. De la Barre we alter the number of royal houses to 34, and supply 137 as the number of parasangs, we are stretching out a very small district to an immense extent. I am rather inclined to think that these particular numbers are for the most part erroneous; but in the absence of good MSS. or of any other adequate means of information as to the extent of these provinces, it would be hazardous to decide on the point.

<sup>1</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. VIII. p. 343.      <sup>2</sup> Ibid.

82. Πύλαι τε ἔπεισι. *There are gates.* M. De la Barre has translated this passage<sup>3</sup>: "On leaving Phrygia, we encounter the Halys, on the borders of which there are gates, that is to say a rocky defile, which must necessarily be passed before we can cross that river, where there is a considerable military post." The name of 'gates,' sometimes given to mountain defiles, here refers to actual gates constructed on a bridge. Perhaps, too, there were flood-gates, which could be opened and shut at pleasure, and which are described by the words πύλαι ποταμῶν. An example has occurred in III. cxvii.<sup>4</sup>

83. Διέας τε πύλας. *Two defiles.* The Greeks called these narrow passes 'gates,' πύλαι. The Latins have adopted this term into their language. Quintus Curtius, in speaking of these very defiles of Cilicia, says<sup>5</sup>, "Pylas incolæ dicunt; arctissimas fauces; munimenta quæ manu ponimus naturali situ imitante." Mr. Bruce, who pretends to an intimate acquaintance<sup>6</sup> with the Greek, affirms that Philæ<sup>7</sup>, an island a little above Elephantina, is a Latin term, signifying a narrow passage. By this, he seems to be no better acquainted with the Latin than with the Greek. It is evident he has confounded the name of that island with the Greek word 'pylæ,' signifying the defiles of a mountain. The name Philæ, however, is neither Greek nor Latin; its signification should be sought in the ancient Egyptian. [The Egyptian name Philakh means 'the break,' that is 'the limit,' or perhaps 'the cataract.']

84. Πρῶτος. *The first.* That is, the first of the two rivers which bear the same name, and the second of the four; the other is the third. Herodotus does not mention the names of them.

85. 'Ο δ' ὕστερον, ἐκ Ματινηῶν. *And the other from the country of the Matieni.* Cornelius De Pauw reads οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ Ματινηῶν: 'The two others come from amongst the Matieni.' M. Wesseling approves this reading; but it appears to me to imply that the three rivers were all called Tigris. For my part, I think the text of Herodotus is perfectly clear, and needs no correction. Herodotus speaks of four rivers; the first was called Tigris. He gives us the name neither of the second nor of the third, but tells us that they had but one name in common, but not the same as the first. The first of these two latter rivers had its source in Armenia, and the second, as well as the Gyndes, in the country of the Matieni.

I had conjectured, from the following passage of Pliny, that the two names which Herodotus omits, were the Parthenias and the Nicephorion: "Tigris autem<sup>8</sup> ex Armeniâ, acceptis fluminibus claris Partheniâ ac Nicephorione, Arabas Oreos, Adiabenosque distermians." We should then have to prove that the Parthenias and the Nicephorion formerly bore the same name, and that the one had its source in

<sup>3</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. XIX. p. 551.

<sup>4</sup> See also Bochart. Phaleg, IV. xix. col. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Quint. Curt. III. iv. § ii. p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Travels, &c. vol. I. Intro. p. xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. bk. I. ch. iv.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxvii. p. 333.

Armenia, and the other in Matiena. The Parthenias seems to me to be the same with the Parthenius mentioned by Xenophon in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, as well as by several other authors. Strabo<sup>9</sup>, however, asserts that the Parthenius had its source in Paphlagonia. Now this circumstance agrees with neither of the rivers mentioned by Herodotus. After having bestowed considerable attention on the point, I am inclined to conclude, that the first of these two rivers is the Zabatus of Xenophon<sup>10</sup>, and the second the Zabatus Minor. Professor Michaëlis proves<sup>1</sup> that the first of these rivers was, by the Greeks, called Lycus (wolf), and that the name given to it by the Hebrews and the Syrians in their respective languages, signifies the same thing; the second was called Zabatus Minor. They were also called Zabas Major [now the Zab], and Zabas Minor [the Altun-su].

LIII. 86. Τὰ βασιλήϊα τὰ Μεμνόνια. *The royal palace of Memnon.* "It is said" that this city (Susa) was built by Tithonus, father of Memnon. It is 120 stadia in circumference, and of an oblong form; its citadel was called Memnonium."

Herodotus also (lv.) calls Susa the city of Memnon.

87. Ἀπαρτί. *Precisely.* This word comes from ἄρτιος, which signifies 'full,' 'entire;' ἄρτιος λόγος, an even, as opposed to an uneven number. Hence ἡμέραι ἀπαρτί ἐννενήκοντα signifies 90 complete days, neither more nor less.

LV. 88. Ὅψιν ἐνυπνίου ἐναργεστάτην. *A very clear vision of his misfortunes.* Ὀνειρος ἐναργής, an intelligible dream, or, as Herodotus expresses it, ὄψις ἐνυπνίου ἐναργεστάτη, a very clear vision; that is to say, that Hipparchus clearly saw in a dream the misfortune that awaited him.

The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain announcement of what was to happen, or that the effects of it were to be turned aside only by certain expiatory ceremonies, as we see in the Electra<sup>3</sup> of Sophocles and elsewhere. The proper term for designating this kind of dream is ἐναργής, distinct, manifest. Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persæ, puts into the mouth of Atossa, the widow of Darius, this<sup>4</sup> verse:

Ἄλλ' οὐ τι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμεν  
ὥς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης.

'But I never before had dreams so vivid as that of last night.' Plato, in the dialogue entitled Crito<sup>5</sup>, has: ὥς ἄτοπον τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὃ Σώκρατες. ΣΩ. Ἐναργὲς μὲν οὖν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. 'How absurd this dream is, Socrates. SOCR. It appears to me very clear.'

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, XII. p. 818, c.

<sup>10</sup> Exped. Cyri II. v.; III. iii.

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Michaelis Spicilegium Geogr. Hebr. p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XV. p. 1058, c.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 424 et seq., 636 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Æsch. Persæ, 179.

<sup>5</sup> Plato in Critone, p. 44, B.

I could cite abundant examples of this form of speech; but that would be superfluous, and perhaps to some even this remark will appear so. I have nevertheless thought proper to make it, because M. Wyttenbach, a critic of the first order, proposes to<sup>6</sup> read ἐμφερεσάτην instead of ἐναργεσάτην, without assigning any reason for the change. I think however I have discovered his motive for so doing. He has thought that the dative τῷ ἐωυτοῦ πάθει could not depend on ἐναργεσάτην. This use of the dative, however, is very common, although at the moment I do not recollect an example. Ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἐωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεσάτην is for ἐναργεσάτην ἐς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ πάθος. 'Qui somnium viderat quo manifestissimè futura clades illi portendebatur,' or 'manifestissimum portendendæ futuræ cladi.'

89. Κτείνουσι. *They kill him.* Hipparchus was killed in the third year of the 66th Olympiad<sup>7</sup>. . At the time when he was killed<sup>8</sup>, he was in possession of the government, according to the most prévalent opinion among the Athenians. Thucydides, however, expressly contradicts this. He asserts that Hippias<sup>9</sup> was tyrant at the time, and that Hipparchus, being his younger brother, could not hold the office. He proves that Hippias was the eldest. 1. Because he was the only one of the<sup>1</sup> legitimate brothers who had children. But younger brothers are frequently married before their elders, and the elder brothers as often do not marry at all. Besides, how many women are there who are either wholly barren, or do not bear children till several years after their marriage, as was the case with the first wife of Alexandrides, king of Lacedæmon<sup>2</sup>? 2. Because he is named the next after his father on the column; and with reason, adds the same historian, because he was the eldest, and had held the office of tyrant. But these columns, which stood in the citadel, were, according to this same Thucydides, a monument of the unjust dominion of the tyrants. The Athenians inscribed the name of Hippias first, because he was pre-eminent in cruelty, and not because he was the eldest. The government of Hipparchus was mild, and the fault laid to his charge was only the insult offered to Harmodius<sup>3</sup>. 3. If Hipparchus, continues Thucydides, had been tyrant at the time when he was assassinated, it would not have been easy for Hippias to succeed immediately to the tyranny. But to this we may answer, that Hippias was a shrewd man, and when he heard of his brother's death, he carefully concealed it, retiring to those who conducted the armed procession, and commanding them to repair, without arms, to a place which he pointed out. They repaired thither, imagining that he had something to communicate to them; and in the mean time, having ordered the troops in his pay to seize on the arms, he

<sup>6</sup> In notis ad Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Corsini, Fast. Att. vol. III. p. 123.

<sup>8</sup> Plato in Hipparcho, vol. II. p. 229, B.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. I. xx. p. 16, et VI. liv. lv.

pp. 411, 412.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. VI. lv. p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. V. xli.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. VI. liv.

arrested all those whom he suspected, or who were armed with poniards. It is from Thucydides himself that we have all these particulars, which show how prudent were the measures adopted by Hippias to secure to himself the tyranny on the death of Hipparchus<sup>4</sup>.

Plato likewise, who was as well acquainted with the history of his country as Thucydides, positively says<sup>5</sup>, that Hipparchus was the eldest of the children of Pisistratus. Ἰππάρχῳ, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος.

90. Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος. *Aristogiton and Harmodius*. The ancestors<sup>6</sup> of Aristogiton and Harmodius were Gephyreans. The Gephyreans formed a part of those people who followed Cadmus into Boeotia, where they established themselves in the province denominated Tanagra. Having been driven thence by the Boeotians, they retired to Athens, where, on certain conditions, they were admitted to the rights of citizenship.

If we may believe Thucydides<sup>7</sup>, Aristogiton, a man of mean condition, loved Harmodius, who was then in the flower of his youth. Hipparchus, who also loved Harmodius, endeavoured to gain his favour; but the latter, so far from yielding to the passion of the tyrant, disclosed it to his friend Aristogiton, and concerted with him the means of getting rid of his rival. Their project was executed during the festival of the Panathenæa.

Harmodius<sup>8</sup> was killed on the spot. Aristogiton escaped through the guards; but being hemmed in by the people, he was taken and put to the torture. Instead, however<sup>9</sup>, of denouncing his accomplices, he accused all the friends of the tyrant, and especially those who felt the strongest interest for his safety; and Hippias having put them to death, he then rallied him for giving in to so simple a stratagem. Others say<sup>1</sup>, that after the friends of the tyrant had been put to death, Aristogiton pretended to have something to communicate to him in secret; and when Hippias approached him, he seized hold of his ear with his teeth, and would not let go till he had entirely severed it.

I must not omit, that Hippias condemned to a death of torture the courtesan Læna, who was beloved by Harmodius. As she was apprehensive that the excruciating agony might force her<sup>2</sup> to betray her friends, she previously bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in order to honour<sup>3</sup> her memory, placed in the vestibule of the citadel the statue of a lioness without a tongue. I shall take this opportunity of correcting the text of Polyænus, from whom I borrow the circumstance. Αὐτὴν (τὴν Λέαιναν) μὲν οὐκ ἔστησαν ἐν ἀκροπόλει· τὸ δὲ ζῶον τὴν Λέαιναν χαλκὴν δημιουργήσαντες, ἀνέθηκαν. By which Polyænus is

<sup>4</sup> See Meursius, in Pisistrato, xi.

<sup>5</sup> In Hipparcho, vol. II. p. 228, B.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. V. lxii.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. VI. liv. p. 411.

<sup>8</sup> Id. VI. lvii. p. 414.

<sup>9</sup> Polyæni Strateg. I. xxii. p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laërt. in Zenone, IX. xxvi. p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> Polyæni Strateg. VIII. xlv. p. 790.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. Plutarch. de Garrulitate, p. 505, F.

made to say, that this statue was not placed in the citadel, as if the Propylæe did not form a part of it. By placing ἐν ἀκροπόλει after ἀνέθηκαν, the negation no longer falls on ἐν ἀκροπόλει, and the whole passage will signify, 'They did not erect in honour of Leæna a bronze statue in her own likeness, but under the emblem of a lioness, which they consecrated in the citadel.'

We have seen that the love which Hipparchus conceived for Harmodius was the primary cause of that tyrant's death. Thucydides<sup>4</sup> adds, that Hipparchus, piqued by the refusal of that youth, offered to his sister the gross affront of withdrawing her from a procession in which she was carrying a sacred basket; that Harmodius, indignant at the insult, concerted with Aristogiton the means of revenging it. But Plato assures us, that this was merely a popular report. "The most enlightened and polished people<sup>5</sup> in Athens," says that philosopher, "are of opinion that Hipparchus was killed, not for the reason supposed by the vulgar, I mean the affront he offered to the sister of Harmodius, who was one of the Canephoræ, but for the following reason: Harmodius became attached to a young man of agreeable person, and of illustrious birth. For a long time this young man admired Harmodius and Aristogiton, and looked on them as sages; but afterwards by associating with Hipparchus, he came to despise them. Harmodius and Aristogiton, irritated by this affront, killed Hipparchus."

The love which united these two young people, was of a virtuous kind; and Æschines observes, that a wise and laudable affection for each other had so improved<sup>6</sup> those benefactors of their country, that all the praises bestowed on them were far beneath their merit.

Although Thucydides has endeavoured to tarnish the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton, by imputing the murder of the tyrant to a motive widely different from the love of liberty, their contemporaries and posterity did them greater justice. They were buried by the side of the path which leads to the Academy, and their monument existed in the time of Pausanias<sup>7</sup>.

Their actions, according<sup>8</sup> to Simonides, gave light and safety to Athens: for in that author, as well as in Homer, φῶς signifies safety. The Athenians erected statues to them, says Pliny<sup>9</sup>, in the same year that kings were driven from Rome, that is to say, the fourth year of the 67th Olympiad. These statues were of bronze<sup>1</sup>; and this puts me in mind of a saying of Antiphon, which I think Plutarch was wrong in blaming. When it was asked, in presence of Dionysius the tyrant, which was the best bronze? "That," answered Antiphon<sup>2</sup>, "of which

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. VI. lvi. p. 413.

<sup>5</sup> Plato in Hipparcho, vol. II. p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Æsch. in Timarch. p. 280, c. 281, d.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. I. xix. pp. 71. 74, lin. ult. p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> Hephæst. de Metris, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. XXXIV. iv. vol. 11. p. 642.

<sup>1</sup> Χαλκὴν εἰκόνα, ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἔστησαν πρῶτον. Demosth. contra Leptinem, p. 292. 112, et ex edit. Taylor. vol. III. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Adulat. et Amici Discrimine, p. 68, A.



the Athenians made the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton." This Antiphon was not the orator, (as has been asserted by Philostratus<sup>3</sup>, by the Pseudo-Plutarch<sup>4</sup> in his life of Antiphon, and by Photius<sup>5</sup>, or rather by those from whom Photius borrows,) but the tragic author, who was posterior to the orator. The statues, together with those of Hercules and Theseus, were placed near the temple of Mars<sup>6</sup>, and to these were afterwards added statues of the legislator Calades<sup>7</sup> and of the orator Demosthenes. Xerxes having taken Athens, carried away the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton<sup>8</sup>, but others were afterwards made. The first were the work of Antenor; the others of Critias, surnamed<sup>9</sup> Nesiotes, to distinguish him from Critias the Athenian statuary. Antiochus sent back the originals to the Athenians. Valerius Maximus<sup>1</sup> says that it was Seleucus; but Pliny the naturalist<sup>2</sup> affirms that it was Alexander, and in this he is supported by Arrian. "These statues," says that historian<sup>3</sup>, "are still in the Ceramicus, as you ascend to the citadel, very nearly opposite to the temple of the Mother of the gods, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi, which all those who have been initiated into the mysteries of the goddesses at Eleusis, know to be in the Portico."

Valerius Maximus, at the place above cited, adds, that when these statues arrived at Rhodes, they rendered to them divine honours; and we learn from Hermogenes<sup>4</sup>, that the building which contained them was considered, like the temples, as an asylum or place of refuge, so deeply was the love of liberty engraven in the hearts of the Greeks.

According to the Chronicle of Paros, statues were not erected to these heroes previous to the fourth year of the 77th Olympiad. But this

<sup>3</sup> Philost. in. Vitâ Antiphontis, p. 500.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch. in Vitâ Antiph. p. 833, B.

<sup>5</sup> Photius, Cod. cclix. p. 1453.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. I. viii. p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> This legislator is unknown to me. The Abbé Gedoyn, (vol. I. of his translation of Pausanias, p. 27.) would have us read Calliades, because, says he, Calades was a painter mentioned by Pliny, Calliades was an archon in the year of the irruption of the Persians into Attica. But his having been an archon, does not prove that he was a legislator. If any alteration were necessary, I should be more inclined to read Callisthenes, who is enumerated by Themistius, (Orat. XXIII. p. 287, c.) amongst the legislators; but I think any change superfluous. We know that every year nine archons were elected. The first was called Archon-Eponymus; the second, the King; the third, the Polemarchus; and the six others, the Thesmothetæ or Legislators. The name of the Archon-Eponymus is almost invariably preserved with care, because he gave name to the

year; those of the King and the Polemarchus but rarely, and on particular occasions; and those of the Thesmothetæ or Legislators scarcely ever. I suspect this Calades to have been one of these Thesmothetæ who had distinguished himself during his archontate. See the second argument of the Oration of Demosthenes against Androtion, p. 380.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. I. viii. p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. l. l. Lucian. in Philopseudes, xviii. vol. III. p. 46; Plin. H. N. XXXIV. viii. vol. II. p. 648. In the three editions of Pliny which I have consulted, there is 'Critias Nestocles.' Junius had corrected, 'Critias Nesiotes.' It is very surprising that the learned Father Hardouin should not have consulted this latter writer.

<sup>1</sup> Valer. Max. II. x. Extern. I. p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. H. N. XXXIV. viii. vol. II. p. 654.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian. de Exp. Alex. III. xvi. p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> Hermog. Ars Rhetorica, p. 20.



refers to those which were erected after the total defeat of the Persians, who had taken away the former ones. The first statues were, as I have before observed, the work of Antenor<sup>5</sup>; and the second, that of Critias. Praxiteles also made two of bronze. “Praxiteles<sup>6</sup> quoque marmore felicior, ideo et clarior fuit. Fecit tamen et ex ære pulcherrima opera . . . . . Harmodium et Aristogitonem tyrannicidas.” But this author is wrong in adding, that these were the statues which Xerxes carried off.

It should seem, that it was to these statues Lycurgus alluded in his oration against Leocrates. “In the rest of Greece,” says he<sup>7</sup>, “you will find statues erected in the public places to the conquerors in the games; but amongst you, they are dedicated only to good generals, and those who have destroyed tyrants.”

The names of these heroic citizens were soon in the mouths of every body; and songs were sung in honour of them at table, the singers holding branches of myrtle in their hands. Athenæus has preserved to us one of them<sup>8</sup>, of which the reader will perhaps not be displeased to see a translation.

“Encompassed by branches of myrtle, I will carry a sword, as did Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they killed the tyrant, and restored the isonomia to Athens.

“Happy Harmodius! no, thou art not yet dead; ’tis said thou art in the isles of the blessed with the light-footed Achilles, and Diomedes the son of Tydeus.

“Amidst branches of myrtle will I carry a sword, as did Harmodius and Aristogiton, when they killed the tyrant Hipparchus at the festival of the Panathenæa.

“Your glory shall never perish, happy Harmodius and Aristogiton, because you have destroyed the tyrant, and restored the isonomia in Athens.”

The isonomia mentioned in the last verse, means the equal distribution of justice. In the first verse we find, *Ἐν μύρτου κλάδι*. The poets often indulged in metaplasms. *Κλάδι* is for *κλάδω*, and comes from *κλᾶς*, *κλαδός*. We find in Hesychius *κλάδα*, *κλάδον*, *ράβδον*. See also Salmasius, ad *Dedicationem Statuæ Regillæ*, p. 115. In the seventh verse, Achilles is placed in the isles of the blessed. Pindar had said<sup>9</sup>, before Callistratus, that Thetis had conveyed her son Achilles to those islands. As to Diomedes, who is mentioned in the verse, Minerva rendered him immortal, as we find in Pindar<sup>1</sup>, and the historians, as is remarked by the scholiast of that poet, have no where spoken of his death.

This song is attributed by some to Alcæus; but he died long before

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. viii. p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. H. N. XXXIV. viii. vol. II. A, B.  
pp. 653, 654.

<sup>7</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XV. xv. p. 695,

<sup>9</sup> Olymp. II. 143.

<sup>1</sup> Nem. X. 12.

Hipparchus : Hesychius, under the word *Ἀρμοδίου μέλος*, informs us that it is from the pen of Callistratus. This song was so popular at Athens, that it was the custom to sing it at all entertainments. Thus the Chorus of the Acharnenses, in which War is personified, says<sup>2</sup>: “I will no more receive Mars into my house; he shall never again sing there the song of Harmodius.” Antiphanes<sup>3</sup>, in his piece entitled *Ἀγροικοί*, says :

*Ἀρμόδιος ἐκαλεῖτο, Παιὰν ἦδετο,  
Μεγάλην Διὸς σωτῆρος ἄκατον ἤρέ τις.*

‘They demanded the song of Harmodius, the Pæan was sung; some one took the great drinking-cup of Jupiter Salvator.’ This was the cup which was drained in honour of that god.

The scholiast of Aristophanes quotes the commencement of this song in his remarks on the verses of the Acharnenses above cited, as does Suidas, under the words *οὐδέ ποτ’ ἐγὼ* and *παροίνιος*: but the latter contents himself with transcribing from the scholiast of Aristophanes. A thousand authors allude to this song. Aristophanes, in the piece entitled *Lysistratus*, makes the chorus of old men say, speaking of the women who have seized the citadel, and who were suspected of an intention to assume to themselves the sovereignty<sup>4</sup>: “Never shall they govern me; I will be on my guard, and henceforward carry a sword concealed in branches of myrtle.”

If we are to believe Bergler, this author twists the sense of this verse so as to make an obscene allusion; ‘myrtus’ in Greek signifying the ‘pudenda’ of women, as we find in verse 1004 of the same comedy; but we shall do better to rely on M. Brunck, whose edition is decidedly the best that has yet appeared.

Cicero appears to allude to this song, when in his oration for Milo he says<sup>5</sup>: “Græci homines deorum honores tribuunt iis viris, qui tyrannos necaverunt. Quæ ego vidi Athenis? quæ aliis in urbibus Græciæ? quas res divinas talibus institutas viris? quos cantus? quæ carmina? propè ad immortalitatem et religionem et memoriam consecrantur.”

From this song, we may infer that those who assisted at the sacrifices of Minerva carried branches of myrtle, and that the conspirators had concealed their poniards in twigs of that shrub. And hence doubtless arose the custom of every one who sang a song at a repast, holding in his hand a branch of myrtle<sup>6</sup>. It was then passed on to the next. This branch of myrtle was called *αἶσακος* and so I think we must read in Plutarch, and not *ἄσακόν*, which gives no meaning. This word signifies also a branch of laurel. We read in Hesychius, *Αἶσακος· ὁ τῆς δάφνης*

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. Acharn. 979, ex edit. Brunck.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XV. xiv. p. 692, F.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. Lysistrat. 631.

<sup>5</sup> Cicer. Orat. pro Milone, xvi.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. Quæst. p. 615.

κλάδος, ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνουσιν τοὺς θεούς: 'The *Æsacus* is a branch of laurel held by those who sang the praises of the gods.' The *Etymologicum Magnum* says the same thing. See the commentators on *Hesychius* on this word, p. 171.

The descendants of these devoted patriots were maintained in the *Prytaneum*<sup>7</sup>, at the public expense, and they were exempted from all public offices which required large expenditure. We find this from the harangue of *Demosthenes* against *Leptines*<sup>8</sup>; when the latter proposed to abrogate these exemptions, which had become very burdensome to the state from their multiplicity, he expressly excepted the descendants of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, μηδένα<sup>9</sup> εἶναι ἀτελεῖν πλὴν τῶν ἀφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος.

It was for the purpose of inciting men to imitate the example of these patriots, that after the expulsion of the tyrants the following law was established, which the people in general, and each individual in particular, swore to observe and keep: "It has pleased the senate<sup>1</sup> and the people, it being the turn of the tribe of *Æantis* to preside, *Cleogenes* being secretary, and *Boethus* epistates, upon the proposal of *Demophantus*, to decree, that if any one destroy the democracy established at Athens, or if, the democracy being destroyed, any one attempt to exercise any authority there, he is the enemy of the Athenians; that he may be put to death with impunity, his property be confiscated to the state, and a tenth of it adjudged to *Minerva*. He who shall have killed the offender, and he who shall have counselled him to do it, shall be considered as sacred and inviolable: and in all solemn sacrifices the Athenians in tribes and in townships shall swear to kill the author of such crimes; and the oath shall be in the following terms:—I will with this hand put to death, if I am able, the individual who shall destroy the democracy established at Athens; and if, the democracy being destroyed, any one shall afterwards exercise any magistracy, shall become tyrant, or shall establish any tyrant, and if any one shall kill him,—by the gods and the genii, I will look on that man as sacred, for having killed an enemy of Athens: and having sold all the effects of him so slain, I will give one half to the murderer, either orally or by writing, and will in no wise withhold it from him. Should any one perish in killing the tyrant, or in attempting to do so, I will load him with benefits, both himself and his posterity, as I have done by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* and their posterity. All oaths contrary to the interests of the people at Athens, whether made at Athens, in the camp, or elsewhere, I recall and declare void."

*Andocides* has preserved to us this law in his harangue on the *Mysteries*. It was inscribed on the column which stood in front of the

<sup>7</sup> *Dinarch.* contra *Demosthen.* p. 103.

<sup>1</sup> *Andocides*, de *Mysteriis*, p. 13, vel

<sup>8</sup> *Demosth. advers. Leptin.* p. 282. 53. p. 47, ex editione *Reiskii*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

place where the senate of Five Hundred assembled, as we learn from this same Andocides, p. 12.

The family of Harmodius shared the fate of things mortal, and in the course of time degenerated like all others. Antiphon<sup>2</sup>, who was descended from it, having been condemned, most likely for the crime of treason, by the senate of the Areopagus, was thrown into prison, and, after being tortured, was put to death. I imagine it is to this Antiphon that Demosthenes alludes, when he says<sup>3</sup>: "The descendants of that Harmodius and of that Aristogiton who had procured you the greatest of blessings, and to whom the law had, in gratitude, ascribed in all your temples, honours, sacrifices, libations, and vases, and who were celebrated in songs and eulogized as gods and heroes, have they not experienced the rigour of the law, whilst their weeping children, bearing the same honoured names, were unable to excite our compassion, induce us to pardon them, or grant them the slightest favour?"

The saying of Iphicrates is generally known. A descendant<sup>4</sup> of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproaching that great man with the meanness of his extraction, "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "begins with me; and yours ends in you."

The love of liberty was so lively and predominating a sentiment with the Athenians, that even at a time when they scarcely possessed the shadow of it, they abandoned to the rigour of the laws those who would destroy the democratic government. Phrynichus<sup>5</sup> having been killed by Apollodorus and Thrasybulus, and these having been arrested and examined by the people, they proved that Phrynichus was a traitor. They were immediately released, and the people, by the advice of Critias, decreed, that a process should be instituted against the deceased, and if he were found guilty, that his body should be disinterred and carried out of Attica, that the country might not enclose in its bosom the bones of a traitor. There was a law, indeed, in Athens<sup>6</sup>, which denied the rites of burial to traitors. A process was commenced against them, though dead, and, if condemned, they were not allowed to be buried in Attica, and their property was confiscated for the benefit of the state. Phrynichus was a member of the Council of Four Hundred, established by the Lacedæmonians. The people also put to death Aristarchus and Alexicles, who had defended him, and would not permit them to be buried in the country. Hipparchus<sup>7</sup> was condemned to death on the same account; but having escaped, his statue in the citadel was thrown down, melted, and a column made of the materials,

<sup>2</sup> Dinarch. contra Demosthen. p. 98. lin. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. de Fals. Leg. pp. 260. 512.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Apophthegm. p. 187, B.

<sup>5</sup> Lycurg. adv. Leocrat. p. 163. lin. ult.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. Hist. Hell. I. vii. § x. p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Lycurg. advers. Leocrat. p. 164. lin. 26. This Hipparchus was the son of Timarchus, (as we find from the same passage of Lycurgus, or rather of Charinus, according to Harpocration,) and a person quite distinct from Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus.

on which was engraved his condemnation and that of other traitors of after-times.

This love of liberty was so violent in the Athenians, that, generous as they were, it overcame their gratitude, and induced them to declare for the murderers of Cæsar, and erect statues to them, though they had received the greatest benefits from that prince. This rage for liberty caused them to view him as an odious tyrant, to shed whose blood was a deed of glory.

I had almost forgotten to remark, that the Heliastæ, before entering on the duties of their office, made oath never to vote in favour<sup>a</sup> of tyranny or oligarchy, and never to obey him who should destroy the democracy, or should speak, or propose any decree against that form of government.

Such was the manner of thinking of a people possessed with a mad passion for liberty. The crime of Harmodius and Aristogiton was in their eyes an act of heroism, which they never ceased to celebrate in triumphant songs. But we, who profess milder manners, behold the act with horror, as an atrocity condemned alike by human and divine laws.

91. 'Επ' ἔτεα τέσσαρα. *During four years.* Herodotus does not here endeavour to cast any stain on the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as he has been accused of doing in a work printed lately at Leipsic. He contents himself with observing that the murder of Hipparchus did not restore liberty to Athens; which is strictly true.

Hippias was driven from Athens in the second year of the 67th Olympiad, 510 years before our era, after a reign of four years. Plato<sup>a</sup> assigns him only three, but Thucydides<sup>1</sup> says that he was expelled in the fourth; i. e. that he reigned three entire years, and had commenced the fourth. This is also the opinion of the learned Dodwell<sup>2</sup>, who reconciles Herodotus with Thucydides. He retired first to Sigæum<sup>3</sup>, thence to Lampsacus<sup>4</sup>, and afterwards sought an asylum with Darius. The year in which he was expelled, appears from two passages of Thucydides. In the first, the historian relates<sup>5</sup> that he returned twenty years afterwards, and fought with the Persians at the battle of Marathon, where, according to<sup>6</sup> Cicero, he perished. This battle was fought in the third year of the 72nd Olympiad, 490 years B. C. In the second passage<sup>7</sup> the same author remarks, that this happened about 100 years before the tyranny of the Four Hundred. Now the tyranny of the Four Hundred began in the first year of the 92nd Olympiad, 411 years before our era.

The Chronicle of Paros, according to Corsini, does not agree with

<sup>a</sup> Demosth. adv. Timocrat. p. 470.  
235.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, in Hipparcho, vol. II. p. 229.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. VI. lix.

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Thucyd. p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. V. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. VI. lix.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Cicero ad Atticum, IX. Epist. x.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. VIII. lxxviii.

this calculation ; but as some of the words are effaced from the marble, and instead of ἀπέκτειναν, we read only ἀπέκτε . . . ., I should prefer reading ἀπεκτείναντε—since the time when Aristogiton and Harmodius, having killed Hipparchus, contributed to the expulsion of the Pisis-tratidæ. Instead of συνανέστησαν, which is a conjecture of Mr. Chandler's, I prefer συμπαρέστησαν, which is the reading of the first editors.

LVI. 92. Ὀψις. *The vision.* Plutarch relates another. According to that author<sup>8</sup>, Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, imagined in his sleep, a short time before his death, that he saw Venus sprinkling blood on his face from a certain cup.

93. Παναθηναίων. *Panathenæa.* The Panathenæa were festive rites instituted in honour of Minerva. There were the less and the greater Panathenæa. The origin of the less is as far back as the time of Theseus. When that prince had united all the little states of Attica in the city of Athens, he instituted there<sup>9</sup> the festival of the Panathenæa, which was common to the whole nation. It was celebrated every year on the 14th of the month Hecatombæon, which answers to the 27th of July, as is proved by Samuel Petit<sup>1</sup> against Meursius. Its institution took place in the year 3398 of the Julian period, 1316 years before our era. See the Oxford Marbles, Epoch xxi.

The great Panathenæa were celebrated every five years, in the third year of each Olympiad, on the 27th of the month Hecatombæon, i. e. on the 9th of August. Τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα τοῦ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἦγετο τρίτῃ ἀπρόντος<sup>2</sup>, Proclus says, 'the 3rd of the ending month,' according to the Athenian mode of reckoning, which Meursius did not understand, as he explains it by the 23rd Hecatombæon. But that month having but 29 days, the 3rd of the ending month (by which they seem to mean the 3rd from the end) will be the 27th, which answers to the 9th of August.

The learned M. de St. Croix fixes it on the same day, in his second table of the Attic months, at the end of the Travels of Anacharsis. An inscription recently discovered<sup>3</sup> in the citadel of Athens, however, places the greater Panathenæa on the 2nd Prytanea, that is to say, in the month Metageitnion, which comprises from the 14th of August to the 21st of September inclusively. The learned and ingenious Barthélemy, who was perfectly aware of the date assigned to this festival by the authors who have spoken of it, with his usual modesty thus expresses himself: "My fruitless researches oblige me to leave this point of criticism in obscurity."

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 555, B.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 11, B.

<sup>1</sup> Ad Leges Atticas, p. 87, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Procli Comment. in Timæum Plato-

nis I.

<sup>3</sup> Dissertation sur une ancienne Inscription Grecque relative aux Finances des Athéniens, par M. l'Abbé Barthélemy. Paris, 1792, 4to.

The time of their institution, therefore, is still an unsettled point. It is contended, on the authority of the Oxford Marbles, that the greater Panathenæa were established by Erichthonius; but in his time, this name could not have been given to the festival, as the Athenians were not then united. I am of opinion, that from the time of Theseus to the 3rd year of the 53rd Olympiad, there was but one festival of this name; but that in that year, under the archōntate of Hippoclides, they were celebrated with more than usual magnificence, and that then were established, as we learn from Pherecydes<sup>4</sup>, certain games, which it was resolved to repeat every five years. It was at that time, no doubt, and for that reason, that a distinction was made between the greater and the less Panathenæa. Those that continued to be celebrated every year with their former simplicity were termed the less, and the name of greater was bestowed on those which were solemnized with more pomp every five years.

But when I say, with the authors above cited, that this festival was celebrated every *five* years, I mean after the revolution of four years only, and at the commencement of the fifth [every *four* years], otherwise it could not have been celebrated in the 3rd year of each Olympiad<sup>5</sup>.

94. Τάδε τὰ ἔπεα. *The following verses.* I give them in the original<sup>6</sup>.

Τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ.  
Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

In the first of these verses, the following expressions are worthy of remark, Τλῆθι, ἄτλητα, τετληότι, as well as the ingenious manner in which Grotius has contrived to preserve them in his version.

Fortiter hæc leo *fer*, quamvis *fera*, quando *ferendum* est:  
Injustos homines sero cito poena sequetur.

95. Ἀπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν. *Having disclaimed the vision* (i. e. *having made expiations to avert its effect*). Superstition had acquired in those ages so absolute a sway over the minds of men, that it was not likely that Hipparchus should so far shake off its yoke, as to despise this vision. It is more natural to suppose, that he endeavoured to avert the fatal accomplishment of it by sacrifices, or some other kind of expiation; and this is what I apprehend is the meaning of the term ἀπειπάμενος. The justice of this remark has induced me to borrow it from M. Wesseling: I could have wished, however, that he had cited some example of the term being used in this sense.

It was imagined that the accomplishment of fatal dreams might be averted by sacrifices offered to the gods, called Ἀπότροποι, 'Averrun-catores,' or simply by relating the dream to the sun<sup>7</sup>. The ancients,

<sup>4</sup> Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucyd. init.

<sup>5</sup> See note 65, bk. I. last paragraph.

<sup>6</sup> Brunck's *Analecta*, vol. III. p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> Sophocl. *Elect.* 424, et ibi Schol. ex ed. Brunck.



says a scholiast of Sophocles, had a custom, when they dreamed a dream of ill omen, to relate it to the rising sun, in order that that power, being opposed to night, might avert its effect.

LVIII. 96. Γράμματα. *Letters.* Herodotus here seems to say, that before Cadmus, letters or characters were unknown to the first inhabitants of Greece. Very learned men of the last century, such as Bochart in his *Canaan*, and Walton in his *Prolegomena to the English Polyglot*, have understood it in this sense, and have concluded that the Greeks had borrowed from Cadmus and the Phœnicians the form of the letters used in the inscriptions mentioned by Herodotus, (lix. lx. and lxi.) and writing itself. These facts, however, appear to me very doubtful. Οἱ Φοίνικες . . . ἄλλα τε πολλὰ . . . ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. Herodotus does not put the article τὰ before γράμματα, so that it appears to me we should understand from this passage, “that the Phœnicians introduced among the Greeks, besides other knowledge, certain letters or characters (and not LETTERS generally), which were not before that time in use among the Grecian people.” In fact, letters appear to have been in use long before the time of Cadmus, and even much earlier than that of Deucalion. As soon<sup>8</sup> as men began to collect together, to trade with one another, or even to make war on each other, they must necessarily have invented signs for the communication of their ideas. This is so natural to nations who are making only the first steps towards civilization, that a method of writing was found to be in existence amongst such of the Americans as had formed themselves into a national body. We can scarcely doubt that before the deluge of Deucalion, considerable cities had been built, and powerful states formed. Phoroneus<sup>9</sup>, the son of Inachus, gave laws to the Argians 395 years before this deluge; but how could these have been known, or preserved, if they had not been written?

Tzetzes<sup>1</sup> maintains that letters were known in Greece before the arrival of Cadmus; and he proves this by the oracle delivered to Cadmus at Delphi. He concludes from the circumstance of the oracles being then pronounced in verse, that letters were in use. This proof, which is far from convincing, however, receives additional force from a passage of the History of Crete, preserved to us by Diodorus Siculus. “The Muses<sup>2</sup> were daughters of Jupiter. Their father imparted to them the talent of inventing letters. To those who say that the Syrians were the first inventors of them, and that the Phœnicians having learned them from the Syrians, communicated them to the Greeks,—it may be answered, that the Phœnicians were not the first inventors, but

<sup>8</sup> Dissertatio de priscis Græcorum Literis, ix. x. &c. p. 352, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Euseb. Chron. ad ann. 210 et 490.

<sup>1</sup> Tzetæ Histor. Chiliad. V. 815, et s.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. V. lxxiv. vol. I. p. 389, 390.

merely changed the form of the characters (τοὺς τύπους): that most people adopted those letters, and made use of them; and that it was on this account they were called Phœnician letters."

The same historian furnishes a more decisive proof than this<sup>3</sup>. "A deluge having inundated Greece, destroyed the greater part of the inhabitants; and the monumental inscriptions perished with them." Letters therefore were anterior to the age of Ogyges, and consequently to that of Cadmus; for it is of the deluge of Ogyges, I apprehend, that Diodorus here speaks. These letters were not, however, totally lost, since, as we learn from Eustathius<sup>4</sup>, the Pelasgi were the only people of the Greeks who preserved them; and it was doubtless for this reason, that these letters long bore the name of Pelasgic, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus<sup>5</sup>. An invention usually takes its name from the inventor. I shall not stop to comment on the above passage of the historian, which seems to say, that these letters, which were at first called Phœnician, were afterwards called Pelasgic, because they were first known by the Pelasgi; for besides that this passage is somewhat corrupt in the text, it is certain that these letters did not bear the name of Phœnician till afterwards, as we see from Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, and from the Imprecations of the Teians<sup>7</sup>, which are very ancient, as remote, perhaps, as the time of Anacreon<sup>8</sup>.

It is moreover very easy to prove, that the letters being called Phœnician on the arrival of the Cadmeans, it was not possible that they should afterwards take the name of Pelasgic, or even that the Pelasgians should have borrowed their letters from the Cadmeans. As the Pelasgians abhorred the Cadmeans, who had driven them from the Histiaëotis, we can scarcely believe that they would adopt the letters of these people. It seems quite as unlikely that the name of Pelasgic should have been given to the letters introduced by the Cadmeans, at the very time that the latter were triumphant, and the former reduced to the lowest state of degradation.

We have already seen that letters were anterior to Deucalion, and that the Pelasgi preserved them after the deluge. These letters, we know not how, reached the Athenians. It is quite certain that they are the same which were called Attic letters, the ancient letters, whose antiquity was so lost in the darkness of ages, that at Athens they were believed to be indigenous to that place. Ἀττικὰ γράμματα, says Hesychius, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐπιχώρια. To this I may add, that the ancient letters of the Latins, which were introduced into Latium by the Pelasgi<sup>9</sup>, were with very little variation<sup>1</sup> the same as those of the ancient Greeks:

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* lvii. vol. I. p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> Eustathii *Parecbolia*, in *Iliad.* II. p. 358. lin. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. III. lxvi. vol. I. p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. V. lviii.

<sup>7</sup> Teiorum *Diræ*, 37. Vide *Antiq.*

*Asiat.* Chishull. p. 101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 96.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. lvi. vol. I. p. 413.

<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* VII. lviii. p. 419.

“Et formæ<sup>3</sup> litteris Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.” Mr. Swinton is right in understanding by the most ancient letters of the Greeks, the Pelasgic letters. It may have happened that Tacitus, for want of deep research on the subject, took the letters of Cadmus for the most ancient. The letters of Cadmus, however, were certainly not those carried to Latium; or the Latins would have adopted the arithmetic of the Cadmeans, and would have had the ‘coppa,’ the ‘sanpi,’ &c. The arithmetic of the ancient Latins was the same as that of the ancient Greeks<sup>3</sup>. Now, the arithmetic of the Athenians is anterior to that of the Cadmeans. Sciences in their origin are coarse and rude, and acquire perfection only with time: such is the progress of the human mind. This we cannot help observing on comparing the Athenian with the Cadmean arithmetic. The first was long, tedious, and perplexing, and was stamped with the rudeness of the times in which it was invented. The other was more easy, better calculated for all sorts of numerical operations, and bore marks of the advancement of the human intellect.

The Pelasgic or Attic letters were sixteen only in number: viz.<sup>4</sup> A. B. Γ. Δ. E. H. I. K. Λ. M. N. O. Π. P. Σ. T. The ancients, says Plutarch, contented themselves with sixteen letters to express their thoughts, whether in speaking or writing: *οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα στοιχείων φράζοντες ἀποχρώντως καὶ γράφοντες*. They were sufficient at that time, because they wrote *ἄνθρωπος* ANTEPOΠΟΣ, *χρόνος* KEPONΟΣ. Cadmus added to this alphabet, Z. Θ. Ξ, and three letters purely numeral, the ‘vau,’ the ‘sanpi,’ and the ‘coppa.’ The Greeks do not call them letters, *στοιχεῖα*, but marks or signs, *ἐπίσημα*. Cadmus introduced these letters with the view of facilitating arithmetical operations, which in his country could not be performed without them. The Υ, the X, and the Ω, have been added by subsequent grammarians.

It was this augmentation of the alphabet that occasioned Cadmus to be considered by so many writers as the inventor of it. Herodotus has been hitherto reckoned amongst the number, but I think without reason. The omission of the article before *γράμματα*, which in such cases is always used by the Greeks, shows that Cadmus brought only

<sup>3</sup> Tacit. Ann. XI. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> See Scaurus, de Orthographiâ, edit. Putsch. p. 225; and Priscian, de Figuris Numerorum.

<sup>4</sup> I shall not undertake to prove this, as it would require too much time and space. But the reader may consult the learned dissertation of the late President Bouhier, ‘de priscis Græcorum et Latinorum Litteris,’ p. 561, et s. in the Palæography of Father Montfaucon. It appears, however, that the ancients did not know the eta (H) as a letter, but only as an aspiration, and that it was not intro-

duced as a letter till the archontate of Euclides, that is to say, in the year 403 before the vulgar era. Upon the marble of Choiseul, likewise, which is of the archontate of Glaucippus, and which was only seven years anterior to that of Euclides, we never find the H otherwise than as an aspiration. For example, it is usual to write *ἐπι τες βολες Κλεογένες προτος*, for *ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς Κλεογένους πρῶτος*. We also find it as an aspiration in *Ἡπποῖς* for *ἰπποῖς*.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. Platonicæ Quæstiones, p. 1009, E.

'letters, i. e. 'some' letters, 'certain' letters, into Greece; and I have so expressed it in my translation. The late President Boubier had not paid attention to this particular. But the reader will do well to consult his learned Dissertation on the ancient letters of the Greeks and of the Latins, where he will find fully developed the question which is only touched upon in this note.

Pliny<sup>6</sup> thinks that Cadmus brought into Greece the sixteen letters of which I have spoken above; but these sixteen letters being Pelasgic, he had no idea that they were anterior to Cadmus.

97. Ἀμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλον. *Together with the language they changed.* The Greeks originally wrote, after the manner of the Chaldeans and the Hebrews, from right to left; they afterwards wrote alternately one line from left to right, and the next from right to left, a mode of writing which was termed Βουστροφηδόν. The inscription of Sigæum, quoted by Chishull in his Asiatic Antiquities, is so written. After a time they wrote only from left to right. This change obliged them to reverse the letters, and turn towards the right those which formerly turned to the left, and 'vice versa.' They likewise wrote sometimes from the top to the bottom of the page, as the Chinese do; a method which was termed τὸ ἐπ' ὄρχον, as we find it corrected in the edition of Festus<sup>7</sup> printed at Amsterdam, 'in usum Delphini;' or rather τὸ ἐπ' ὀρθόν, as we find in a passage of Diodorus Siculus, where, speaking of the inhabitants of the isle of Taprobane, now Ceylon, he says, that they did not write from side to side, but from top to bottom, perpendicularly. Γράφουσι<sup>8</sup> τοὺς στίχους οὐκ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ἐκτείνοντες, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν κάτω καταγράφοντες εἰς ὀρθόν. This manner of writing is also mentioned by Eustathius. "The ancients," says he<sup>9</sup>, "did not write their lines from side to side, as we do, but perpendicularly." The grammarian Theodosius terms this method of writing, κιονηδόν, in the form of a column. Those who wish for examples of these different modes of writing have only to consult Fabricius<sup>1</sup>.

[Larcher's attempt to show that the Greeks had letters before their acquaintance with the Phœnicians, and even anterior to Ogyges or in the fabulous age, is far from being convincing. He assumes that Herodotus, writing γράμματα without the article, means some particular letters, and not the art of writing or letters in general. This interpretation is irreconcilable with the genius of the Greek language, which is perspicuous in the extreme, and is characterized by the redundancy of expressions which it employs for that kind of qualification or limitation, here supposed to be effected by the omission of the article. Besides,

<sup>6</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. lvi. vol. I. p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> Toeporchon soliti sunt appellare Græci, genus scribendi deorsum versus, ut nunc dextrorsum scribimus. Sext. Pomp. Festus, de Verb. Signif. XVIII. p. 557.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. II. lvii. p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> Eustath. ad Hom. Il. XXIII. 358. p. 1305. lin. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Biblioth. Gr. I. xxvii. § iii. p. 159; ex nov. ed. p. 217.

Herodotus writes the article a few lines lower down, when stating the process in which the Greeks received letters from the Phœnicians. For the Ionians, he says, having much intercourse with the latter people, learned from them τὰ γράμματα, 'letters' or the art of writing, which subsequently spread throughout Greece. It is manifest from the context that by τὰ γράμματα in this passage, the historian means the same letters which he has elsewhere called γράμματα without the article.

With respect to what Larcher calls the sixteen Pelasgic letters, it is certain that the names which the Greeks gave them were Phœnician; and surely there is no indication of their origin to be offered so unequivocal as their names. Alpha, beta, gamma, &c. are evidently derived from Aleph, beth or beit, gimel, &c., names which in the Semitic languages are significant, and thus lead us back to the first artifice of writing, when the representations of natural objects bring to mind the sounds with which the names of those objects begin. Not a few of the sixteen Greek letters in question may be traced with certainty to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Thus, for the sound of *n*, the Egyptians drew an undulating line representing *nún*, or water, ~~~~; and this figure, abridged as much as possible, or reduced to three strokes, is the Greek *N*, *μ*. The hieroglyph for *r* is a mouth, in the Egyptian language, *ro*; but the oval representing a mouth in the hieroglyphs became in the demotic or current writing of Egypt a loop *P*, *ρ*, and the Greeks took this character with its Egyptian name.

In vindicating for the Phœnicians, or their teachers the Egyptians, the first source of the Greek alphabet, we do not mean to deny to the Pelasgians some knowledge of letters; but we maintain that intercourse and communication subsisted between Phœnicia and Greece prior to the use of written language in the latter country, however early that may have been.]

98. Καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. *The form too of the letters.* Other proportions. 'Ρυθμός signifies the proportion borne by the parts to the whole. M. Wesseling has proved, by the following passage of Aristotle, that τὸν ῥυθμὸν (for which it was proposed to substitute τὸν ῥυσμὸν) is the proper expression: Ἰλέγοντες εἶναί τινα ἀναθήματα ὁμοίους ἔχοντα τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαῖα. "Saying that there were ancient offerings with letters of the same form." It appears to me that μεταῤῥυθμίσαντες, which is employed by Herodotus two lines lower down, proves that τὸν ῥυθμὸν must be preserved.

99. Τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες. *The Ionians, from old times, call books, diphtheræ.* That is to say, skins, parchment. "A law," says Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup>, "enjoined the Persians to write the history of the empire on skins. They were called the Royal Diphtheræ." These diphtheræ contained the annals of the nation, and were deposited in the archives in the royal libraries. The

<sup>2</sup> Aristot. de Mirab. Ausc. p. 1165, A.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. II. xxxii. p. 146.

discovery made by Mordecai of the conspiracy plotted by two eunuchs against Ahasuerus, was recorded<sup>4</sup> with praise in the royal library; and we read in another passage<sup>5</sup>, that the same prince being troubled with a want of rest, caused the annals of his empire to be read to him. Agathias also makes mention<sup>6</sup> of these diphtheræ. "It is thus," says he, "that the Persians give the genealogy of Artaxerxes, and they affirm that these things are true, and as they are written in the royal diphtheræ."

Major Rennell remarks<sup>7</sup>, that the Persians, in their language, call the registers, 'dufter.' Is it not probable, adds that learned writer, that the Ionians may have borrowed from them both this term, and the use of skins?

The custom of writing on paper having at length prevailed, it became a proverb applying to those who related old stories of no probability, "You are talking of things older than the diphtheræ." Ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας λέγεις. Observe also that ἀρχαῖος signifies not only ancient, but ridiculous. See Suidas, under the word Ἀρχαιότερα, κ. τ. λ.

[The Greek word διφθέρα is probably derived from the verb δέφω, and there is but little reason to suppose it borrowed from the Persian. It is more probable that the names defter, dofter or dufter, and defterdar, used by the Persians, Turks, and Abyssinians to signify a scribe or secretary, have been taken from the Greek language.]

100. Ἐν σπάνι βύβλων. *During scarcity of the byblus.* I have already quoted the descriptions given by Theophrastus and Pliny of the plant called byblus or papyrus<sup>8</sup>. This would be the proper place to speak of the paper formed from it, and the Egyptian method of manufacturing it; but M. Bernard de Jussieu and Count Caylus having left nothing unsaid on this subject, I refer the curious reader to their dissertation on the papyrus<sup>9</sup>. I will add, however, that the opinion of Varro on the modern invention of paper, the origin of which<sup>1</sup> he refers to a time subsequent to the foundation of Alexandria, is not tenable. Paper or the papyrus-leaf was not only known, but had become exceedingly common, long previous to that period. It appears from Herodotus, who lived a century before Alexander, that it was commonly used in his time. Cassius Hemina relates<sup>2</sup>, in the fourth book of his Annals, that Cn. Terentius, whilst cultivating his field upon the Janiculum, found a chest containing the books of Numa, on paper, perfectly well preserved by means of citron leaves. These books contained the philosophy of Pythagoras. The Prætor Quintus Petilius, who it should seem was no friend to philosophy, had them burned. Lucius Piso

<sup>4</sup> Esther, II. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Id. VI. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Agathias, II. p. 66, A.

<sup>7</sup> The Geogr. Syst. of Herod. p. 247, note.

<sup>8</sup> See note 248. bk. II.

<sup>9</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. XXVI. p. 267, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. XIII. xi. vol. I. p. 689, lin. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. xiii. vol. I. p. 692, lin. 14, &c.



relates the same anecdote in the first Book of his Commentaries, with this difference, that he mentions seven books on the rights of the priesthood, and seven others on the philosophy of Pythagoras.

It were out of place to object here, that Pythagoras was considerably posterior to Numa. These works were nevertheless found in a chest, which likewise enclosed the remains of a man commonly supposed to be that prince.

[Surely it is not out of place to observe, that the specific statement made here being impossible and absurd, we are justified in rejecting the story altogether; or at least in concluding that 'these works were not found in the chest.']

101. Πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. *Many of the barbarians still write on such skins.* It is difficult to get rid of ancient habits. The barbarians could have procured the papyrus from Egypt, as the Greeks did; but they were accustomed to write on skins. It is not long since it was discovered, says Pliny<sup>3</sup>, that the papyrus grows in the Euphrates, near Babylon, and that paper can be made from it, as from the papyrus of Egypt; and nevertheless the Parthians still prefer writing on skins.

LIX. 102. Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκε. *Amphitryon has dedicated me.* The Thebans<sup>4</sup> celebrated, in honour of Ismenian Apollo, a festival called Daphnephoria. The priest of this god was annually chosen from among the most robust and well-formed children of the most illustrious families. Amphitryon consecrated this tripod to the divinity, whilst Hercules was 'daphnephorus,' that is to say, laurel-bearer, for he who filled the office of priest wore a crown of laurel. Proclus<sup>5</sup> in his Chrestomathia speaks of the origin of this festival, and describes it at great length. According to that author, the person who presides at this festival is a child whose parents are both living. His nearest relation carries a rod, crowned with laurel, and certain sacred bandages called 'copo.' He is followed by the daphnephorus, who touches the laurel. His hair hangs loose; he wears a crown of gold; his robe is splendid, and reaches down to his feet, on which he wears shoes called 'iphicratidæ,' from the inventor Iphicrates, an Athenian general, who flourished about the year 4321 of the Julian period, 393 years before our era. I have spoken of this sort of shoe in my Memoir on the Thericlean Vases<sup>6</sup>.

103. Νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων. *Returning from the Teleboans.* By this is meant, after his victory over that people. The Aristarchus of Cambridge<sup>7</sup>, whom I suspect to be Dr. Richard Bentley, proposes to read νέων.

This is a very happy conjecture. Wesseling and Valckenaer do not

<sup>3</sup> Plin. XIII. xi. vol. I. p. 690, lin. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. IX. x. p. 730.

<sup>5</sup> Apud. Phot. p. 988, lin. 38, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. voc. XLIII. p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> Ad calcem Antiquit. Asiat. Edm. Chishull.



mention it in their notes, as very probably they were not acquainted with it. M. Brunck has admitted it into the text of his *Analecta*, vol. III. p. 179; but he should have informed the public who was the author of the correction. Villoison<sup>8</sup> has published it as if it were his own, though he was perfectly acquainted with Chishull's *Asiatic Antiquities*, and the *Analecta* of M. Brunck. It is astonishing that M. Heyne, who had all these works at hand, should have ascribed it to M. Villoison<sup>9</sup>.

104. *Karà Láïov. Of the time of Laius.* Amphitryon was<sup>1</sup> contemporary with Laius, as he was purified from a murder by Creon, the brother-in-law of that prince. Hercules was also contemporary with Œdipus, as we find in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus.

It is surprising that Herodotus should have omitted to mention a tripod, which, to use the words of Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, was no less remarkable for its antiquity than for the celebrity of the person who presented it. It was an offering of Amphitryon for his son Hercules, who was daphnephorus.

LX. 105. *Τεῖν περικαλλές ἄγαλμα. To serve you as an ornament.* The Dorians say *τεῖν* for *σοῖ*, 'tibi.' Hesychius on this word says: *τεῖν, σοῖ Δωριεῖς.*

106. *Κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαΐου. Contemporary with Œdipus, son of Laius.* This Scaeus was contemporary with Œdipus, as Hercules<sup>3</sup> killed him together with his father.

LXI. 107. *Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος. Under this prince.* Laodamas<sup>4</sup>, son of Eteocles, succeeded his father on the throne of Thebes. During his minority he was under the guardianship of Creon, son of Menœceus, who was regent of the kingdom. Laodamas<sup>5</sup> was of age, and held the government himself, when the Argians undertook a second campaign against Thebes. The Thebans on this occasion went as far as Glissa to meet them. Laodamas killed Ægialeus, the son of Adrastus, in the battle; but the Argians nevertheless gained the victory. Laodamas retired, in the course of the succeeding night, among the Illyrians, with such of the Thebans as were willing to follow him. The Argians having taken Thebes, restored it to Thersander, the son of Polynices.

Cadmus<sup>6</sup> also, before Laodamas, had retired into Illyria, among the Encheleans.

108. *Ἐς Ἀθήνας. To Athens.* They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica proper from the terri-

<sup>8</sup> In *Anecdota Græcis*, p. 129, not.

<sup>9</sup> In *notis ad Apollodori Biblioth.* p. 223.

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. *Biblioth.* II. iv. § vi. p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. IX. x. p. 730.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. *Biblioth.* III. x. xv. p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxxix. p. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Id. IX. v. 722.

<sup>6</sup> Id. *ibid.* v. p. 719.

tory of Eleusis. A bridge was built at this place to open a communication between the opposite sides of the river. I am inclined to believe that bridges, γέφυραι, took their names from this people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum says, that the people were called Gephyræi because of the bridge; but it is very certain that they had that name before they came into Attica.

109. Ἀχαιῖης Δήμητρος. *Achæan Ceres*. This name had been given to the goddess on account of the grief, ἄχος, occasioned to her by the carrying off of Proserpine, according to the author of the Etymologicum Magnum: εἶρηται παρὰ τὸ ἄχος τῆς Κόρης. She was also called Gephyræan, because she was particularly honoured by the Gephyræi.

LXII. 110. Φεύγοντες Πεισιστρατίδας. *And who had fled from the Pisistratidæ*. "Though they<sup>7</sup> were relations of Pisistratus, and had lived familiarly with him before he seized on the sovereign power, they would have<sup>8</sup> no share in his tyranny. They preferred banishing themselves from their country to seeing their fellow-citizens slaves. During forty years that these troubles continued, they were so much hated by the tyrants, who were very numerous, that when the latter were masters, they razed their houses and destroyed their tombs." Isocrates says that the tyrants were numerous, for he comprehends under this term not only Hipparchus, Hippias, and the children of Hippias, but all the abettors of the tyranny. Herodotus has said (VII. vi.) in the same sense as Isocrates, that Xerxes was importuned by the Pisistratidæ, though of these Hippias alone remained, and perhaps even he was then dead.

111. Προσέπταιον μεγάλως. *Had received a great check*. Lipsydrium formed part of Attica, above Pæonia and Mount Parnes<sup>9</sup>. The exiles, and all those who were dissatisfied with the government of the Pisistratidæ, had taken refuge in this place. The Alcmaeonidæ, who were at their head, had fortified it. The Pisistratidæ besieged and became masters of it. This is no doubt the check of which Herodotus speaks. This misfortune gave rise to a song, which is found in Suidas, under the word ἐπὶ Λειψυδρίῳ μάχη: and in Eustathius on Homer, where the last verse is wanting. This verse is given more correctly in Athenæus<sup>1</sup>, than in Suidas and the Etymologicum Magnum. M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*, has given<sup>2</sup> this song from Athenæus.

Αἱ αἱ Λειψύδριον προδοσέταιρον,  
Οἷους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι  
Ἀγαθούς τε, καὶ εὐπατρίδας,  
Οἱ τότε ἔδειξαν οἷων πατέρων κύρησαν.

<sup>7</sup> Isocrat. de Bigis, vol. II. p. 431.

<sup>8</sup> This account is not altogether correct. See Herodotus, I. lx. &c.

<sup>9</sup> Hesych. Suidas, Etymol. Magn. voc. Λειψύδριον. Eustath. ad Homer. 461, 23.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XV. xv. p. 695, F; Canterus Variarum Lectionum, IX. p. 712.

<sup>2</sup> *Analecta Vet. Poet. Græc.* vol. I. p. 155, vi.

‘Alas! alas! Lipsydrium, which hast betrayed thy friends; what illustrious and brave warriors hast thou not lost! by their deaths they proved from what fathers they were descended.’

112. Παιονίης. *Pæonia*. M. Kuster was, I believe, the first who proposed to alter the text of this passage, (in a note upon Suidas, voc. ἐπὶ Λειψυδρίῳ μάχῃ,) by changing Παιονίης to Πάρνηθος. He has been followed by Wesseling and Valckenaer. These critics ground their opinion on the distance of Pæonia from Attica, that country being in Macedonia. They have forgotten, that in Attica there were certain Pæonidæ of the Leontine<sup>3</sup> tribe. These Pæonidæ were no doubt inhabitants of a town called Pæonia. They may have taken their name from Pæon, son of Antilochus. “Under the reign of Tisamenes,” says Pausanias<sup>4</sup>, “the Heraclidæ having returned to the Peloponnesus, drove Tisamenes from Lacedæmon and Argos, and drove from Messenia the descendants of Nestor, viz. Alcmaeon, son of Sillus, and grandson of Thrasymedes; Pisistratus, son of Pisistratus; and the sons of Pæon . . . . Tisamenes, with his children and his troops, passed into the country now called Achaia; all the Neleidæ came to Athens, except Pisistratus . . . . and it is from them that the houses of the Pæonidæ and the Alcmaeonidæ take their names.”

Upon this authority I am led to conclude, that the Pæonidæ of Attica, and Pæonia their town, derived their name from this Pæon.

There was at Athens a statue of Pæonian Minerva<sup>5</sup>: Ἀθηναῖς Παιωνίας ἄγαλμα. Pausanias, speaking of Oropus<sup>6</sup>, a town situate between Attica and the territory of Tanagra, mentions both Pæonian Apollo and Pæonian Minerva. Plutarch says<sup>7</sup>, that the orator Lycurgus, with some of his descendants, were interred at the public expense opposite to the statue of Pæonian Minerva, in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius. This Minerva was called Pæonian, doubtless because she was adored at Pæonia, as they said the Minerva of Assessos, &c. (I. xix.) These authorities induce me to believe, that there was in Attica a town named Pæonia, and that it is not necessary to change Παιονίης to Πάρνηθος. [The Pæonidæ of the tribe of Leontis are mentioned in inscriptions<sup>8</sup>.]

113. Ἀμφικτυόνων. *The Amphictyons*. The name of Amphictyons was given to the most illustrious assembly of Greece. It should appear, that its only object was to protect the temple of Delphi, and to administer justice to the multitudes that repaired from all parts of Greece to consult the divinity. Androtion<sup>9</sup>, in his History of Attica, says, that the nations of the neighbourhood of Delphi meeting together in that city, that assembly thence took the name of ‘Amphictiones,’ and that in the sequel it became the custom so to call them. Καὶ

<sup>3</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Παιανιεῖς.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. II. xviii.

<sup>5</sup> Id. I. ii. p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. XXXIV. pp. 83, 84.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. X. Orat. Vit. p. 842, E.

<sup>8</sup> Grotefend de Demis Att. p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. X. viii. p. 815.

ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτίονας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκνικῆσαι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν σφισιν ὄνομα. For so we must read, and not Ἀμφικτύονας. Ἀμφικτίονες signifies 'neighbours.'

This assembly cannot be considered as the states-general of Greece; since the different nations of that country were perpetually at war with each other, and the Athenians, in particular, sustained a war of twenty-seven years duration against the Lacedæmonians, without this assembly having ever interposed its authority to bring it to a termination. Ambassadors were never sent to it; and when Philip was declared generalissimo of the Greeks, this took place at Corinth. "If the assembly of the Amphictyons," says the learned and ingenious M. de St. Croix<sup>1</sup>, "had been a true federative diet, would it not have made this appointment itself? Philip would doubtless have preferred their election, being secure of a majority of suffrages, as he could command all those of the nations of Thessaly, and the two which had been granted to the Macedonians." Demosthenes, it is true, quotes a decree<sup>2</sup>, in which the council of the Amphictyons is termed the common council of the Greeks, τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον, and Cicero<sup>3</sup>, who calls it 'commune Græciæ concilium.' But these expressions must be understood as applying to the affairs of religion only. The temple of Delphi was common to all the Greeks. The principal object of the Amphictyons was to watch over the interests of this temple. I had, in my first edition, adopted the opinion of MM. Valois, Goguet, and others; but after having read the work of M. de St. Croix, I have been most anxious to retract that opinion.

This assembly was held twice a year; in spring and in autumn. The spring meeting is mentioned in two decrees preserved to us by Demosthenes<sup>4</sup> and both the spring and autumn meetings in Strabo<sup>5</sup>.

Every town that had the right of Amphictyonia sent two deputies to this assembly, the one of whom was called Hieromnemon, and the other Pylagorus. The number of the Pylagori was sometimes greater; and we find from the oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon<sup>6</sup>, that the Athenians sent three of them to the Amphictyonic council. The Hieromnemones were a sort of sacred secretaries<sup>7</sup>, οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰς πυλαίαν ἱερογραμματεῖς: they took charge of the sacrifices and of the expenses of those ceremonies, as may be inferred from a passage of the scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>8</sup>, corrupt as it is. The Pylagori had not, as I believe, any peculiar functions; but, in concert with the Hieromnemones, they decided on all matters pertaining to the public welfare and tranquillity. They alone spoke where an oration was necessary, and it is perhaps for this reason that Hesychius<sup>9</sup> terms them the presidents of the assembly,

<sup>1</sup> Des Anc. Gouvern. Féd. p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 166. § 276.

<sup>3</sup> Cicer. de Invent. II. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. pro Cor. p. 165. § 275, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 643, c.

<sup>6</sup> Æsch. cont. Ctesiph. p. 446, B.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. voc. Ἱερομνήμονες.

<sup>8</sup> Ad Nub. 623.

<sup>9</sup> Hesych. voc. Πυλαγόροι.

though the Hieromnemes were in fact above them. It was the latter who collected the votes, and pronounced the decision, as we learn from Demosthenes. Æschines<sup>1</sup>, says he, persuades the 'Hieromnemes to ordain by a decree' the visitation of the country cultivated by the Amphissæi, as belonging to them, according to their own account. We see also, from a passage of Æschines, that Cottyphus, who was a Hieromnemon, (as Ulpian<sup>2</sup>, in his remarks on the oration of Demosthenes for the crown, asserts,) convoked<sup>3</sup> the assembly of the Amphictyones, and collected the votes. Now this was the especial office of the president.

The Hieromnemon was chosen by ballot, κληρωτός: but the Pylagori were elected by a majority of votes<sup>4</sup> which was declared by a show of hands. Though there were some towns which sent several Pylagori, yet they had but two votes. The Hieromnemon had one vote, the Pylagori another. The latter, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, offered<sup>5</sup> a sacrifice to Ceres.

With regard to the oath taken by the Amphictyons on their admittance, I have no knowledge of it, and I doubt whether they took any. That which is quoted at length by M. de Valois<sup>6</sup>, on the authority of Æschines, was not taken by the new Amphictyons, nor was it conceived in terms so general as that critic, one of the greatest ornaments of France, supposes. The Cirrhæi and the Acragallidæ<sup>7</sup> plundered the temple of Delphi, and committed many outrages on the Amphictyons. The god, who was not very long-suffering, commanded that war should be made on them day and night, and that after they had been reduced to servitude, and their country laid waste, it should be consecrated to Pythian Apollo, to Diana, to Latona, and to Minerva; that the Amphictyons should never cultivate that country, nor suffer it to be cultivated by others. The Amphictyons executed the mandate of the god; and afterwards took an oath never to cultivate the territory of Cirrha, nor to suffer others to do it, and to defend the god to the utmost of their power. Not content with this oath, they added to it dreadful imprecations. This oath and these imprecations, however, applied only to the first war respecting Cirrha, which was carried on in the time of Solon. But I will give the passage of that author on which M. de Valois rests his opinion. "At the same time I related the establishment of the temple from its very foundation, the first assembly held by the Amphictyons, and I read the oaths by which those of old times formed themselves," &c. "Ἀμα δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν οἷς ἔνορκον ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις<sup>8</sup>, &c. Literally 'I

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro Cor. p. 165. § 268.

<sup>2</sup> Accession. ad Ulpiani Comment. p. 1171, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 447, D.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 164. § 267.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 643, c.

<sup>6</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. III. p. 202.

<sup>7</sup> Æschin. cont. Ctesiph. p. 444, E.

<sup>8</sup> Æschin. de Falsâ Legat. p. 401, B.

read the oaths of them ;' but as that immediately follows the mention of the first assembly of the Amphictyons, it is very clear that he means the oaths of that assembly : else why mention that first assembly ? It seems to me that Æschines speaks of it, merely for the purpose of expatiating on the oaths they took and the imprecations they pronounced. Besides, had the Amphictyons been obliged, as M. de Valois supposes, to take an oath on their admission, Æschines would have said, 'I read the oaths that we have taken,' or 'that each of us has taken,' for he himself was one of the Amphictyons. It is most likely, however, that these oaths were considered binding on their successors, though the latter did not renew them.

114. Ἐν Δελφοῖσι. *At Delphi.* "This temple of Delphi<sup>9</sup> in its origin was only a chapel, made with branches of the laurel that grows near Tempe : a certain Pteras, of Delphi, afterwards built it on a more solid plan. It was subsequently constructed of brass ; but<sup>1</sup> it was either swallowed up, or melted by fire. It was built for the fourth time of stone, by Trophonius and Agamedes. This temple was burned in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, under the archontate of Erxiclides." The Amphictyons contracted<sup>2</sup> to rebuild it for 300 talents, and taxed the Delphians at a quarter of this sum. Spintharus<sup>3</sup> of Corinth was the architect. And when the Delphians went about collecting from city to city, Amasis, king of Egypt, gave them 1000 talents of alum. There was, no doubt, some obstacle to the immediate rebuilding of this temple, as about thirty-six years afterwards the Amphictyons entered into a fresh contract for the same purpose with the Alcmaeonidæ. That family were not driven from Athens till after the murder of Hipparchus, which Eusebius fixes in the first year of the 65th Olympiad, and Petavius in the fourth year of the 66th : I place it in the third year of the same Olympiad. Dodwell<sup>4</sup> fixes the burning of this temple in the second year of the 63rd Olympiad, because Hippias and Hipparchus succeeded Pisistratus, and this conflagration<sup>5</sup> was imputed to them. But the testimony of Pausanias, which I have cited in the commencement of this note, suffices to overthrow the opinion of that writer ; and if the Pisistratidæ were really guilty of setting it on fire, could they not have done this in the lifetime of their father ?

115. Συγκειμένον σφι Πωρίνου λίθου ποιέειν τὸν νηόν. *Being under an agreement to construct the temple of Porine stone.* The Porus<sup>6</sup> resembles both in colour and density the Parian marble, but it possesses the lightness of the Tophus. Pliny merely translates Theophrastus : "Pario similis candore et duritie, minus tamen ponderosus, qui Porus vocatur<sup>7</sup>."

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. X. v. p. 810.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. p. 811.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. II. clxxx.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. X. v. sub finem.

<sup>4</sup> Ann. Thucyd. p. 23, ad calcem Thu-

cydidis Dukeri.

<sup>5</sup> See note 456, bk. II.

<sup>6</sup> Theophr. de Lap. p. 254, B, ad fin.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. H. N. XXXVI. xvii. vol. II. p. 747, lin. 26.



This marble, which is not now known, was brought from Elis, as we learn from Pausanias, who says<sup>8</sup> that the temple of Jupiter Olympus was built of Porus, the marble of the country. In the sacred grove there was an enclosure fenced<sup>9</sup> by a balustrade of this material. In other authors we find mention of statues of this marble; for instance, that of Silenus<sup>1</sup>, opposite to which Andocides placed the tripod he had gained in the combat of the Dithyrambus. We must take care not to confound this stone with the Tophus, as has been done by the commentators on Julius Pollux<sup>2</sup>; the latter is a porous stone similar to pumice, and easily friable.

116. Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν. *They finished the front of it with Parian marble.* This marble was held in the highest estimation; Phidias, Praxiteles, and all the first-rate sculptors have used it for all their best works. It was dug out of the quarries by lamp-light, which procured for it the name of Lychnites. "Quem<sup>3</sup> lapidem. (Parium) cœpêre Lychniten appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis cæderetur, ut auctor est Varro." The Greek authors frequently call it Lychnias, Lychneus; among others, Plato, the comic poet, in his piece entitled 'the Sophists'; Callixenus<sup>4</sup> of Rhodes, in his history of Alexandria, and St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>5</sup>. Hyginus<sup>7</sup>, the freed-man of Augustus, also calls it 'lapis Lychnicus.' The scholiast of Pindar<sup>8</sup> informs us, that this marble was also called 'Lygdinus.' Hence the expression of Anacreon, περὶ Λυγδίνῳ τραχήλῳ, is rendered 'around his neck of alabaster.' Philostratus expresses himself as clearly as the scholiast of Pindar, *Ξέοντες<sup>9</sup> τὴν Λυγδίνην ἢ τὴν Παρίαν λίθον*, 'polishing the Lygdine or Parian stone.' In Hesychius, we find *Λύγδος λίθος, ὁ Πάριος*, 'the stone called Lygdus is the Parian.' Salmasius was the first<sup>1</sup> who corrected Pliny, 'Lygdinos in *Paro* repositos,' where we formerly read 'in Tauro.' This correction is supported by Isidorus<sup>2</sup>, who usually merely copies Pliny. This error of the copyists has misled the annotator to the Delphin edition of Martial; who, in a note on the following verse,

Candida non tacitâ respondet imagine Lygdos<sup>3</sup>,

says that this marble was found in Mount Taurus. The Lygdus was also found in Arabia, as we see in Arrian's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 14. Perhaps this was some stone which had received its name from its resemblance to the true Lygdus of Paros.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. V. x. p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> Id. VI. xix. p. 497.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Vit. x. Oratorum, p. 835.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀντικρυς τοῦ Πορίνου Σειλήνου*: for so we must read, and not *Σελίνου*.

<sup>3</sup> Pollucis Onomast. VII. § 123. p. 776.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. H. N. XXXVI. v. vol. II. p. 725, lin. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Poll. Onomast. VII. § 100. vol. II. p. 760.

<sup>6</sup> Athen. Deipnos. V. viii. p. 205, F.

<sup>7</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 41, lin. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Hygin. Fab. 223. p. 342.

<sup>9</sup> Ad Pindari Nem. Od. IV. 131. p. 357.

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. Proœm. Icon.

<sup>2</sup> Exerc. Plin. ad Solin. Polyhist. p. 394, col. 2, D.

<sup>3</sup> Isid. Orig. XVI. v.

<sup>4</sup> Martial. VI. Epigr. xiii. 3.



Pliny asserts<sup>4</sup> that marble has since been found even whiter than that of Paros, and amongst other places, in the quarries of Luna in Etruria. This is true, and M. De Tournefort<sup>5</sup> does not hesitate in giving to the marbles of Italy a preference over those of Greece. It appears, however, by all the works of the ancients, and even from Pliny, that for statues, that of Paros was considered the best. For this there is an obvious reason; the Luna marble, now called Carrara, being too brilliant, causes a reflexion of the light at once disagreeable to the eye and detrimental to the general effect of the object.

LXIII. 117. Χιλίην τε ἵππον. *A thousand horsemen.* The Thessalian cavalry<sup>6</sup> was very renowned. The Thessalian horses were no less so, as we see by the following lines of Theocritus:

Ἡ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἥ ἄρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος.  
Ὡδὲ καὶ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαιμόνι κόσμος<sup>7</sup>.

‘As the cypress is the ornament of the garden, and the Thessalian horses of the chariots, so is the beautiful Helen that of Lacedæmon.’

Witness also the oracle delivered, according to some, to the inhabitants of Megaris, and according to others, to those of Ægæ, in Achaia, which has been preserved by Suidas<sup>8</sup>, by the scholiast of Theocritus<sup>9</sup>, and by Tzetzes<sup>1</sup>, and which begins with the following verse:

Ἴππον Θεσσαλικήν, Λακεδαιμονίην τε γυναῖκα.

‘The Thessalian cavalry and the women of Lacedæmon.’

118. Κονιαῖον. *Who was a Coniæan, &c.* Κονιαῖος, ‘Coniæus,’ may come from ‘Coniæ’ or ‘Conion,’ as from ‘Athenæ’ has been made Ἀθηναῖος. But I do not know of any such town in Thessaly. There is one in Phrygia, which Pliny<sup>2</sup> calls ‘Conium;’ and it is also mentioned amongst the towns of Pacatian Phrygia, in the Synecdemus of Hierocles<sup>3</sup>. But what can that town have to do with Thessaly?

Mount Bermion or Bermius was in Macedonia, according to Herodotus<sup>4</sup> and Strabo<sup>5</sup>, and in Thessaly according to Pliny<sup>6</sup>. The neighbourhood of this mountain was inhabited by the Bryges or Brigiani. Midas, their king, having persuaded them to follow him, left Europe, passed the Hellespont, and established himself above Mysia, in a country where his subjects, by a slight change of name, were called Phrygians, as we learn from Conon<sup>7</sup>.

These Bryges spread from Phrygia into Bithynia, to which they gave the name<sup>8</sup> of Thessalis. There was some relationship therefore, and

<sup>4</sup> Plin. N. H. XXXVI. v. vol. II. p. 725, lin. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Relation d’un Voyage au Levant, Lett. v. p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VII. cxvi.

<sup>7</sup> Theocr. Idyll. xviii. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Voc. Ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, vol. III. p. 529.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Theocr. ad Idyll. XIV. 48.

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes Chil. IX. ccxci.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. H. N. V. xxxii. vol. I. p. 290, lin. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hieroclis Synecdemus, p. 666.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. VIII. cxxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> Strabonis Excerpta ex lib. VII. p. 510.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. IV. viii. vol. I. p. 199, lin. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Conon in Phot. Cod. clxxxvi. p. 423.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. H. N. V. xxxii. vol. I. p. 289, lin. 6.

perhaps an open intercourse between the Thessalians and some of the people of Asia Minor, namely, the Phrygians and others; so that the Thessalians might have for their king a prince born in Phrygia, in the city of Conium, or at least his family might be of that place.

This conjecture must serve till a more plausible one is suggested.

LXIV. 119. Οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐγράπετο. *Was soon put to the rout.* Cleomenes obstructed the plain by the trees which he cut down, and by this means rendered it impassable for cavalry. "Cleomenes". Lacedæmon us adversus Hippiam Atheniensem, qui equitatu prævalebat, planitiem, in qua dimicaturus erat, arboribus prostratis impedivit, et inviam equiti fecit."

Aristophanes alludes to this victory of the Lacedæmonians, when he makes Lysistratus<sup>1</sup>, the principal character in the piece of that name, say, "Do you think, Athenians, that I can absolve you? Have you forgotten that when you wore the habits of slaves, the Lacedæmonians took up arms in your cause, and killed a great number of Thessalians, and of the friends and allies of Hippias; that they came single-handed to your assistance, that they restored you to liberty, and again clothed you in the garb of freemen?"

120. Ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ὥς εἶχον. *Retired at once.* So in the text, which the Latin translator has rendered, 'ut erant rediere;' whereas it should have been 'statim, continuo rediere:' which was perceived by Burgess<sup>2</sup>, who adduces two examples to prove it, one from the romance of Achilles Tatius, and the other from the Antigone of Sophocles.

121. Τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχει. *The citadel built by the Pelasgians.* We have before seen that τεῖχος signifies a fortress. The Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, driven from Tyrrhenia, took refuge in Attica sixty-one years after the taking of Troy. They constructed the wall<sup>3</sup> which surrounded the citadel, and which was for that reason called the Pelasgic wall. Seven hundred and fifty-five years after the erection of this wall, the propylæa or vestibules of the citadel were built, in the third year of the 85th Olympiad, 437 years before the vulgar era. Mnesicles was the architect, as we learn from Philochorus, bk. IV. Heliodorus<sup>4</sup> asserts, in his first book, concerning the citadel of Athens, that they were commenced under the archontate of Euthymenes, and finished five years afterwards. They cost 2012 talents<sup>5</sup>.

122. Οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἤλωσαν. *The children of the Pisistratidæ were taken.* Andocides speaks of a victory gained over the Pisistratidæ at Pallenium, which absolutely restored liberty to the Athenians. Herodotus does not mention it, nor do I recollect any

<sup>1</sup> Frontini Strateg. II. ii. § ix.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. Lysistr. 1149, et s.

<sup>3</sup> In Appendice ad Dawes, Miscellanea Critica, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. VI. cxxxvii.

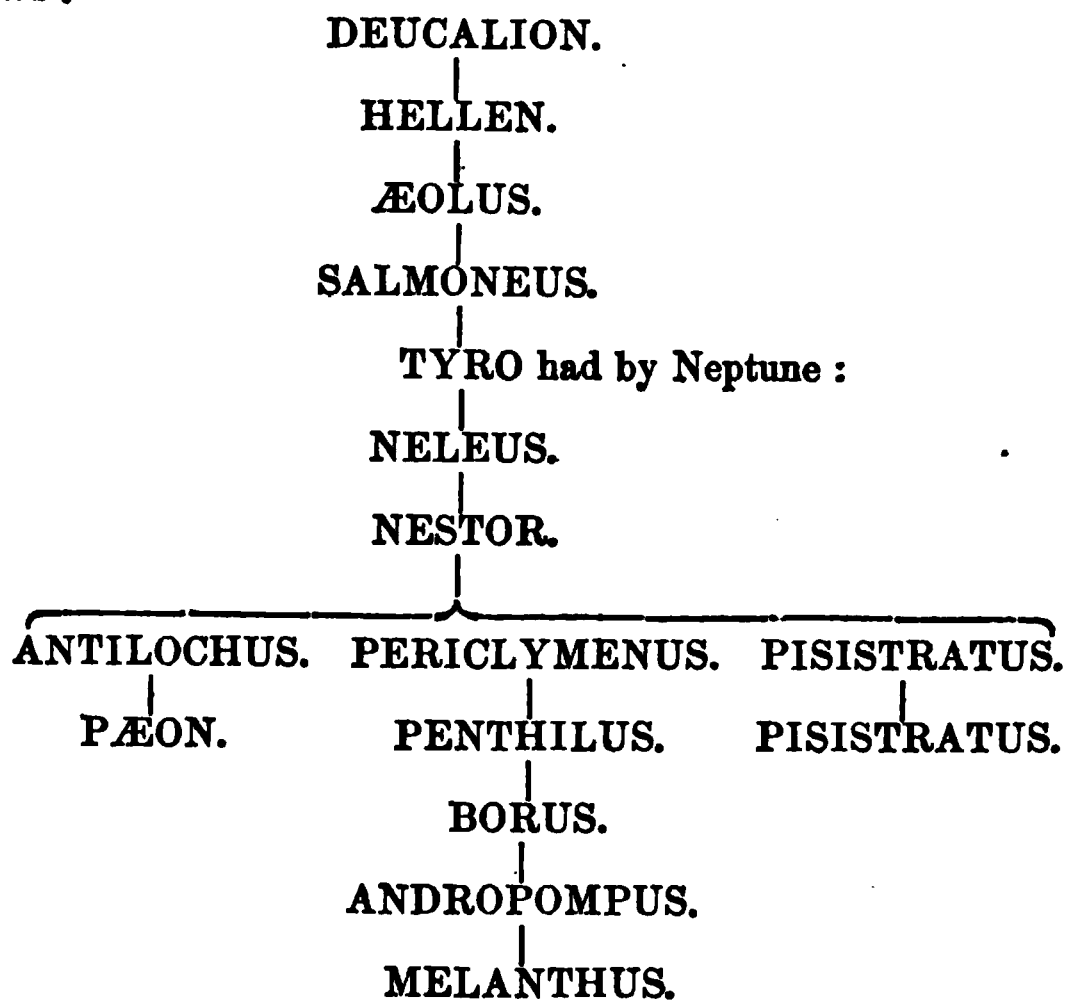
<sup>4</sup> Athen. Deipnos. VI. iii. p. 229, E.

<sup>5</sup> See Harpocration, at the word Πρύτεια ταῦτα, and Voy. d'Anacharse, tom. I. p. 405. 4to.

author who does. I should have suspected that Andocides alluded to the capture of the children of the Pisistratidæ, had these children been escorted by any considerable body of troops. But as it was an attempt to send them secretly from Attica, we may presume that there were few persons with them. Andocides, however, thus expresses himself: "Whilst<sup>6</sup> the tyrants were masters of the city, and the state was suffering the greatest evils, the people took to flight. Our ancestors gave battle to the tyrants, and gained a victory at Pallenium, under the conduct of Leogoras my great-grandfather, and of Chabrias, who had married his daughter, who was mother of my grandfather. On their return to their country, they put to death some of those who had sided with the tyrants, banished others, and declared incapable of holding any office under the republic, those whom they permitted to remain."

123. "Ἀρξάντες ἐπ' ἕτεα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. *After having governed thirty-six years.* The tyranny of Pisistratus commenced under the archontate of Comias, in the year 297 of the Attic era, according to the Oxford Marbles<sup>7</sup>. His reign, according to Aristotle<sup>8</sup>, lasted thirty-three years; but we must reduce these thirty-three to seventeen, as he was twice expelled the country. His children reigned eighteen years, which together make thirty-five. Herodotus counts thirty-six, as the thirty-sixth year had probably commenced. See the Dissertation of the late President Bouhier<sup>9</sup>, Father Corsini<sup>1</sup>, and my Chronological Essay, chap. xx.

LXV. 124. Νηλεΐδαι. *Of the family of Neleus.* His genealogy was as follows:



<sup>6</sup> Andoc. de Mysteriis, p. 14, lin. 21, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. 41. p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> De Republicâ, V. xii. p. 411, c.

<sup>9</sup> Rech. et Diss. sur Hérod. p. 154, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Fasti Attici, vol. III. p. 96.

The sons of Pæon and Pisistratus<sup>2</sup> having been driven from Messenia by the Heraclidæ, took refuge at Athens, and Melanthus, the father of Codrus, became king of that place.

Pisistratus therefore was descended from Neleus, father of Nestor. Alcmaeon, who expelled the tyrant Pisistratus, was also descended from Neleus, by Periclymenus, son of Nestor. They were therefore of the same house, though from different branches.

LXVI. 125. *Διὶ Καρίῳ. To Carian Jupiter.* The Carians were very much despised; they were considered as vile slaves, because they were the first who let out troops to hire. They were exposed therefore on all the most perilous occasions. Hence the proverb quoted by Pausanias<sup>3</sup> in his Lexicon, *ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον*, signifying that a desperate enterprise was to be attempted by means of a vile instrument. This people<sup>4</sup> had a temple for their use in common with the Lydians and the Mysians, who were of the same origin, and which was called the temple of Carian Jupiter. Those who sacrificed to this deity, acknowledged themselves to be of Carian origin. So that, to say that Isagoras offered sacrifices to Carian Jupiter, would be assigning him to a family of Carians and slaves.

Plutarch has not failed to notice this satirical trait<sup>5</sup>. “Herodotus, according to his custom,” says he, “mixes some praise with his reproaches, that he may be the better believed.”

It should seem that this was a common report; and therefore our historian cannot be blamed for repeating it.

126. *Τετραφύλους . . . δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε. He made the four tribes into ten.* The names of the four ancient tribes have varied at different times. Under Cecrops<sup>6</sup>, they were called Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, and Paralia. Under Cranaüs, they were called Cranaïs, Atthis, Mesogæa, and Diacris. Under Erichthonius, they took the names of Dias, Athenaïs, Poseidonias, and Hephæstias; and lastly, under Erechtheus, they were called Geleontes, Ægicores, Ergadeis, and Hopletes, from the names of the sons of Io<sup>7</sup>. Julius Pollux<sup>8</sup> and Stephanus of Byzantium agree in this. We know too, from Apollodorus<sup>9</sup>, that one of the sons of Io was called Hoples, and that Hoples married his daughter Meta to Ægeus. Strabo<sup>1</sup> and Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, however, have asserted, that Io divided the Athenians into tribes according to their different occupations, and that from these occupations they took their names. It is quite certain that the division into four tribes was long anterior to the sons of Io;

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. II. xviii. p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. Comm. in Iliad. II. p. 368, lin. 6 à fine.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 974, A. Herod. I. clxxi.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. p. 860, D.

<sup>6</sup> Pollucis Onomast. VIII. ix. § 109,

110.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. V. lxvi. Eurip. in Ione, 1576, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Pollucis Onomast. VIII. ix. § 109. p. 931. Stephan. Byzant. voc. *Αἰγικόρεως*.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. III. xiv. § vi. p. 234.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VIII. p. 588, A, B.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 91, c.

but that prince, being desirous of exalting his children, named them after the four tribes. The various authors do not agree as to the signification of the names of these tribes. I shall have occasion to speak of the Geleontes, in a subsequent note. The Ægicores had the care of the flocks, according to Plato<sup>3</sup>; but according to Strabo<sup>4</sup>, they were priests. I am the more inclined to the opinion of the geographer, as Euripides<sup>5</sup> makes Minerva to say, that the Ægicores shall take their name from her Ægis; which appears to have more reference to religion than to tending of flocks. We know besides, that Io<sup>6</sup> greatly changed the manners of the Athenians, directing them from pastoral cares to religious ceremonies, as Numa afterwards did with the Romans. The Hopletes, or Hoplitæ as Plutarch calls them, were certainly warriors. The Ergadeis were artificers. These tribes, on being divided into ten, received<sup>7</sup> the names of Erechtheïs, Ægeïs, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Ceneïs, Cecropis, Hippothoontis, Æantis, and Antiochis.

There were afterwards added two other tribes, viz. Antigonis and Demetrias, which were subsequently changed to Attalis and Ptolemaïs.

Clisthenes divided the four tribes into ten, lest any two of them conspiring together should gain the mastery over the other two<sup>8</sup>.

127. Τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων. *The sons of Io.* He shall have<sup>9</sup> four children, says Minerva, in the tragedy of Io, who shall give their names to the people of the country. The first shall be called Geleon, the Hopletes shall own the second for their chief, the Ergadeis the third, and the Ægicores shall take their name from my Ægis.

128. Γελέοντος. *Of Geleon.* There has been a great difference of opinion as to the way in which this word should be written; some deciding for Geleon, and others for Teleon. In all the editions previous to that of Gronovius, we read Γελέοντος: but that critic has in his version written Τελέοντος, because the word is so found in Plutarch<sup>1</sup> and in Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>2</sup>. The marble of Cyzicus, quoted by Count Caylus<sup>3</sup>, is in favour of Geleon. The scrupulous attention with which the colonies preserved the names of their metropolis, is matter of notoriety. Now Cyzicus was a colony of Miletus, and Miletus a colony of Athens. It is therefore not at all surprising that the name of the four ancient tribes of Athens should be found at Cyzicus.

Apollonius Rhodius<sup>4</sup> calls this son of Ion, Teleon. This Teleon was father of Butes, one of the Argonauts, who in all probability was the stock of the sacerdotal family of the Butiadae.

129. Αἶαντος. *Ajax.* From this name comes the tribe of Æantis.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 91, c.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo loco laudato.

<sup>5</sup> Euripidis Ion. 1580.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. adv. Coloten. p. 1125, d.

<sup>7</sup> Corsini Fasti Attici, vol. I. dissert. IV. p. 154, et s.

<sup>8</sup> See the MS. scholiast of Aristides,

quoted in Valckenaer's note.

<sup>9</sup> Euripid. Ion. 1576, et s.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 91, c.

<sup>2</sup> At the word Αἰγικόρεως.

<sup>3</sup> Recueil d'Ant. Egypt. tom. II. p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Apollon. Rhod. I. 96.

Ajax, son of Telamon, had been king of Salamis, an island adjacent to Attica.

130. Μητροπάτορα, Κλεισθένεα. *Clisthenes, his maternal grandfather.* Pausanias<sup>5</sup> says, that he was chosen by the Amphictyons to conduct the war against the Cirrheans, who had pillaged the temple of Delphi, and committed other acts of sacrilege. It seems, however, that at the siege of Cirrha, he commanded only those troops which he had himself raised and conducted thither, less by virtue of any decree of the Amphictyons, than from his own zeal in the cause of the god.

This tyrant<sup>6</sup> of Sicyon was the son of Aristonymus, and grandson of Myron<sup>7</sup>. All the members of this family treated<sup>8</sup> their subjects with moderation, observed the laws, and endeavoured to gain the affections of the people, and by these means maintained their dominion for a century. The first of this house who reigned at Sicyon was named Orthagoras. Orthagoras, if we may believe Helladius<sup>9</sup> and Libanius<sup>1</sup>, was a cook. Plutarch<sup>2</sup> also mentions this Orthagoras. I find only these four passages concerning Orthagoras in the ancient writers. This dynasty commenced about the 31st Olympiad, that is to say, in the year 655 B.C.; and I prove this in the following manner. Pisistratus obtained the supreme power, for the second time, about the third year of the 56th Olympiad. Megacles then gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Megacles had himself married a daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. That tyrant must either have been dead, or near his death, when Pisistratus rendered himself for the second time master of Athens. This tyranny having endured 100 years, must therefore have commenced near the time that I have mentioned.

LXVII. 131. 'Ραψωδούς. *The rhapsodists.* This word is composed of ῥάπτω, 'I sew, join together with a thread,' or else of ῥάβδος, a 'wand' or 'branch,' and ῳδή, a 'song,' or 'poem.' According to the first etymology it signifies a poet, author of several cantos or books of poetry, which are joined together and form a whole, or entire poem, the parts of which may be disjoined, and sung or recited separately. According to the second, it signifies a singer who, holding in his hand a laurel-branch, sings his own poetry, or that of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod adopts the first etymology. The scholiast of Pindar<sup>3</sup> quotes three hexameter verses, which are found among the fragments of Hesiod<sup>4</sup>, in which that poet says that Homer and himself were the first who sang at Delos new hymns which they had composed (sewed together) in honour of Apollo. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were in this sense

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. X. xxxvii. p. 894.

<sup>6</sup> Id. II. viii. p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> For so we must read, as appears clearly enough by Herodotus, VI. cxxvi.; and Plutarch de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 553, A.

<sup>8</sup> Aristot. de Repub. V. xii. p. 411, A.

<sup>9</sup> Photii Bibl. Cod. cclxxix. p. 1579, lin. 51.

<sup>1</sup> Liban. Orat. xiii. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> De Serâ Num. Vind. p. 553, B.

<sup>3</sup> Ad Nem. Od. II. 1. p. 331. col. 1, lin. ult.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod. ex edit. Robinson. p. 204.

rhapsodists. They composed their poems in pieces, which being joined together, formed a whole. The most ancient rhapsodist that we know of, is that Phemius whom Homer, who had been his disciple, has immortalized in his *Odyssey*. Plato<sup>5</sup> gives him the name of Rhapsodist; but whether these ancient poets, singers, or rhapsodists, who recited and sang verses of their own composition, carried a rod or branch of laurel, has been a point of controversy among critics. The most probable opinion is, that whilst singing their own compositions they did hold in their hands a branch of laurel, especially when they did not accompany themselves on any instrument. "We see from the verses of Hesiod," says Pausanias<sup>6</sup>, "that he recited his verses, holding in his hand a branch of laurel."

The rhapsodists of the second kind, that is to say, those who held in their hands a branch of laurel, came to the assistance of the poets, and were termed also 'hypocrites,' or actors. They were in request at the festivals and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, of Musæus, of Hesiod, of Archilochus, of Mimnermus, of Phocylides, and especially those of Homer. Of these, some were rhapsodists only in the sense of the second etymology. They contented themselves with reciting or singing the poetry of others, without adding any thing of their own. The others were doubly rhapsodists, like the ancient poets, but in a somewhat different sense. They had not the talent to compose, but they brought together the productions of the ancients, forming them into a whole, by joining either exordia or epilogues, and when thus finished they sang them, holding a laurel-branch in their hands. "Those<sup>7</sup> of the Bœotians who dwell in the vicinity of Helicon think, and it is a tradition which they hold from their ancestors, that Hesiod composed only the poem of the Works and the Days, but not the preamble or invocation to the Muses." It is considered that this preamble was the addition of some rhapsodist: we cannot therefore blame the learned Brunck for excluding it from the excellent edition of the Gnostic poets, which he published at Strasburg in 1784. He would perhaps, however, have done better, to print this exordium, placing it between brackets. These rhapsodists were also called Homerides, or Homerists, because they most frequently sang fragments of Homer. Pindar calls<sup>8</sup> them *ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ἀοιδούς*, 'singers of verses sewed together.'

The descendants of Homer were<sup>9</sup> the first rhapsodists. After them, Cynæthus of Chios acquired considerable celebrity; it is supposed even that he interpolated many verses of his own, and that the hymn in honour of Apollo is of his composition. But Nicocles affirms<sup>1</sup> that Hesiod is the most ancient of the rhapsodists.

The rhapsodists when they sang were seated on a stage, and accom-

<sup>5</sup> Plat. in *Ione*, vol. I. p. 533, c.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. xxx. p. 768.

<sup>7</sup> Id. *ibid.* XXXI. p. 771.

<sup>8</sup> Pindar. *Nem. Od.* II. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Pindari ad *Nem. Od.* II. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* col. 2, lin. 3.



panied themselves on the cithara or some other instrument, and in recompense received a crown of gold<sup>2</sup>. It was their endeavour not only to pronounce each poem in the rhythm which was appropriate to it, but to enter into the spirit of the poet, and to be so deeply imbued with his feeling as to be able to illustrate it; and as the poets speak of all the sciences and all the arts, the rhapsodists fancied themselves possessed of knowledge superior to that of all mankind; by which they rendered themselves ridiculous. Plato pointedly rallies them in his *Ion*.

The poems of Homer have been termed rhapsodies, either because he sang them himself, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, or because the Homerides sang them in that manner; and in that sense rhapsody comes from *ῥάβδος*, 'a rod' or 'branch;' or because Homer, having conceived and arranged the entire poem in his mind, only produced it book by book, which he fastened together till the whole was completed. In fact this poem was only to be met with in detached portions, till Pisistratus had it collected into one volume, and arranged it in order: and even long after this the *Iliad* appeared only in distinct portions, each of which had a different title, prefixed to it by some of the rhapsodists or grammarians<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps, too, these poems might be so termed, because the Homerides added verses of their own, which served as prologues and epilogues. In this sense, rhapsody comes from *ῥάπτω*, 'I sew.' In process of time, the terms rhapsody and rhapsodists, from the abuse of the art, became terms of reproach; insomuch that rhapsody came to signify a collection of wretched pieces tacked together. This perhaps arose from the rhapsodists attaching to the works of Homer irrelevant and insipid prologues and epilogues, or because the authors of certain parodies, termed *Ὀμηρόκεντρα*, or Centos of Homer, entitled them rhapsodies. Perrault (in his *Parallels between the Ancients and Moderns*) takes occasion from the first etymology to cast some sort of ridicule on the poems of Homer, which he admired no more than he understood them. Boileau, in refutation of him, rejects that etymology, though supported by the authority of the greatest and most ancient poets, as I have shown; and he advocates the second, which he considers more favourable to the cause he defends.

This kind of etymology, or tracing the signification of words to their origin, should not be too much dwelt on; still less is any inference of commendation or censure to be drawn from it. For instance, there are words which in their origin were eulogistic, and have subsequently become contemptuous, and amongst these are the terms 'rhapsodists' and 'rhapsody.' Again there are others, which from signifying an ordinary or profane object have become venerable with the Romans, and hence adopted into the Latin Church. Of this number is the word 'Pontifex,' which originally and etymologically means, 'a constructor of bridges:' this name was applied by the Romans to the minister of

<sup>2</sup> Plat. in *Ion*, vol. I. p. 541, c.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus, II. cxvi. note.

sacred things, to the high priest, because it was one of his duties to cause to be kept in good repair the wooden bridge over the Tiber.

132. Τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. *He wished to expel him (the deified Adrastus) from the country.* Adrastus, the son of Talaus, king of Argos, took up arms in favour of Polynices, whom his brother Eteocles had driven from Thebes. He lost the battle, and the greater part of his chiefs were killed; but he was fortunate enough to escape, through the swiftness of his steed <sup>4</sup> Arion, so celebrated by the poets. As the Thebans would not allow the rites of burial to the seven Argian chiefs who fell before the walls of their city, Adrastus implored the protection of Theseus, and it was perhaps from this circumstance that the Athenians <sup>5</sup> built a chapel in honor of him at Colonus, a celebrated village of Attica, where the interview between those two princes took place. Having afterwards been driven from that part of Argos which belonged to him, he retired to Sicyon; but to comprehend the motive for his doing so, we must know by what means he had become king of that territory.

Proetus reigned over the whole of Argolis. His daughters having become insane, he sent for the soothsayer Melampus, who traced his descent from Hellen. This soothsayer cured the daughters of Proetus, for the recompense of two-thirds <sup>6</sup> of the kingdom. Melampus <sup>7</sup> kept one of these thirds for himself, and gave the other to his brother Bias, to whom he was strongly attached. Thus the kingdom of Argos was divided amongst the Melampodides, the Biantides, and the Proetides. Melampus had a son named Antiphates, who was father of Œcles, and Œcles of Amphiaraus. Bias was the father of Talaus, and the latter of Adrastus. The descendants of Proetus were Megapenthes, Hipponus, Capaneus, and Sthenelus. A difference arose between Amphiaraus the descendant of Melampus, and Adrastus grandson of Bias. Amphiaraus was killed by Talaus; and Adrastus his son was obliged to fly on account of this murder. He took refuge in Sicyon with Polybius, who was its king; and was so successful in gaining the good-will of that monarch, that the latter gave him his daughter in marriage, and, having no male children, named him his successor. Adrastus having succeeded Polybius, governed his subjects mildly, and they, out of gratitude, erected a temple or chapel in honour of him, which still subsisted in <sup>8</sup> the time of Herodotus.

They also instituted a festival with a chorus, in which his misfortunes were commemorated. It was this festival which Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was so anxious to abolish in his dominions. I do not know whether, after his death, it was revived.

133. Ἡρώων. *A chapel.* This was the name given to the chapels that were consecrated to heroes. In all probability, the ashes of Adras-

<sup>4</sup> Apollodori Biblioth. III. vi. p. 180. p. 401. col. 1, lin. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. xxx. p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. V. lxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Nem. ix. 30.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid.

tus were deposited there. Dieutyichidas<sup>9</sup> relates, in the third book of his History of Megara, that Adrastus was buried in that city, and that it was his cenotaph only which was at Sicyon.

134. Λευστήρα. *And he a robber.* With Hesychius, I take the word in an active sense: φονέα λίθοις ἀναιρουῖντα, 'a murderer who puts to death with stones,' 'who stones.' Ælian<sup>1</sup> employs it in this sense. Τὸν Κασσανδρέων λευστήρα. If we take it in the passive sense, it should be translated, 'and he that deserved to be stoned.' [Suidas (II. p. 435.) takes the word in the passive sense: he says, λευστήρ ὁ καταλευσθῆναι ἄξιος, τουτέστι, λιθοβοληθῆναι.]

135. Μελάνιππον τὸν Ἀστακοῦ. *Melanippus, son of Astacus.* "They show<sup>2</sup> on the highway the tomb of Melanippus, the greatest warrior that the Thebans ever had. When the Argians came to attack Thebes, he killed Tydeus and Mecisteus, the brother of Adrastus; and it is said that he fell by the hands of Amphiaraus."

136. Τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι. *In tragic choruses.* From this it might be inferred that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy. Themistius also has said<sup>3</sup>, "The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenian poets brought it to perfection." See also Suidas, under the word Θέσπης, where he says that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragic poet, and Thespis only the sixteenth. See likewise the same writer, under the word οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον.

It is nevertheless true that tragedy cannot be traced farther back than Thespis; but to prove this, would require a dissertation exceeding the limits of a note.

With regard to the passage of Herodotus, as that historian lived at a time when tragedy had attained its perfection, he gives, by a prolepsis, the name of tragic chorus to the chorus in honour of Adrastus, though tragic composition was not known at the time. This figure is frequently employed by the most approved authors.

LXVIII. 137. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ὕος τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς, αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε. *Transferring to them the names of pig and ass, he added to these the same terminations.* M. Wesseling explains αὐτὰ by μόνα, 'solas et nonnisi terminationes addidit.' In my first edition, I adopted this explanation, and cited a verse of Homer, in which αὐτός is taken for 'solus.' But further reflection has induced me to prefer the opinion of Coray, whose note is as follows:—

"I correct ἀπὸ instead of ἐπὶ, and αται instead of αὐτὰ, and I read: ἀπὸ γὰρ ὕος τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς, αται τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε. I write αται without any accent, and consider it as the termination of the nouns which commence with ὕς and ὄνος, as appears from what follows: ἕτεροι δὲ, ὑᾶται· ἄλλοι δὲ, ὄνεᾶται· ἕτεροι δὲ, χοιρεᾶται."

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Pindari, ad Nem. VIII. ut supra 30. p. 401. col. I, lin. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. Hist. An. V. xv. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. IX. xviii. p. 745.

<sup>3</sup> Themist. Orat. XXVII. p. 337, B.

138. Μετέβαλον εἰς τοὺς Ὑλλείας. *They changed these names for those of Hyllei, &c.* Stephanus of Byzantium, at the word Δυμᾶν, tells us, that amongst the Dorians there were three tribes, that of the Hyllei, which took<sup>4</sup> its name from Hyllus, the son of Hercules, the Pamphylii, and the Dymanates, which were derived from Pamphylus and Dymas, sons<sup>5</sup> of Ægimius, king of the Dorians of the Tetrapolis. Herodotus terms Dymanates those whom Stephanus of Byzantium calls Dymanes. With regard to the fourth tribe, Euphorus<sup>6</sup> in the first book of his History, gives it the name of Hyrnithian. I should suppose that it was so called, or rather Hyrnethian, from<sup>7</sup> Hyrnetho, whose daughter Orsobia married Pamphylus, son of Ægimius.

Herodotus says that this tribe was called Ægialean, from Ægialeus, son of Adrastus; but the original name of Sicyonia was Ægialea<sup>8</sup>, which seems to have been given to it from its being built on the borders of the sea. The people who inhabited the maritime districts of Argolis, and especially the Achæi, were for this reason called Ægialei, a name frequently given to them by the poets, because it suits their verses.

LXIX. 139. Δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δήμους κατένεμε εἰς τὰς φυλάς. *Distributed the villages amongst the ten tribes.* Attica was originally divided into four tribes. Under Cecrops<sup>9</sup> they were named Cecropis, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia; these appellations were changed under Cranaus for those of Cranaïs, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris; under Erichthonius, they were called Dias, Athenaïs, Poseidonias, Hephæstias; under Erechtheus they were named, after the sons of Ion, Teleontes, Hopletes, Ægicores, Ergadeis; finally, in accordance with the answers of Apollo, the descendants of Alcmaeon established ten tribes, under the names Erechtheïs, Cecropis, Ægeïs, Pandionis, Acamantis, Antiochis, Leontis, Ceneïs, Hippothoontis, and Æantis. Afterwards, in the year 307 before the vulgar era, two other tribes<sup>1</sup> were added, that of Antigonis and that of Demetrias, in honour of Antigonus and his son Demetrius. About 110 years subsequent to this, that is to say, 197 years before our era, one of these tribes<sup>2</sup> changed its name for that of Attalis; and some time afterwards, the other took the name of Ptolemaïs.

140. Πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. *He was much above his opponents.* Clisthenes and Isagoras did not aspire to the tyranny; and though they had united for the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ from Athens, they were by no means of one mind. The first wished for the restoration of the democratic government; and increased the authority

<sup>4</sup> Henr. Valesii Emend. I. xxxii. p. 37, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. I. 121. p. 147. col. 1, lin. 8, et Pyth. V. 92. p. 256. col. 1, lin. penultimâ.

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byzant. voc. Δυμᾶν.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. II. xxviii. p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, VIII. p. 587, A.

<sup>9</sup> Pollucis Onomast. VIII. § cix. cx.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. XX. xlvi. p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> Polybii Excerpta ex Leg. iii. p. 1093.

of the people by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, which for that reason were more difficult to be gained over. Isagoras, on the other hand, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as there was no means of attaining this object but by force, he called to his assistance the Lacedæmonians.

LXX. 141. Ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένηα. *He expelled Clisthenes.* The Alcmaeonidæ returned<sup>3</sup> afterwards to Athens, and their families resided there in the time of Thucydides. The Lacedæmonians, under the pretext of religion, wished to drive them away at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; their real design, however, was to remove from the helm of government Pericles, who was descended, by his mother's side, from those who were stained with the murder of the partizans of Cylon. Megacles, maternal grandfather of that Alcibiades so famous for his<sup>4</sup> virtues and his vices, and Alcibiades, father of Clinias and grandfather of the other Alcibiades, were of that house, and were accordingly exiled. It is to this banishment that Andocides alludes in his oration against Alcibiades, when he says<sup>5</sup>: Ἀλλὰ μὲν, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τὸ γένος σκοπεῖν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμόθεν προσήκει τούτου τοῦ πράγματος. Mr. Taylor takes occasion from this passage to ascribe this oration, not to Andocides, but to Phæax<sup>6</sup>. The orator, he observes<sup>7</sup>, whoever he may be, says that he was rather of an ignoble than an illustrious family. But it can scarcely be Andocides who thus speaks of the meanness of his birth, as in so many other passages he boasts of its distinction, and of being descended from Ulysses. This reasoning is founded on the passage under consideration only, which Mr. Taylor does not appear to have understood. The orator does not deny his birth; he merely says, that if Alcibiades and himself were to be judged by their birth, exile would better become Alcibiades, whose two grandfathers had been banished, than himself, no member of whose family had ever incurred that penalty.

LXXI. 142. Ὀλυμπιονίκης. *He was a victor in the Olympic games.* According to Eusebius<sup>8</sup>, Cylon obtained the prize of the double stadium, in the 35th Olympiad. The fact is confirmed by Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, who does not however mention in what Olympiad it occurred.

143. Ἐκούμῃσε. *He carried his crest too high.* The ancient Greeks took particular care of their hair, and were proud of having it very long. Homer, for this reason, bestows on them the epithet of κερηκομόωντες, 'long-haired.' Hence the verb κομᾶν is applied, according to Eustathius<sup>1</sup>, to those whose vanity is inflated by success, and who fix

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxvi. cxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Andocid. contra Alcibiadem, p. 33, lin. 31, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 28, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Lectiones Lysiacæ, VI. pp. 694—5.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. col. 1. p. 694.

<sup>8</sup> Euseb. Chronic. prior, p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xxviii. p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Ad Homer. Iliad. II. p. 165, lin. 15.

their ambition upon any office, &c. and in confirmation of this he cites the above passage from our historian.

The French kings of the first race wore their hair peculiarly long; and when it was desired to render them incapable of reigning, their hair was cut off.

144. Καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη. *He attempted to seize the citadel.* Cylon was<sup>2</sup> of one of the most illustrious families in Athens, and very rich; he had married a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. A statue of bronze<sup>3</sup> had been erected to him in the citadel; which is a subject of some surprise, and so it seemed to Pausanias, who conjectures, however, that it was because he was one of the finest men in Athens, and had obtained at the Olympic games the prize of the double stadium.

145. Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων. *The prytanes of the Naucrari.* To understand who the prytanes of the Naucrari were, it is necessary to know something of the government of Athens. There were several kinds of magistrates in that city; the archons, the senate of the Areopagus, and that of the Five Hundred. This passage refers only to the latter. At the time when the republic of Athens was divided into four tribes, a hundred men were chosen by ballot from each of them<sup>4</sup>; so that the senate was then composed but of 400. Clisthenes having afterwards instituted ten tribes<sup>5</sup>, 50 were then chosen from each tribe, and the senate comprised 500 persons. But when the number of the tribes was increased to twelve, that of the senate amounted to 600<sup>6</sup>. To be admitted into this senate, a person must have attained the age which Libanius terms<sup>7</sup> βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία, the age of a senator, and which I suppose to be the same as was necessary to hold the office of a judge, that is to say thirty years, as we find from the oath of the Heliastæ<sup>8</sup>. This senate was annual<sup>9</sup>, and was thus distinguished from the Areopagus, which was perpetual; it took cognizance of public matters, and no affair could be carried before the people without a 'senatusconsultum,' προβούλευμα, because the people were liable to be misled by first appearances.

But as the nature of the present work does not permit me to expatiate at great length on this senate, I will pass to the Prytanes, who are the immediate objects of this note. To form a clear idea of them, we must bear in mind that the Athenian year<sup>1</sup> was not a solar but a lunar year. The solar year contains 365 days, the lunar 354. This difference of 11 days between the two years was thrown together every

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 88, v, x.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. V. lxvi.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. apud Oratores: ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Πεντακοσίων, the senate of the Five Hundred.

<sup>7</sup> Argument. in Orat. Demosth. contr. Androt. p. 380, lin. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Demosth. advers. Timocrat. p. 470. § 238.

<sup>9</sup> Argument. Orat. Demosth. in Androt. p. 380, lin. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. lin. 30.



three years, and constituted an intercalary month of 33 days, ἐμβόλιμον μῆνα.

As the great number of senators only served to embarrass the public business, and retard its progress, they were divided into 10 parts, 50 to a tribe. Each of these divisions was in office for 35 days; thus the 10 tribes administered the government for 350 days. But as there remained four days of the year, they were divided between the four tribes whom chance had allotted to come first into office<sup>2</sup>. These four first tribes therefore presided for 36 days, whilst the others governed only 35. Libanius, or the author, whoever he be, of the Oration of Demosthenes against Androtion<sup>3</sup>, says, that these four days were appropriated to the election of the new magistrates, and that during that time there was an anarchy. He has led into error two writers of the first merit, Scaliger<sup>4</sup> and Father Petavius<sup>5</sup>; but Dodwell<sup>6</sup> has completely refuted them. The fifty senators in office were called prytanes<sup>7</sup>, and the time during which they exercised their functions, prytanea. There were ten<sup>8</sup> prytaneæ in each year, agreeing with the number of the tribes. This is very clearly explained by Julius Pollux<sup>9</sup>. "The prytanea," says he, "is the time during which each tribe presides. When they were but ten, each tribe presided for a longer time; but now they are twelve, each presides for one month only."

This also appears from an inscription found in the citadel of Athens, upon a marble in the possession of the Count de Choiseul Gouffier, formerly ambassador to the Porte, and commented on by the late Abbé Barthélemy. This inscription is of the twenty-second year of the Peloponnesian war, from the 14th July of the year 410, to the same day in the year 409, B.C. At that period there were but ten tribes, and consequently but ten prytaneæ, each of which governed thirty-five days, excepting the four first, which continued in office for thirty-six days. The order in which each tribe presided was determined by lot. The prytanes<sup>1</sup> were maintained at the public expense in a hall of the prytaneum, called Tholus, probably because<sup>2</sup> it was vaulted. Their functions were to convene the senate, to take charge of the business to be brought before it, to convoke the assemblies of the people, and to preside over them. But as these functions<sup>3</sup> could not be conveniently executed by the fifty prytanes, they were divided into five classes of

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, voc. πρυτανεία. vol. III. p. 200. Harpocration, voc. πρυτανείας, p. 156; Dodwell de Cyclis, Dissertat. I. § ix. p. 15; Corsini, Fast. Att. pars I. Dissert. II. vol. I. p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Liban. Argum. in Orat. contr. Androt. p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> Canon Isogog. III. vii. p. 234. de Emend. Temp. II. p. 62, et III. p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> Doctrin. Temp. I. v. p. 6. col. 1; xv. p. 19. col. 1; II. i. p. 46. col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> De Cyclis, Dissert. I. ix. p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Argum. in Orat. Demosth. contr. Androt. p. 380, lin. 10 à fine.

<sup>8</sup> Suidas, voc. πρυτανεία, vol. III. p. 220.

<sup>9</sup> Polluc. Onomast. VIII. ix. § cxv. p. 938.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. VIII. xv. § clv. p. 972; Harpocrat. et Hesych. in Tholus.

<sup>2</sup> Harpocrat. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Argum. in Orat. Demosth. advers. Androt. p. 380, lin. 15 à fine.



ten in each, called proedri. From among these proedri seven were elected, each of which presided in turn over the other prytanes and the six proedri. He was called epistates. Thus among the fifty prytanes, there were only thirty-five who could be epistatæ, and consequently the same senator could not be epistates twice in one year. The Athenians being exceedingly jealous of their liberty, assigned to the epistates but one day's authority, that he might have no opportunity of abusing it. He had, while in office<sup>4</sup>, the keys of the citadel, the seal, and the treasury of the republic under his command. Besides this authority, his principal duties were, to propose to the senate matters for their discussion, to ask their advice, and put the different questions to the vote.

Since I have been led to say so much of the senate of Five Hundred, it may be as well to remark, that there was another kind of proedri and of epistatæ, less known than those of which I have spoken, who presided over the assemblies of the people, and ascertained the decision on matters put to the vote. They were elected in the following manner. The epistates of the prytanea drew by lot a proedrus from each of the nine tribes then out of office, and from these nine proedri he selected an epistates. This is clearly explained by Suidas<sup>5</sup>. "When the prytanes assemble the senate or the people, the epistates chooses by lot nine proedri from each tribe, excepting the one in office, and from these nine proedri an epistates, to whom he commits the public business. This officer introduces the various proceedings, and takes care that every thing is conducted according to law." These proedri and this epistates subsisted only during the time of the assembly of the people, whereas the other proedri exercised their functions for seven days, and their epistates for one. But on these points it may be well to consult the learned Father Corsini<sup>6</sup>, from whom I have abridged the above remarks.

Let us now proceed to the Naucrari. The people of Athens were originally divided into four tribes, but Clisthenes separated them into ten; and in the third year of the 118th Olympiad, two new tribes were added. These tribes were subdivided into cantons, or δῆμοι. These δῆμοι or cantons<sup>7</sup> were anciently called Naucrariæ, and their magistrates, who were afterwards called Demarchi, then bore the name of ναύκληροι.

This has been pointed out by M. De St. Croix in the Tables of the Travels of Anacharsis, vol. VII. p. 166. These tables, which are the fruit of intense labour and profound knowledge, are not the least valuable part of that work.

Other authors call these magistrates Ναύκραροι, and contend that

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. lin. 12 à fine.

<sup>5</sup> Suidas, voc. Ἐπιστάτης, vol. I. p. 830.

<sup>6</sup> Fast. Att. pars I. Dissert. II.

§ xxvii. p. 101 ; Dissert. VI. § iv. v. &c.

p. 265, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Jul. Polluc. Onomast. VIII. ix.

§ cviii. vol. II. pp. 929, 930.

there is an essential difference<sup>8</sup> between the ναύκαραι and the ναύκληροι; but I am of opinion that there is none at all, and that ναύκαραι is only a corruption of ναύκληροι. The Naucraria then constituted the twelfth part of a tribe<sup>9</sup>. There were four to each τριτὺς, or third of a tribe. The naucrari had the management of the contributions of each canton or Demos, of which they regulated the expenses. Each naucraria furnished two horsemen and a vessel; and it is perhaps from this vessel that it derives its name. Some, however, think that the word ναύκληρος signified 'the master of a house,' as Julius Pollux<sup>1</sup> understands it, and that ναῦς comes from ναίειν, 'to inhabit.' But upon this passage of the Onomasticon, see the note of the late M. de Hemsterhuis, one of the most learned men that Europe has produced since the revival of letters.

Before Theseus had united into a single body the different senates of Attica, each canton or Demos<sup>2</sup> had its own, which was governed, most probably, by the same rules as were observed in that of Athens. Thus the prytanes of the naucrari were merely the portion of each of these little senates, for the time being, in office. As these senates, however, had long been merged in that of Athens, some persons will be inclined to think that our historian has taken these terms, 'prytanes of the naucrari,' in a sense peculiar to himself, and that by naucrari he means the people of Athens in general, the householders; and by the prytanes, their magistrates. We know that in some of the Dorian cities the prytanes were the first magistrates, and indeed what the Archons were at Athens. Livy, speaking of Hegesilochus, says<sup>3</sup>, "Cum in summo magistratu esset, *Prytanin* ipsi Rhodii vocant." The first magistrates of Corinth<sup>4</sup> likewise bore this name, and remained in office only for a year. Herodotus being a Dorian, though he wrote in the Ionian dialect, was, consequently, in the habit of giving the name of prytanes to the first magistrate, and may therefore have done so in speaking of those of Athens. And what convinces me of this is, that Thucydides, in relating the same story, attributes to the archons what Herodotus advances of the prytanes of the naucrari. "Those," says this historian<sup>5</sup>, "to whom the people had confided the keeping of the citadel, seeing the partisans of Cylon perish at the feet of the statue of Minerva, caused them to go out of the citadel, promising them that no harm should be done to them." Now he had said, a little before<sup>6</sup>, that it was to the nine archons that the people had entrusted the care of the citadel. These archons, therefore, were the same with the prytanes of the naucrari: for Pausanias expresses himself<sup>7</sup> in the same manner as Thucydides, Οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχάς. Harpocration says that the name

<sup>8</sup> Ammon. de Differentiis Vocum, voc. Ναύκληροι, p. 96.

<sup>9</sup> Jul. Poll. loco laudato.

<sup>1</sup> Id. X. iii. § xx. p. 1164.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 11, A.

<sup>3</sup> Tit. Liv. XLII. xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. II. iv. p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxvi. p. 81, lin. 88.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. p. 81, lin. 78.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VII. xxv. p. 588.

of naucrari was given to the archons, and cites the above passage in confirmation of it; and to this he adds the testimony of Aristotle, who, in his treatise on the government of Athens, says, "they established Demarchi, whose functions were the same as had formerly been committed to the naucrari." Ναυκράρους τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Ἀρχοντας ἔλεγον, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ Ἡρόδοτος δηλοῖ. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ φησί· Κατέστησαν δὲ Δημάρχους τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντας ἐπιμέλειαν τοῖς πρότερον Ναυκράροις<sup>8</sup>. It appears clearly from a passage of Plutarch<sup>9</sup> also, that they were the archons who punished the accomplices in the conspiracy of Cylon.

146. Ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου. *Resigned to punishment short of death.* They were, nevertheless, put to death, which excited great tumults in Athens; and to this was added a contagious malady, which depopulated not only the city of Athens, but all Attica. The Athenians, in these calamities had recourse to the gods. They sent<sup>1</sup> to consult the oracle, which answered them, that if they would be relieved from these scourges, Epimenides must purify their city.

Epimenides<sup>2</sup> of Phæstum, in the island of Crete, then enjoyed the highest reputation. He was<sup>3</sup> a celebrated soothsayer, who expiated cities and people by certain ceremonies and mysterious words. The Athenians sent for him<sup>4</sup>, having deputed for this purpose Nicias, son of Niceratus, one of the most distinguished citizens of Athens. Epimenides having, on his arrival, purified the city, the contagion abated, and tranquillity was restored. He purified it in the following manner. He took with him a number of black and white sheep, and when he was near the Areopagus, he suffered them to go their own way; ordering that they should be followed, and that they should sacrifice to the 'suitable god,' τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ, each sheep on the spot where it should first lie down: and hence it is, that to the present day altars are found in Attica without any name inscribed on them. These altars were erected to perpetuate the memory of the expiation made on that occasion. They were dedicated, as Pausanias says<sup>5</sup>, to the unknown gods, Βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων; and to this authority may be added that of Philostratus. "It<sup>6</sup> is the wisest course to speak well of all the gods, and especially at Athens, where altars have been erected even to the unknown gods, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἱδρύνται." Suidas, under the word Timasion, quotes this passage from Philostratus, but without naming the authority.

It was these altars which gave occasion to St. Paul, when before the Areopagus, to deliver that eloquent discourse on the true God, the exordium of which is so striking<sup>7</sup>. "Ye men of Athens, I perceive

<sup>8</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Ναυκραρικά.

<sup>9</sup> De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 549, A.

<sup>1</sup> Diogen. Laërt. I. cx.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, X. p. 734, B. c.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. xiv. p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laërt. I. cx.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. i. p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> In vitâ Apollonii, VI. III. p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> Acts xvii. 22, et s.

that in all things ye are too superstitious<sup>o</sup>. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." 'The unknown God' of Athens is twice referred to in the dialogue entitled *Philopatris* erroneously ascribed to Lucian<sup>o</sup>.

147. Φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. *The Alcmaeonidae were accused of these murders.* Thucydides relates the same transactions in a more clear and circumstantial manner, which the reader will probably not be displeased to see quoted. "Cylon of Athens<sup>1</sup>," says that author, "had gained the victory at the Olympic games; he was of illustrious birth, and possessed considerable influence. He had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. Having consulted the oracle of Delphi, the god directed him to seize on the citadel of Athens, on the day of the grandest festival of Jupiter. With the assistance of his friends and of some troops sent him by his father-in-law, he rendered himself master of the citadel, with the view of making himself tyrant when the Olympic games took place in the Peloponnesus, thinking that to be the great festival of Jupiter, and that he was in some degree connected with it, as having been victorious in the games. But Cylon omitted to consider whether the oracle spoke of the grandest festival of Jupiter celebrated in Attica, or elsewhere, nor did the god explain himself on the point. The Athenians have a festival called Diasia, which is a grand sacrifice in honour of Jupiter Meilichius, and is celebrated without the city. Cylon imagining that he had seized the true meaning of the oracle, commenced his enterprise. The Athenians ran in from the country, and besieged him and his accomplices in the citadel. But as the siege was protracted to some length, and they became tired of it, they retired for the most part, and entrusted the custody of the citadel to the nine archons, with the charge of finally determining the affair as to them might seem best. The greater part of the public affairs was then under the direction of the archons. The besieged suffered greatly from hunger and thirst, but Cylon and his brother escaped. With respect to the remainder, some perished with hunger, whilst others took sanctuary round the altar that is in the citadel. The guards to whom the citadel had been confided, finding that these died in the sacred precinct, induced them to leave it, promising that no harm should befall them; but having led them forth, they massacred them, with several others whom they found in the attitude of supplicants round the altar of the Eumenides. These magi-

<sup>o</sup> I doubt whether the Greek expression, *Δεισιδαίμων*, is properly rendered by the word 'superstitious.' It is often taken to signify a religious man, in a favourable sense; and I doubt not that such is its meaning in this passage. It would not have been consistent with

St. Paul's knowledge of the art of oratory to have begun by addressing insults to that body, whose good-will it was his business to conciliate.

<sup>o</sup> Luciani opera, vol. III. p. 594. ix.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxvi. p. 80, et s.

strates and their whole posterity were consequently anathematized. The Athenians expelled them from their city. Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, at a subsequent period, when Athens was divided into factions, again caused their expulsion. Not content with exiling the survivors, the ashes of the dead were dug up, and cast out of Attica. The exiles afterwards returned, and their families still subsist in that city."

Plutarch<sup>2</sup> says that their bodies were disinterred, and cast out of Attica, and that the grandchildren of those who had been massacred were not witnesses of this punishment. Plutarch does not name the Alcmaeonidæ; but by comparing the passage with the latter part of that which I have quoted from Thucydides, it will be seen that it can only refer to them.

Plutarch, who had barely touched on this story, gives it more at length in his life of Solon; and as he there gives some particulars which we do not find in Thucydides, I have thought it right to subjoin his account. "The anathema<sup>3</sup> incurred by the murder of Cylon, had long caused great calamities to the city. They began at the time when the accomplices of Cylon took refuge in the temple of Minerva. Megacles, who was then archon, persuaded them to quit it, and to meet the demands of justice. They tied a thread to the statue of the goddess, and held it in their hands. When they were near the altar of the Eumenides, the thread broke, and Megacles with his companions immediately fell upon them, as if the goddess had rejected their supplications. Those who were without the temple were immediately stoned, and those who had taken refuge at the foot of the altar were put to the sword. None were spared but those who implored the protection of the wives of the archons. The authors of this massacre were from that time held in abhorrence, and considered as under an anathema."

The conspiracy of Cylon took place in the year 4102 of the Julian period, 612 years before our era, as we learn from the above passage of Plutarch, in which we see that Megacles was then archon. His archontate comprised the six last months of the fourth year of the 41st Olympiad, and the six first months of the 42nd.

LXXII. 148. *Αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε.* *The latter retired.* Ælian<sup>4</sup> says Clisthenes was the author of the Athenian law of Ostracism, and that he was the first person banished in virtue of it. But that opinion is peculiar to Ælian. Clisthenes was indeed banished, but not by virtue of that law, but because he was one of the descendants of those who punished with death the accomplices of Cylon, in violation of a pledge of faith. The various writers differ greatly in opinion<sup>5</sup> as to the author of this law. It should seem that the first who incurred the penalty of

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 549, A.

<sup>3</sup> Idem in Solone, p. 84, A. B.

<sup>4</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. XIII. xxiv. p. 890.

<sup>5</sup> Meursii Atticæ Lectiones, V. xviii. p. 280.

ostracism was Hipparchus<sup>6</sup> the son of Charmas, or rather of Timarchus, as Lycurgus says<sup>7</sup>.

149. Ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων. *Athenian families.* This epithet is not superfluous, although it might appear so to a cursory reader. Herodotus has used it, because there were at Athens many foreigners who were domiciled and enjoyed all the rights of citizenship, except that they could fill no office of authority in the state. They were called Μέτοικοι, a term which properly signifies, 'persons who have changed their domicile from one place to another, who have quitted their country to settle elsewhere.' Their descendants, however remote, were disqualified from holding office equally with their ancestors, unless, in consideration of some especial services, the disability was done away.

150. Φήμη. *The presage.* It is what the Latins termed 'omen.' "Omen," says Festus, "quasi oremen, quia fit ab ore." The ancients paid attention to the words of all whom they met, with a view to draw from them some passage of the future. "Neque<sup>8</sup> solum Deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant omina." Xenophon says<sup>9</sup>, χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις, 'they observe presages;' and two lines further on, he adds, οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν . . . . οὐ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα: 'Not that they believe that those who meet them know what will be useful to them.' Homer<sup>1</sup> employs this word in a more definite sense, φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων, 'that some man may speak a word to me, which may serve as a presage.'

151. Πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι. *Before he had passed the gate.* Ἀμείβω signifies not only 'muto,' but also 'prætereo,' 'transeo.' 'Muto' is also sometimes used by the Latins in the same sense; as we find in the following verses of Lucretius<sup>2</sup>:

Denique quam suavi devinxit membra sopore  
Somnus, et in summa corpus jacet omne quiete;  
. . . . .  
Concluso . . . loco cœlum, mare, flumina, monteis  
Mutare, et campos pedibus transire videmur.

152. Κληδόνι. *The presage.* Κληδών, or κληδών, is the same as φήμη, which, as we have seen, signifies a presage. The scholia attributed to Didymus explain the word φήμην, quoted in the preceding note, by κληδόνα<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, what Herodotus, in IX. xcix. calls φήμη, he, in c. of the same book, names κληδών.

153. Πάλιν. *For the second time.* See lxiv. and lxv. supra. The Lacedæmonians, after having vainly besieged the Pisistratidæ in the citadel of Athens, returned to Sparta. Aristophanes alludes to this

<sup>6</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Ἱππάρχος, p. 91.  
<sup>7</sup> Lycurg. in Leocratem, p. 164, lin. 26.  
<sup>8</sup> Cic. Divinat. I. xlv.  
<sup>9</sup> Xen. Soc. Mem. I. i. § iii. p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Homeri Odyss. XX. 100. 105.  
<sup>2</sup> Lucret. IV. 455, et s.  
<sup>3</sup> Ad Odyss. XX. 100, et 105.



forced retreat. "Cleomenes," he says<sup>4</sup>, "who first seized our citadel, did not get off safe and sound, but, in spite of his Spartan pride, left his arms behind him."

154. Τὸν Δελφόν. *The Delphian*. I read with<sup>5</sup> Paulmier de Grentemenil, τὸν Δελφόν, instead of τὸν ἀδελφεόν, a happy conjecture, approved by both Wesseling and Valckenaer, and founded on the account given by Pausanias. "Not far from the statue of Promachus," says that historian<sup>6</sup>, "is seen that of Timasitheus of Delphi, which is the work of Agelades of Argos. He gained the prize of the Pancratium three times in the Olympic, and three times in the Pythic games. In war also he performed actions remarkable for their boldness, and for their success, excepting the last, which proved fatal to him. Isagoras having made himself master of the citadel of Athens, with the intention of becoming tyrant of the country, Timasitheus took part in the attempt, and being one of those who remained in the citadel, the Athenians punished him with death."

155. Δήματος. *Of greatness of soul*. There is a great difference between λῆμα and λῆμμα. Δῆμα comes from λῶ, θέλω, θελήσω; λῆμμα, from λήβω, for λαμβάνω. Ammonius<sup>7</sup> explains this difference perfectly well. Δῆμα, with a single μ, signifies 'strength, or impetuosity of soul;' λῆμμα, with two μ, signifies 'what is taken,' 'gain.'

LXXIV. 156. Ὑσιᾶς. *Hysiaë*. It does not appear that Hysiaë ever made a part of Attica. Mount Cithæron was between that town and Cēnoë. When the Plataeans entered Attica, they first<sup>8</sup> took the road which led direct to Thebes; afterwards turning to the right, towards Mount Cithæron, they reached Erythræ and Hysiaë, and having afterwards crossed that mountain, they entered Attica. Herodotus himself (IX. xv. and xxv.) places Hysiaë at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in the territory of Plataea. This therefore cannot be the same place which he here mentions as near Cēnoë. I should prefer reading Phylè, which was not far distant, and which the Bœotians must have reached after having passed Mount Parnes. [The probability is, that Hysia, which belonged to Bœotia, had been occupied by the Athenians<sup>9</sup>.]

157. Ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. *They arrayed themselves in arms to meet, &c.* This Greek expression, which we so often find in Thucydides, as well as in the retreat of the Ten Thousand and elsewhere, signifies, 'they took up their arms, or put on their armour, to go to meet' . . . . Θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα is explained by the scholiast of Thucydides<sup>1</sup> by περιθέμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, and Suidas interprets θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα, περιθέμενος καὶ ὀπλισάμενος, 'arming themselves.' Θέμενοι<sup>2</sup> δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα, 'repaired in arms to the place,' or 'in order of battle.'

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. Lysistr. 273, et s.

<sup>5</sup> Palmerii Exercit. in Auct. Gr. p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VI. viii. p. 472.

<sup>7</sup> Ammonius de Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentiâ, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. III. xxiv. p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Müller's Orchomen. p. 410.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Thucyd. II. ii. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. ibid.



LXXV. 158. Τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον. *One of the two Tyndaridæ.* Castor and Pollux. This passage is obscure, because we possess very little knowledge of the customs of Sparta. We know generally, that the Lacedæmonians called to their assistance the Tyndaridæ, and that they considered themselves as marching under their auspices. When the Epizephyrian Locrians<sup>3</sup> sent to Lacedæmon to ask succours, they were answered that no troops should be sent, but the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux). As these two brothers were the protectors of Sparta, it is natural to think that when one of the two kings marched with the army, the image of one of the two Tyndaridæ should accompany him, whilst the other remained in the city with the other king. But as these two heroes were represented by two pieces of wood exactly alike<sup>4</sup>, and joined together by two others placed crosswise, it became necessary to separate them. These effigies were called Docana. This manner of representing the two brothers, was doubtless adopted as emblematic of their union and concord.

LXXVI. 159. Δωριέες. *The Dorians.* These are the Dorians established in the Peloponnesus. If he does not call them Peloponnesians, it is because that term would comprise the Arcadians, who were Autochthones, and who had no share in this expedition.

160. Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος. *Under the reign of Codrus.* "A famine having<sup>5</sup> been experienced in the Peloponnesus under the reign of Codrus, the Peloponnesians resolved to march against Athens, to drive out the inhabitants, and take possession of the country. They first sent to Delphi to inquire of the god whether they should take the city. The god having answered them that they would take it, if they did not kill Codrus, who was king of it, they began their march. This oracle having come to the knowledge of Cleomantis of Delphi, he secretly sent notice of it to the Athenians . . . . Kings<sup>6</sup> were then so generous, that they preferred dying for the welfare of their subjects, to surviving the fall of their country, and passing into a foreign land. Thus it is related that Codrus ordered the Athenians to watch the moment of his death, and taking the habit of a mendicant for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, he mingled with those who were picking up branches of trees, and began to pick up some that were in front of the town. Two men from the enemy's camp having approached him, and having asked him what was passing in the town, he immediately attacked one of them with his bill-hook, and killed him; the other, irritated by this action, and mistaking Codrus for a beggar, slew him with his sword. The Athenians thereupon dispatched a herald to demand the body of their king, for the purpose of interment, and thus discovered the truth to the Peloponnesians. The latter immediately returned the body, and, convinced

<sup>3</sup> Zenobii Cent. II. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Περὶ Φιλαδελφίας, p. 20, &.

478, A.

<sup>5</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. p. 158, lin.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 32, &c.

that it was now impossible for them to obtain possession of Attica, withdrew. The republic ordered that Cleomantis of Delphi should be maintained at the public expense, in the Prytaneum, himself and his posterity for ever."

If this generous prince thus devoted himself for the safety of his country, the people on their part granted him divine honours'. Suidas relates the same thing, under the word Ἀδηλώσας.

LXXVII. 161. Ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ. *On the territories of the horse-breeders.* As the pasturage of Eubœa was not abundant, none but very rich persons could maintain horses. Good pasturage was still more scarce in Attica; and the keeping of horses was there ruinous. Thus Strepsiades, when he reflected<sup>8</sup> on the debts he had contracted by buying a horse for twelve minæ, exclaims, "Would to heaven my eyes had first been knocked out with a stone!"

162. Οἱ παχείς. *The richest inhabitants.* Varinus Phavorinus, under the word παχεῖς, says: παχεῖς, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς πλουσίους καλοῦσι συνήθως. 'The Athenians in familiar language term rich people παχεῖς,' (fat or large.) The comic poet, who delights in the use of Attic expressions, says<sup>9</sup>:

Καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ παχὺς ἦκει τῶν προδόντων  
Τὰπὶ Θράκης.

'There is a rich man, one of those who delivered Thrace.'

163. Διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. *For a ransom of two minæ a head.* The two minæ are about seven pounds sterling. It was the common price of ransom in the Peloponnesus. (See VI. lxxix.) This ransom appears to me the more exorbitant, as the Greeks were far from rich at that period.

164. Ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου. *Opposite to the temple.* Μέγαρον is taken sometimes for a 'temple,' sometimes for a 'palace,' and sometimes for the 'house of a private individual.' It seems to me, that it here means some temple particularly known by this name.

I at first imagined that it was that of Ceres, because the temples<sup>1</sup> of that goddess were frequently called Μέγαρα. But having since reflected that there was no temple of Ceres in the citadel, and that on the west side of it there were two temples, one of Agrauros, daughter of Cecrops, and the other of Victoria Apteros, or without wings; I am the rather inclined to think that Herodotus alludes to one of these, as he says it was towards the west. But in any case, our historian's expression, which perhaps in his own time was not obscure, is very much so now. Nothing can be decided with certainty on these points; for the

<sup>7</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. p. 159, lin. 3 et 4.

<sup>8</sup> Aristoph. Nub. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 288. ex edit. Brunck.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. I. xl. p. 97, lin. ult.

monuments and curiosities of the citadel of Athens were so numerous, that Heliodorus, an Athenian<sup>2</sup>, filled fifteen books with the description of them. The subject was so rich and so abundant, that not having been exhausted, Polemon Periegetes wrote four other books by way of completing it<sup>3</sup>. The statues were so very numerous, that though the Romans, and especially Nero, had taken away an immense number of them, there remained in Pliny's time more than three thousand.

165. Τέθριππον χάλκεον. *A car of bronze with four horses.* The propylæa of the citadel were rebuilt by Pericles, in the most magnificent style, with white marble, and equestrian figures were erected on pedestals at each extremity. Pausanias, who has furnished us with these particulars, and who speaks also of this car of bronze<sup>4</sup>, has omitted to mention the spot where it was placed. The Venetians destroyed the roof and the pediment, when they attacked the citadel in 1687.

LXXIX. 166. Ἐς πολύφημον. *To the assembly of the people.* Though the Pythic oracle usually employed enigmatical modes of expression, I do not think that in this instance it enveloped itself in any very impenetrable obscurity. Πολύφημον cannot be a proper name, and has therefore been erroneously rendered by Polyphemum, with a capital letter. It is here taken substantively, and signifies the assembly of the people, where various matters were frequently discussed, and considerable debates arose. Hesychius says, Πολύφημον, . . . Ἐκκλησία ἐν ᾗ πολλὰ φῆμαι καὶ κληδόνες εἰσίν.

167. Θεοπρόποι. *The envoys.* We must remark that this word signifies not only 'soothsayers' and 'prophets,' but also those who are sent to consult an oracle; and it is then, as in the present passage, synonymous with θεωροί. Herodotus sometimes uses it in this sense, as in I. lxvi. where it occurs twice, though I have not noticed it.

LXXX. 168. Ἀσωποῦ λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴγινα. *Thebe and Ægina are said to have been daughters of Asopus.* "Oceanus, as the fable runs<sup>5</sup>, had by Tethys several children, celebrated by the names of the rivers which were given to them, and amongst others Peneus and Asopus. Peneus inhabited the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus lived at Phlius, and married Metope, daughter of Ladon, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cercyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried off from Phlius by Jupiter, to the island to which she gave her name. Asopus<sup>6</sup> being apprised of this abduction by Sisyphus, went in pursuit of her, but was

<sup>2</sup> Athen. VI. iii. p. 229, ε.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 607, α.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxviii. p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxii. vol. I. p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Callimachi ad Hymn. in Del.  
78.

struck by Jupiter with a thunderbolt." Hence Callimachus calls this river βαρύγουνος, 'the lagging Asopus.'

LXXXII. 169. Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξήσιος ἀγάλματα. *The statues of Damia and Auxesia.* Damia and Auxesia were the same with Ceres and Proserpine. We learn this from a commentary of Aristides, which has never been printed, and which was in possession of the late M. Burmann. "The Epidaurians," says this scholiast, "were perishing with hunger; the Pythoness directed them to erect to Ceres and Proserpine statues made from the wood of the sacred olive-trees which were in the citadel" (of Athens).

These two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpine, produced fertility; they had a temple at Tegæa<sup>7</sup>, where they were termed Carpophoræ, that is to say, who produce abundant harvests. Pausanias relates the same story as Herodotus<sup>8</sup>; but he calls these goddesses Auxesia and Lamia. Kuhnius properly judged that we should read Auxesia and Damia.

They were equally honoured at Trœzene<sup>9</sup>, but for reasons different from those of the Epidaurians and the Æginetæ.

Damia was the same as the 'Bona Dea' of the Romans. At Rome she was worshipped with secret mysteries; which agree with the secret ceremonies practised by the Epidaurians<sup>1</sup>. "Damium<sup>2</sup> sacrificium, quod fiebat in operto in honorem Bonæ Deæ . . . Dea quoque ipsa Damia et sacerdos ejus Damiatrix appellabatur." It appears that she was the same also as the goddess Maia<sup>3</sup> of the Romans.

170. Ἀθήνησι. *At Athens.* It is not true that olive-trees at that time grew no where but in Attica. Herodotus knew this well; but was unwilling to shock the vanity of the Athenians; to save his credit, however, he has qualified the assertion by, 'they say.'

The olive-tree flourishes in warm climates; and there is every appearance that this tree is of oriental origin, and from the east was transplanted into Greece. I know not, therefore, what could have led Pindar<sup>4</sup> to say that Hercules brought it from the banks of the Ister (Danube), to serve as an ornament in the games of the Greeks.

171. Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιάδι. *Minerva Polias.* The title of Polias given to Minerva, which we meet with in numerous passages of the ancients, has been rarely understood. M. Brunck has properly rendered it in the following passage of Sophocles: Νίκη<sup>5</sup> τ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς, 'et victrix Minerva arcium præses.' Other versions have 'urbium custos.' Minerva Polias, or protectress of the citadel, was adored not at Athens alone. She is mentioned in the treaty between the people of Hierapytna<sup>6</sup>, and of Priansius in Crete, and in the oath<sup>7</sup> taken by the

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VIII. liii. p. 707.

<sup>8</sup> Id. II. xxx. p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. xxxii. p. 186.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. V. lxxxiii. sub finem.

<sup>2</sup> Festus, voc. Damium sacrificium, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Macrob. Saturnal. I. xii. p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Pindar. Olymp. III. 24, et s.

<sup>5</sup> Sophocl. Philoct. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Chishull. Antiq. Asiat. p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. p. 133.

inhabitants of Gortyna and of Priansius. The statue of this goddess was kept at Athens in the temple consecrated to her in the citadel. It was seen there as late as the time of Plutarch<sup>8</sup>. It was, as we learn from Tertullian<sup>9</sup>, a shapeless log of wood. “Quod si de hoc differentia intercedit, quanto distinguitur à crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Pharia, quæ sine forma rudi palo et solo staticulo ligni informis repræsentantur.”

The priestess of Minerva Polias<sup>1</sup> was always of the family of the Butades, or Eteobutades. They were descended from Butes, son of Pandion, who, on the death of the king his father, was made priest<sup>2</sup> of Minerva and of Neptune, the priesthood being perpetual in his family.

LXXXIII. 172. Χοροῖσι γυναικῆτοισι κερτόμοισι ἰλάσκοντο. *Choruses of women who uttered invectives against each other.* There is no excess, however absurd, to which the unassisted reason of mankind is not capable of leading them. In the island of Anaphe<sup>3</sup>, Apollo was propitiated by the women uttering indecent railleries against the men during the sacrifice. The Hebrews, who had been directed by God himself to the species of worship with which He would be honoured, are perhaps the only people who did not fall into these wretched absurdities.

173. Χορηγῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν. *Ten Choregi.* The Choregi presided over the choruses, and regulated<sup>4</sup> the expenses incurred for the actors, dancers, and musicians, in the public festivals.

LXXXV. 174. Ἀλλοφρονῆσαι. *Went out of their minds.* Herodotus imitates Homer, who has used this expression<sup>5</sup> in the same sense :

Κὰδ δ' ἄλλοφρονέοντα μετὰ σφίσιν εἶσαν ἄγοντες.

Pseudo-Didymus explains this word, οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐξιστάμενον τῇ διανοίᾳ, ‘one who is not himself, who has lost his senses.’ One of the scholiasts of Venice renders it by παραφρονοῦντα. See also the commentary of Eustathius<sup>6</sup> on the 10th Book of the Odyssey, where the learned prelate confirms his explanation of this word by this passage of Herodotus.

LXXXVI. 175. Παρεῖναι βοηθέοντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους. *The Argians immediately came to their assistance.* Douris of Samos<sup>7</sup> says, that it was the Spartans who came to the assistance of the Æginetæ. But this is the less probable, as the Spartans had no connexion whatever with them. It is probably an error of the copyist. But, however

<sup>8</sup> Fragn. Plut. in Eusebii Præp. Evang. III. viii. p. 99, B.

<sup>9</sup> Tertull. I. ad Nationes, XII. p. 49, c. Apologeticum, XVI. p. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. de Legat. xx. Edit. Taylor, p. 329. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. III. xiv. p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Apollon, Rhod. IV. 1725.

<sup>4</sup> Potteri Archæologia Græca, I. xv. p. 73, E.

<sup>5</sup> Homer. Iliad. XXIII. 698.

<sup>6</sup> Eustath. Comment. vol. III. p. 1661, lin. 45, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Eurip. ad Hecub. 934.

this may be, Douris agrees with Herodotus in his account of the result of this war, although he differs from him as to the cause of it. According to Douris, "the commerce of the Athenians being interrupted by the pirates of Ægina, the Athenians undertook an expedition against them; but the Spartans (read Argians) having come to the assistance of the Æginetæ, they killed the whole party of their assailants, with the exception of one only." In every other particular he agrees with Herodotus.

LXXXVII. 176. Τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα. *The linen tunic.* These tunics had sleeves. The robes<sup>8</sup> of the Dorian women had none; they were thrown over the shoulders, and fastened in front with clasps. Thus Venus<sup>9</sup> having been wounded in the hand by Diomedes, Minerva rallies her on the subject, and attributes her wound to the clasp of some Greek woman's robe, whom that goddess would have induced to follow a Trojan. I cannot here refrain from transcribing the words of a scholiast quoted by Sylburgius, on the following expression of St. Clement<sup>1</sup> of Alexandria: 'This arm is beautiful, but it is not public.' "The Lacedæmonian women wore tunics without sleeves, so that they exposed their arms from the shoulder. We see this in the ancient statues of women. It was said of those who wore these tunics without sleeves, that they were dressed after the Dorian fashion, as the Lacedæmonians were Dorians; and, on the other hand, it was said of those who wore the garments with sleeves, that they were clothed in the Ionian fashion. These women were Athenians: for the Athenians were called Ionians, before they sent colonies to Ionia."

XC. 177. Οἱ χρησμοί. *The oracles.* I agree with M. Wesseling, that among these oracles there were certain verses of Musæus interpolated by Onomacritus, who was for this reason<sup>2</sup> driven from Athens by Hipparchus; but I could easily believe that there were also some of Bacis and of Amphilytus: The whole of these oracles did not fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; or, at least, part of them were recovered, or some counterfeits manufactured, the care of which was confided to the senate of the Areopagus. Thus much, I think, may be inferred from the following passage of Dinarchus<sup>3</sup>. "This senate (that of the Areopagus) which guards the sacred books<sup>4</sup>, in which the safety of the state consists." It was imagined that the safety of the state was connected with these oracles.

M. Coray thinks that allusion is here made to the secret testament of

<sup>8</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. I. xviii. vol. I. p. 30, et Eustath. ad Homer. Iliad. vol. I. p. 567, lin. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Homer. Iliad. V. 422, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Pædagog. II. x. p. 238, lin. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Dinarch. Demosth. p. 91, lin. 17.

<sup>4</sup> For so I translate τὰς ἀπορρήτους διαθήκας. I suspect that this word formerly signified the Books of the Oracles. We know that the books which contain the oracles of the Christians, are called διαθήκη.

Œdipus, on which the safety of the republic of Athens was conceived to depend. Œdipus confided it to Theseus, who was enjoined to communicate it only to his successor, this successor to the next, and so on. It is possible, and even probable, adds this writer, that Codrus, before exposing himself to a certain death, confided this document to the Areopagus.

Now there is no mention in Sophocles of a will, but only of a verbal injunction. It is there said<sup>5</sup> that Œdipus, having arrived with Theseus at the place where he was to terminate his career, confided to this prince a secret, on which depended the safety of the state. He enjoined him to keep it inviolably, and to communicate it only 'in articulo mortis' to his successor, and he, when he was about to die, to his successor, and so on. Had Codrus committed this testament to the Areopagus, as M. Coray supposes, he would have expressly transgressed the injunction of Œdipus; for this testament was to be confided only to the sovereign, and the Areopagus never exercised the functions of sovereignty. The archons alone were invested with them.

It appears to me better to confess our ignorance as to these secret books, than to pretend to fathom a mystery which has hitherto been inscrutable.

XCI. 178. Ἐπαρθέντες κιβδήλοισι μαντήτοισι. *Impelled by deceitful oracles.* This is a metaphorical expression. The Athenians marked bad money with a χ, and called them χίβδηλα νομίσματα; but it afterwards became a custom to change the χ to κ, for the softness of the pronunciation, and to say κίβδηλα<sup>6</sup>.

XCII. 179. Βακχιάδαι. *The Bacchiadæ.* The first of this branch who reigned at Corinth was named Bacchis<sup>7</sup>, and was the son of Prumnis. He succeeded the Aletiadæ, who had filled the throne of Corinth for five generations. The Bacchiadæ, who took their name from Bacchis, reigned over that city for the same period of time. The last of them was Telestes, son of Aristomedes. He was killed by Arieus and Perantas, who hated him. With him ended royalty. Prytanes, or annual magistrates, were afterwards chosen from among the Bacchiadæ, who governed the state till Cypselus, son of Eëtion, seized on the tyranny, and expelled them.

Diodorus relates the same facts, with some slight variation. According to that historian<sup>8</sup>, almost all the different nations of the Peloponnesus had been driven out of that peninsula by the Heraclidæ, with the exception of the Arcadians. The Heraclidæ having partitioned it, set apart Corinth with its territory, and gave the dominion of it to Aletes. This prince acquired great renown; he considerably aggrandized Co-

<sup>5</sup> Sophocl. Œdip. Col. 1526, et s. ex edit. Brunck.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. Aves, 158, et Schol.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. II. iv. p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. VI. Fragm. VI. vol. ii. p. 635.



rinth, and died after a reign of thirty-eight years. After him came Ixion, who reigned thirty-eight years, Agelas, thirty-seven, Prumnis, thirty-five, and Bacchis, the same number of years. This last, being the most illustrious of all this line of kings, gave his name to his successors. After him reigned Agelas thirty years, Eudemus twenty-five, and Aristomedes thirty-five<sup>9</sup>. This last, at his death, left a son, who was a minor, named Telestes. Agemon, his uncle and guardian, deprived him of the crown, and wore it himself for sixteen years. To him succeeded Alexander, who reigned twenty-five years. On his death, Telestes ascended the throne, and retained it twelve years. He having been killed by his relations, Automenes reigned one year. The Bacchiadæ, all descendants of Hercules, more than two hundred in number, then seized on the sovereign power, and governed the country in common. They chose from among them every year a prytanis, who filled the office of king. This government subsisted ninety years, when it was destroyed by Cypselus. From the time of the return of the Heraclidæ to the tyranny of Cypselus, they reckon 447 years<sup>1</sup>.

180. Λάβδα. *Labda*. This was not her real name, but a kind<sup>2</sup> of surname, or nickname, applied to her by the Delphian oracle in the answer quoted at the end of this paragraph, because she was lame, and her legs and feet turned somewhat in the form of the Greek 'lambda.' Observe, that the letter since called 'lambda,' was then called 'labda.' It was a common custom amongst<sup>3</sup> the ancients, to give nicknames taken from the letters of the alphabet. We are told that Esop was called 'Theta,' by his master Iadmon, because he was of an acute intellect, and that the slaves were called Θῆτες; that Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was surnamed 'Beta,' because he was fond of beet; that Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicus, was called 'Gamma;' that Antenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called 'Delta,' because he was a good man, and loved his country; for Deltos in the idiom of Crete signifies the same thing as 'Agathos;' that Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopator, and who was a celebrated astronomer, was called 'Epsilon,' &c.

181. Τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καϊνίδης. *A Lapithan by origin, and descended from Cæneus*. Oceanus and Tethys<sup>4</sup> had several children, who gave their names to rivers. Of this number was Peneus, from whom the river in Thessaly so called took its name. Peneus was father of Hypseus and of Stilbe. Of Stilbe and Apollo were born Lapithus and Centaurus. Lapithus settled near the river Peneus, and was king of the neighbouring districts. He had two sons, Phorbas and Periphas, who reigned after him; and the various nations of this coun-

<sup>9</sup> I have restored this number from the edition of Syncellus in the Louvre.

<sup>1</sup> All these numbers together make but 417.

<sup>2</sup> Ptol. Hephæst. ad calcem Apollo-

dori, ex ed. Gale, 8vo. 1675. p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxix. vol. I. pp. 313, 314.

try were called Lapithæ, from the name of Lapithus their king . . . . Phorbas had two sons, Ægeus and Actor, who were kings of the Eleatæ. Periphas, the other son of Lapithus, had, amongst other children, Antion. This latter married Perimele, daughter of Amythaon; by whom he had Ixion, father of Pirithous.

Cæneus was son of Elatus. He lived in the time of Hercules<sup>5</sup>, and was king of the Lapithæ<sup>6</sup>. In a combat which took place between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, the earth having opened under his feet, he was swallowed up. The poets feigned that the Centaurs having fallen upon him, and not being able to pierce, or otherwise put him to death, had beaten him into the earth<sup>7</sup> with their clubs. The most ancient ancestor of Cypselus known is Elatus<sup>8</sup>, father of Cæneus. Cæneus had a son named Coronus<sup>9</sup>, who accompanied Jason in his expedition for the Golden Fleece, about the year 3364 of the Julian period. The descendants of Coronus are not known. History<sup>1</sup> passes on to Antasus, who was father of Melas. This Melas was contemporary with Aletes, first king of Corinth, of the race of the Heraclidæ, about the year 3554 of the same period. From Melas to Echecrates, father of Eëtion, and grandfather of Cypselus, there is a chasm of eleven generations. Pausanias reckons<sup>2</sup> only six from Melas to Eëtion; but as Echecrates, of whom Herodotus speaks, must have been born about the year 3940, and as from Melas, contemporary of Aletes, that is from the year 3554, there is a space of 386 years, there must have been between those two persons eleven generations.

182. Ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται ἀνδράσι μονάρχοισι. *It will fall upon despots.* So in the Greek: 'It shall fall upon monarchical men,' that is to say, 'it shall crush monarchs.' The word is taken in this sense in Plutarch<sup>3</sup>: εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσεῖται σὺν αὐτῷ. 'It will crush the state along with himself.'

183. Αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει. *An eagle breeds in the rocks.* This oracle is by no means obscure with reference to the Bacchiadæ, because the word Ἡετίων, Eëtion, comes from αἰετὸς, 'an eagle.' In like manner as from ἄμαθος has been made, not Ἀμαθία nor Ἀμαθίων, but Ἡμαθία and Ἡμαθίων. The Greek is designedly ambiguous. Ἐν πέτρῃσι signifies 'among the rocks,' and alludes to the town of Petra, where Eëtion lived.

184. Πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει. *Who shall cause the death of many.* The Greek expression, equivalent to 'multorum genua resolvēt,' is very frequent in Homer, of whom Herodotus is a great imitator.

Ἐπεὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐσθλῶν γούνατ' ἔλυσεν<sup>4</sup>.

'For he has caused the death of many of our bravest warriors.'

<sup>5</sup> Apollodor. II. v. §. IV. p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Homer. ad Iliad. I. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Apollon. Rhod. I. 61, et s.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Homeri ad Iliad. I. 264.

<sup>9</sup> Apollon. Rhod. I. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. II. iv. p. 120; V. xviii. p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. p. 424, lin. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Cat. Min. p. 780, c.

<sup>4</sup> Homer. Il. V. 176.

185. Μή σφι μεταδόξη. *Lest they should change their resolution.* Labda did not stop to hear to the end the reproaches they were uttering against one another: fearing for her son, she ran and concealed him on the first intimation of his danger; and this was done before the deputies of the Bacchiadæ had taken the resolution to return.

186. Κατακρύπτει ἐς κυψέλην. *She hides him in a corn basket.* This basket was preserved<sup>5</sup> in the temple of Juno, at Olympia. It was of cedar, with histories sculptured on the wood, and inlaid with gold and ivory. It is most probable, however, that this was not the identical basket in which Cypselus was concealed, but another, constructed on the same model, for the purpose of commemorating an event so important to the Cypselides. Cypselus did not confine his gratitude to this; he erected a chapel<sup>6</sup> in the temple of Delphi, because Apollo had prevented him from crying out at the time that his enemies were in search of him.

187. Ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον. *An ambiguous answer.* Ἀμφιδέξιος in Hippocrates, and περιδέξιος in Homer, signify a man who can with equal convenience use both his hands, 'ambidexter.' Ἀμφιδέξιον σίδηρον, is an iron blade with two edges, 'anceps ferrum'.<sup>7</sup> Thus ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον is an ambiguous oracle; which may be taken either in one sense or another<sup>8</sup>.

188. Παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες. *But his sons' sons, not so.* Psammetichus<sup>9</sup>, the son of Gorgias, and grandson of Cypselus, succeeded Periander. If this be true, which there is very little reason to doubt, Apollo is convicted of a falsehood, in saying οὐκέτι παῖδες. The President Bouhier<sup>1</sup>, however, comes to the assistance of the god, and by a slight change, παίδων γε μὲν εἰσέτι παῖδες, he makes the prophecy to agree with the event; but this is in contradiction to the MSS., in all of which we read, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες. This oracle, worthy in every respect of the age of Nostradamus, appears to have been forged in the latter years of Psammetichus, grandson of Cypselus. Cypselus reigned at Corinth, and after him, his children<sup>2</sup> Periander and Gorgias. Cypselus and Lycophron, sons of Periander, died before their father. Psammetichus, son of Gorgias and grandson of Cypselus, then ascended the throne. The oracle therefore is borne out in saying that the children of his children would not come to the throne, as only one of them did so. Such is the solution given by M. Wesseling, who concludes his note with these words: "Quæ callidè si conjeci, manet versui sua scriptura; sin fallax Apollo est, nec mea refert." Periander had a great grand-daughter, named Xantippe, whom Simonides celebrates in

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. V. xvii. pp. 418—20.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Sept. Sap. Conviv. p. 164, A.

<sup>7</sup> Eurip. Hippolyt. 787. edit. Brunck.

<sup>8</sup> See M. Valckenaer on the Hippolytus of Euripides, p. 247. col. 1; Galen, in Explan. voc. Hippocr. p. 430; Erotian, in Expos. voc. Hippocr. p. 54;

Foësius, Œconomia Hippocratis, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Aristot. Polit. V. xii.

<sup>1</sup> Rech. et Diss. sur Hérod. XV. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> As we may infer from Plutarch in Sept. Sap. Conviv. vol. II. p. 160, c, d.

the following epigram : " I will not pass over<sup>3</sup> in silence the illustrious spouse of Archenautes, Xantippe, great grand-daughter of Periander, who, absolute master of Corinth, formerly gave laws there."

189. Πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε. *Banished a great number of Corinthians.* " A certain Corinthian<sup>4</sup>, named Demaratus, of the family of the Bacchiadæ, being engaged in commerce with Italy, amassed great riches; but a sedition having broken out at Corinth, and the Bacchiadæ being oppressed by the tyranny of Cypselus, Demaratus embarked with all his property, and went from Corinth to Etruria."

Strabo had before said<sup>5</sup>: " Rome was already founded, when Demaratus arrived at Tarquinii, with a considerable number of Corinthians. The inhabitants of that town having admitted them, he married a woman of the country, by whom he had Lucumo. This young man having acquired the friendship of Ancus Martius, king of Rome, he afterwards became king himself, when he changed his name to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus."

190. Ἀρξάντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα. *He having reigned for thirty years.* The dynasty of the Cypselides began, according to Diodorus Siculus, 447 years after the return of the Heraclidæ<sup>6</sup>. We have seen, that the Aletiadæ and the Bacchiadæ reigned only 417 years. The 30 years wanting to make up the number 447, has given rise to a vast number of conjectures by chronologists. Without quoting their different opinions, which may be found in their respective works, or undertaking to refute them, it seems to me that Aletes, first king of Corinth of the race of the Heraclidæ, did not begin to reign immediately on the return of that family. It appears by the passage of Diodorus, quoted in the note above referred to, that when Aletes was called to take possession of Corinth, the Heraclidæ were already masters of the whole Peloponnesus, and had divided it. The grammarian Didymus expressly says: " Aletes<sup>7</sup> was not the founder of Corinth, but a king, the thirtieth year after the arrival of the Dorians:" Δίδυμος δὲ φησι τὸν Ἀλήτην μὴ οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κορίνθου γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ βασιλέα, ἔτει τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Δοριέων ἄφιξιν.

This removes every difficulty, if with Diodorus we suppose that the city of Troy was taken in the year 3530 of the Julian period, 1184 years before the vulgar era; and that the Heraclidæ returned to the Peloponnesus in the year 3610 of the Julian period, 1104 years before our era. By subtracting 447 from 1104, we shall have 4057 of the Julian period, 657 years before our era, which agrees pretty nearly with the time when Cypselus drove out the annual prytanes. But as this calculation, which is likewise that of Apollodorus and of Eratosthenes, differs from that of Herodotus, who fixes the taking of Troy in the

<sup>3</sup> Analecta Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II. p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. III. xlv. et s. p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, Geogr. V. p. 336.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. Fragm. vol. II. p. 635.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Pindari. ad Olymp. Od. XIII. 17. p. 144. col. 2, lin. 7.

year 3444 of the Julian period, and consequently the return of the Heraclidæ in the year 3524 of the same period, 1190 years before our era, we must necessarily either extend the reigns of the Aletiadæ and of the Bacchiadæ, or augment the number of annual prytanes of the family of the Bacchiadæ.

I suppose, with Didymus, that Aletes ascended the throne of Corinth thirty years after the conquest of the Peloponnesus, that is to say, in the year 3554 of the Julian period, 1160 years before our era. This prince and his successors reigned, according to Diodorus Siculus, 327 years. The aristocracy was therefore established in the year 3881 of the Julian period, 833 years before our era. The government of the annual prytanes subsisted 170 years, and was destroyed by Cypselus in the year 4051 of the Julian period, 663 years before our era. Cypselus reigned thirty years, and Periander, who succeeded him in the year 4081 of the Julian period, 633 years before our era, reigned seventy, and died in the year 4151 of the Julian period, 563 years before our era.

191. Κυψέλου μαιφονώτερος. *Still more cruel than Cypselus.* The reason assigned by Herodotus appears to me very probable; that given by Parthenius is by no means so. According to that author<sup>8</sup>, the mother of Periander, having fallen in love with her son, contrived to satisfy her passion without his suspecting it; but the young man having resolved to discover what woman it was whose favours he had enjoyed, had a concealed light in the adjoining chamber, and by this means recognised her as she retired. Incensed at her conduct, he formed the resolution of killing her; but was turned from his purpose by a genius appearing to him at the moment. This apparition so disturbed his intellect that he became mad; and his cruelty was the effect of his madness.

192. Ὅντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος. *What form of government he could establish, &c.* Ὅντινα τρόπον must not be understood as if κατὰ were inserted; but the construction must be thus, ὅντινα ἂν τρόπον τῶν πρηγμάτων ἀσφαλέστερον καταστησάμενος, 'what more secure form of government he could establish.' Thus Cornelius de Pauw understands this passage.

193. Ὁ τοῦ ληΐτου τὸ κάλλιστον διέφθειρε. *He cut off all the taller ears of corn.* This allegorical proceeding of the tyrant of Miletus, and the expression of Herodotus, have perhaps suggested to Euripides the following passage:

Πῶς οὖν ἔτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἰσχυρὰ πόλις,  
Ὅταν τις, ὡς λειμῶνος ἥρῖνου στάχυν,  
Τόλμας ἀφαιρῇ κάπολωτίζῃ νέους<sup>9</sup>;

<sup>8</sup> Parthenius de Amator. Affect. xvii. p. 377, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Eurip. Supl. 447.

'How can a city become strong, when the most excellent of its hardy youth are mowed down like ears of corn?'

194. Πᾶσαν κακότητα. *All sorts of wickedness.* "It appears to me," says Thales<sup>1</sup>, "that Periander finding himself possessed of the tyranny, as of an hereditary disease, has not comported himself so much amiss. He has sought the company of worthy men; he has hitherto followed the wholesome counsel of prudent advisers: he has collected around him the wisest men, and has not listened to the pernicious advice of my fellow-citizen Thrasybulus, who urged him to cast down the most exalted persons. A tyrant who prefers commanding slaves, to reigning over men of spirit, differs in no respect from the husbandman who should prefer picking up grasshoppers, or catching birds, to gathering in a harvest of wheat or barley." Plutarch takes all opportunities of contradicting Herodotus: in this instance I think he will find none to agree with him.

195. Ὅστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συνανέοντας. *At least you will not have the sanction of the Corinthians.* The Corinthians did not always entertain these generous sentiments. When Athens was taken by the Lacedæmonians, at the end of the Peloponnesian war, they<sup>2</sup> counselled the destruction of that city.

XCIII. 196. Τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεούς. *The same gods.* The tutelary gods of Greece, whom Sosicles had invoked on finishing his oration.

XCIV. 197. Ὀρμεώμενοι. *Making incursions.* Hegesistratus was not as yet tyrant of Sigæum, when a war broke out between the Athenians and the Mitylenians, on the subject of that city. Herodotus speaks of that war, in giving an account of the one which happened in the time of Hegesistratus; but he omits to name the generals of the two armies, or to notice the action of Pittacus, general of the Mitylenians. Many authors supply this deficiency, and amongst them Diogenes Laërtius, who thus relates the story<sup>3</sup>: "A war having taken place between the Athenians and the Mitylenians, concerning the territory of Achilleium, Phrynon commanded the army of the Athenians, and Pittacus that of the Mitylenians. The latter resolved to encounter the Athenian general in single combat; he concealed under his buckler a net, which he cast about Phrynon when he was off his guard, and having killed him, preserved the territory of that city. Apollodorus, in his Chronicles, relates, that there afterwards arose new differences between these nations on the same subject, and that Periander having been chosen arbitrator, adjudged it to the Athenians."

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Sept. Sap. Conviv. p. 147, c, d.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. Hell. Hist. II. ii. § xii. p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laërt. in Pittaco, I. lxxiv. p. 46; Strabo, XIII. p. 895—6.

This passage perfectly distinguishes the two wars, and throws considerable light on what Herodotus says. The President Bouhier has confounded them together<sup>4</sup>.

Pittacus, whom we have before mentioned<sup>5</sup>, was exceedingly disinterested. He refused several millions of acres of land which the Mitylenians would have given him, and contented himself with a hundred acres<sup>6</sup>; which proves at once his moderation and the high estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens.

XCV. 198. Ἀλκαῖος. *Alcæus*. Alcæus was a very celebrated lyric poet, and a great enemy to tyrants, whom he has sacrificed, in his verses, to his love of liberty. He flourished in the 42nd Olympiad, as we infer by synchronisms. Suidas informs us<sup>7</sup>, that in that Olympiad Pittacus killed Melanchrus, tyrant of Mitylene; and we find from Diogenes Laërtius, that he was assisted in that enterprise<sup>8</sup> by the brothers of Alcæus.

The only remains of this poet are a few fragments which have been carefully collected by Stephens, and published at the end of his edition of Pindar, in two vols. 16mo., and by Fulvius Ursinus, in a collection of fragments of nine lyric poets, printed at Antwerp in 1567; but neither of these selections has been made with due discrimination, for in both of them verses are attributed to Alcæus which he never wrote. Horace held Alcæus in the highest estimation<sup>9</sup>:

Among the fragments of this poet, we may recognise several passages which Horace has imitated, or rather translated: for instance,

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσης πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλῳ:

of which I will give a literal translation into Latin, that the reader may compare it with that of Horace:

Nullam aliam severis arborem priorem vite.

Thus rendered by Horace:

Nullam, Vare, sacrâ vite prius severis arborem.

And again:

Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσκειν, καὶ χθόνα πρὸς βίαν  
ΠΑΙΕΙΝ, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μυρσίλος<sup>1</sup>.

‘Let us now drink deep and dance with all our might, for Myrsilus is dead.’ Myrsilus was a tyrant. These verses are thus imitated by Horace in his 37th Ode of the 1st book:

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
Pulsanda tellus.

<sup>4</sup> Rech. et Diss. sur Hérodot. XV. Ionia, p. 362.  
p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> Note 51, bk. I.

<sup>6</sup> Corn. Nep. in Thrasyb. IV. ii.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, voc. Πιττακός. Eudociæ

<sup>8</sup> Diog. Laërt. in Pittac. I. lxxiv.  
vol. I. p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Horat. Carmina, II. Od. xiii. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Deipnos. X. viii. p. 430, c.



199. Σφέα ἀνεκρέμασαν. *They hung them up.* Among the ancients, it was considered highly honourable to the conquerors to carry off the arms of their enemies, and a great disgrace to the vanquished to lose them. The laws established in the greater part of the Grecian states punished with death any one who lost his buckler in flight. This misfortune happened to the poet Archilochus<sup>2</sup>, in the war of the Thasians against the<sup>3</sup> Saians, nations of Thrace; but less wise than Alcæus, he boasted of it in his verses; and in this he was imitated by Horace:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam  
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmulâ.

The Romans only laughed at the frank pleasantry of Horace; but the Spartans, a more austere people, drove Archilochus from Sparta<sup>4</sup>, whither curiosity had attracted him.

200. Ταῦτα ἐν μέλει ποιήσας. *Having made the matter into an ode.* Μέλη signifies 'pieces of lyric poetry'. Strabo quotes some verses of Alcæus, strangely disfigured, but perhaps the same to which Herodotus alludes. They are as follows: "Alcæus is safe and sound, but the same cannot be said of his arms; for the Athenians have hung up his buckler in the temple of Minerva."

201. Ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μιτυλήνην. *He sent it to Mitylene.* The phrase signifies, 'he committed it to some one to be carried to Mitylene.'

XCVII. 202. Ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι. *They have no heavy-armed troops.* In the Greek, 'they use neither the shield nor the spear.' It was the heavy-armed troops which usually decided the fate of battles. Herodotus indicates these troops by the arms they carried<sup>5</sup>. "The Greeks had three sorts of troops, the Hoplitæ, the Psili or light troops, and the Peltastæ. The Hoplitæ, or heavy troops, had a cuirass, a long buckler, a sword, and a pike. The Psili were the opposite of these; they had neither cuirass nor long buckler, nor helmet, nor any armour for their legs. They made use only of missile weapons, such as arrows, javelins, and stones thrown with the sling or by the hand. The Peltastæ were troops lighter than the Hoplitæ, but heavier than the Psili. Their pelta<sup>7</sup>, or buckler, was smaller and lighter than the 'aspis,' their javelin smaller than the pike or 'doru,' but heavier than the javelin of the Psili," &c.

203. Τρεῖς δὴ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησε τοῦτο. *But he did it to (i. e. he deceived) thirty thousand Athenians.* We may, however, observe that the Athenians were offended by the protection which the Persians granted to Hippias, and expected to be attacked by them; whereas the Lacedæmonians had no other motive for the Persian war than to restore the Ionians to liberty.

<sup>2</sup> See note, 27, bk. I.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XII. p. 827, A.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Lacon. Instit. p. 239, B.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 895, c.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian. Ars Tactica, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>7</sup> A sort of sloped or conical shield, like that of the Amazons.

No ancient author mentions more than 20,000 Athenians who had the right of suffrage. Is it therefore an error of the copyist in Herodotus; or was Athens more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars than it was afterwards? This I am inclined to believe, but cannot undertake to determine; and more especially, as Aristophanes<sup>8</sup> put into the mouth of the servant Praxagora, the heroine of the piece entitled, 'the Women holding the assembly of the People,' these three verses:

Τίς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος,  
 "Οστις, πολιτῶν πλεῖον ἢ τρισμυρίων  
 "Οντων τὸ πλῆθος, οὐ δεδείπνηκας μόνος;

'Can there possibly be a citizen more happy than yourself? There are 30,000 of them, and you are the only one that has not yet dined.'

204. Ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο. *Was a source of ills.* Plutarch takes this occasion of directing against Herodotus a reproach, which proves his detestation of that historian. "He (Herodotus) has<sup>9</sup> the audacity to consider as a cause of evils the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians who had revolted against the king, because they endeavoured to deliver from slavery so great a number of celebrated Greek cities."

It is clear enough to every unprejudiced reader, that it is not for that reason that Herodotus says, that they were the cause of the ills which afflicted both the Greeks and the barbarians, but because they occasioned the war and all the misfortunes which followed it.

It is perhaps superfluous to remark, that Herodotus, who so frequently imitates Homer, has done so in this passage. If our historian says αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχαὶ κακῶν ἐγένοντο "Ἑλλησί τε καὶ Βαρβάροισι, the poet had said before him, in speaking of the vessels which conveyed Paris to Greece:

"Ὅς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτήνατο νῆας ἔϊσας  
 Ἀρχεκάκους, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γέγοντο<sup>1</sup>.

205. XCIX. Πρὸς Χαλκιδέας. *Against the Chalcidians.* Little or nothing is known of this war of the Eretrians against the Chalcidians. The plain or vine country of Lelantus situate above Chalcis<sup>2</sup>, where there were warm springs serviceable in several disorders, seems to have been the subject of it. The scholiast of Thucydides, speaking of these two cities, says<sup>3</sup>, ἐπολέμουν οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τοῦ Δηλάντιου πεδίου, 'they made war about the Lelantian plain.' It is perhaps to this war that Theognis alludes, when he says<sup>4</sup>, "Cerinthus has been destroyed, and the excellent vineyards of Lelanthus laid waste." Until

<sup>8</sup> Aristoph. *Concionatrices*, 1131.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. *de Malign.* Herod. p. 861. lin. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Homeri *Iliad*. V. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, X. p. 686, A.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad I. xv. p. 14. col. 1,

<sup>4</sup> Theognis, 887.

that period, each nation of Greece had made war on its neighbour, alone and single-handed; but on this occasion the rest of the Greeks took part, according to the statement of Thucydides<sup>4</sup>, some for the Eretrians, and others for the Chalcidians. Eretria was at that time a powerful city<sup>5</sup>. Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands were subject to it.

206. CI. Ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ. *Gold dust*. This was no longer found<sup>7</sup> in Strabo's time, i. e. in the time of Augustus.

CII. 207. Ὑστερον ἀντενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησι ἱερά. *They afterwards in retaliation set the temples of Greece on fire*. M. Wesseling thinks, that the true reason of the Persians burning the temples of Greece, was that they did not approve of the divinity being enclosed within walls. But if this had really been their reason, why did they not set fire to the temples of the Ionians before their revolt, as also to those of the Phrygians, and of other people under their dominion? But, says M. Valckenaer, Cambyses burned the temples of Egypt. I admit it. But then Cambyses was a madman whose example was not followed by his successor; and even Cambyses himself did not burn them all.

208. Εὐαλκίδα. *Eualcis*. This Eualcis is totally unknown to me. The individual of that name, who carried off the prize of the cestus<sup>8</sup> in the class of children at the Olympic games, was an Elean, and therefore had no relationship to the above-named, who was of Eretria. The poet Simonides, of Ceos, had celebrated his victories at different games in Greece; but there is no mention made of him in the fragments of that poet now extant. The only circumstance respecting him on record is, that he was killed in the second year of the 69th Olympiad.

209. Σιμωνίδει τοῦ Κητίου. *Simonides, of Ceos*. There have been several of this name. The one now mentioned was son of Leoprepes, and grandson of another Simonides, who was likewise a poet. He still enjoyed at the age of eighty years an excellent memory, as he himself mentions in an epigram<sup>9</sup>, which has been handed down to us by Aristides<sup>1</sup>. "No one," it is there said, "in point of memory, can equal Simonides, son of Leoprepes, who is eighty-four years old." He also invented the Art of Memory<sup>2</sup>. He composed in the same year a piece in verse which obtained the prize, when the chorus of the tribe of Antiochis was victorious, under the archontate of Adimantus, as we learn from the Oxford Marbles, epoch 55, and more particularly from an epi-

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. I. xv. p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, X. 687, c.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 928, c.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. VI. xvi. p. 491.

<sup>9</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. I. p. 137. lvi.

<sup>1</sup> Aristid. περὶ Παραφθέγγματος, p. 52, Attici.

lin. 36. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. lv. Suidas attributes this art to Simonides; maternal grandfather of our Simonides; but the epigram above quoted inclines me to the opinion of the author of the Fasti

gram of this same Simonides, which has been preserved by the scholiast of Hermogenes<sup>3</sup>. Adimantus was archon, the last six months of the third year of the 75th Olympiad, which answers to the year 4237 of the Julian period, 477 years before our era. Simonides, therefore, was born in the last six months of the third year of the 55th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 4157 of the Julian period, 557 years B. C. ; and as, according to Suidas, he was eighty-nine years old when he died, that event must have happened in the first year of the 78th Olympiad, or the year 4246 of the Julian period, 468 years before our era.

This poet, who loved money, sang the praises of those who paid him best. Aristophanes, in his comedy entitled 'Peace,' does not spare him on this score ; and he takes the same opportunity of satirizing Sophocles, who, in his latter days, took a pleasure in amassing money<sup>4</sup>. "What is Sophocles about?" asks Mercury of Trygæus. "He is happy," answers Trygæus ; "but something wonderful has befallen him." "*Merc.* What then? *Tryg.* He is become Simonides. *Merc.* Simonides! How so? *Tryg.* Why, being old and decrepit, he would travel on a hurdle to save a trifle."

CIV. 210. Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλῆος. *Gorgus, king of Salamis.* This Gorgus was descended from Evelthon, king of Salamis, and contemporary of Arcesilaus III. king of Cyrene. This latter prince granted an asylum in his dominions to Pheretima, mother of Arcesilaus. He therefore reigned about the year 4187 of the Julian period, 527 years before our era. Gorgus, his great-grandson, reigned in the year 4212 of the Julian period, 502 years before our era. We cannot, however, determine the years in which these princes commenced their reigns, and still less the years of the reigns of the intermediate princes. They must have been nearly as follows :

	Julian Period.	B. C.
Evelthon reigned at Salamis . . . . .	4187	527
Siromus, his son . . . . .	4193	521
Chersis, son of Siromus . . . . .	4199	515
Gorgus, son of Chersis . . . . .	4212	502

CV. 211. Οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάντες. *They shall not get off with impunity.* Instead of οὐκ ἀνατεῖ, or οὐκ ἀτιμωρητὶ, 'not with impunity,' the ancients said οὐ προΐκα, and the Ionians οὐ προΐκα, that is to say, οὐκ ἀμισθὶ, οὐκ ἀζημίως. Τιμὴ, is 'the reward due to crime,' 'the penalty.' Hence the familiar expression of the Ionians, οὐ καταπροΐξασθαι, 'that he shall not escape with impunity,' is often found in Aristophanes. The excellent Index to that author in Brunck's edition, will help the reader to numerous examples of this. The participle is often joined to the verb ; but when, instead of the participle, we find a

<sup>3</sup> *Rhetores Græci*, vol. II. p. 410, lin. 5. ad fin. *Analecta*, vol. I. p. 137. lviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Aristoph.* in *Pace*, 695.

noun or a pronoun in the genitive, the verb must be taken in the sense of 'laughing at any one, despising, insulting.' As in the following verse from the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes<sup>5</sup>,

Οὐ τοι, μὰ τὸ θεῶν, καταπροΐξει Μυρτίας,

which signifies, 'Yes, I swear by the goddesses that you shall not with impunity laugh at Myrtia.'

212. Ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπεῖναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα. *He shot it towards the heavens, and as he sent it into the air, cried out; . . . .* Was this a sort of declaration of war? The present custom of the Kalmucks, a people of Tartary, bordering on Persia, affords us reason for thinking so. "This people being offended," says Chardin<sup>6</sup>, "came, towards the end of the campaign, to the frontier which separates the two countries, and solemnly shot an arrow into the Persian dominions, which is their mode of declaring war."

CVI. 213. Σαρδῶν, νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. *The great island of Sardinia.* M. Rollin<sup>7</sup> thinks that this island was too distant from Ionia, and had too little connexion with it, to be here meant; and he therefore suspects that the text of Herodotus has been altered. But to this it may be answered that all the editions and all the MSS. have 'the island of Sardinia;' and I may add, that in the beginning of the sixth Book it is repeated without any variation. It may, to be sure, be said, that the corruption of the text in both these passages is of older date than the MSS., and therefore I shall not insist very forcibly on this reason, though joined with others it should have weight.

The Ionians were greater navigators than M. Rollin seems to suspect: they had founded colonies in Corsica<sup>8</sup> and in Gaul<sup>9</sup>; and carried on a regular commerce with Tartessus<sup>1</sup>, near Cadiz. Neither the extremities of the Mediterranean, nor even the Ocean deterred them; then, would a trifling distance do so? The project of taking possession of Sardinia was considered so practicable by the Ionians, that Bias<sup>2</sup> proposed to them to repair thither in a body; and if the design failed, it was not for the reasons supposed by M. Rollin, but from love of their country, or, to speak more correctly, from local attachment. Mantichus<sup>3</sup> had before given the same advice to the Messenians, when they were oppressed by the Lacedæmonians; and had not Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, promised them an establishment in Italy, and held out to them the prospect of a most brilliant one in Sicily, there is every probability that they would have adopted the recommendation of Mantichus.

Sardinia was then but thinly peopled; it was easy to obtain pos-

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1387.

<sup>6</sup> *Voyages de Chardin*, tom. IV. p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> *Histoire Ancienne*, tom. IV. p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. I. clxv. clxvi.

<sup>9</sup> As to the foundation of Marseilles,

see note 4. on § clxvi. of bk. I.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. I. clxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.* clxx.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. IV. xxiii. p. 336.

session of it; its situation flattered the ambition of Darius, and was peculiarly favourable to his scheme of universal monarchy. The discourse of Histiaëus, therefore, aimed at the weak side of the monarch, was particularly artful.

CVIII. 214. Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. *The Cleides of Cyprus.* There are, according to Strabo<sup>4</sup>, two little islands, and according to Pliny<sup>5</sup>, four, near the eastern extremity of the island of Cyprus, and about 700 stadia distant from the river Pyramus, which are called Κλειίδες, 'the keys.' I have translated 'Cleides' after the example of Pliny, who says<sup>6</sup>, "quatuor ante promontorium ex adverso Syriæ Clides." It should seem from the passage of Herodotus, that the promontory bore also the same name. Strabo<sup>7</sup> calls it Βούσουρα, and Ptolemy<sup>8</sup> Οὐρά βόος, 'ox's tail;' but in the Palatine MS., as well as in Herodotus, we read Κλειίδες, 'Clides.' Pliny<sup>9</sup> calls it 'Dinaretum;' it is also mentioned in an epigram in the Anthologia<sup>1</sup>.

CXIII. 215. Πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα. *The war chariots.* These chariots resembled those described by Homer in the Iliad. They carried two men, one of whom held the reins, whilst the other fought. The Salaminians preserved this ancient custom. It was practised also in the battle between the Thebans and the Athenians at Delium in the first year of the 89th Olympiad, the year 424 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

216. Φιλοκύπρου. *Philocyprus.* Philocyprus was king of Soli, when Solon arrived in Cyprus. This city was then called<sup>3</sup> Ἄεπεια, from its situation on a craggy elevation, αἰπὺς signifying in Greek 'elevated.' It was built by Demophoon<sup>4</sup>, son of Theseus, on the banks of the Clarius, or rather by Acamas and Phalerus, both Athenians, if we prefer the testimony of Strabo<sup>5</sup>. The vicinity of this city was rocky and barren. Solon pointed out the disadvantages of the situation to Philocyprus<sup>6</sup>, and advised him to rebuild the city in the plain below. Solon took on himself the charge of peopling it, and regulated, in concert with the king, every thing that could contribute to insure to it safety and abundance. Inhabitants came from all quarters. Philocyprus in gratitude gave to the new city the name of Soli, to perpetuate the memory of the Athenian philosopher. Solon himself mentions this new foundation of the city in certain elegiac verses addressed to Philocyprus, and preserved by Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, in his life of that philosopher, and which the reader will perhaps not be displeased at my quoting<sup>8</sup>. "May you

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 1000, c.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. H. N. V. xxxi. vol. I. p. 285, lin. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 1002.

<sup>8</sup> Ptol. Geogr. V. p. 157.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. V. xxxi. vol. I. p. 284, lin. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Brunck's Analecta, vol. II. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. lxx. vol. I. p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 92, F; 93, A.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 1002, d.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. ut supra.

<sup>7</sup> Id. in Solone, p. 93, B.

<sup>8</sup> Brunck's Analecta, vol. I. p. 75.

reign long over the Solians, and inhabit that city, both you and your posterity! May I quit this renowned island under the auspices of violet-crowned Venus! May that goddess reward me for the foundation of it, by granting me a share of glory, and a happy return to my own country!" Aristocyprus succeeded Philocyprus; but he was killed, as Herodotus says, in a battle against the Persians.

Athenæus<sup>9</sup> mentions a certain Eunostus, king of Soli, who had married Irene, daughter of the famous Thaïs and of Ptolemy, who was king of Egypt after the death of Alexander; but I know not whether he was of the same family.

217. Σόλων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. *Solon of Athens.* Herodotus has already spoken of this celebrated legislator, (I. xxix.—xxxiii., and II. clxxvii.) Those who would learn still further particulars concerning him, have only to consult his life written by Plutarch. He was no less remarkable for valour than for wisdom. When Salamis<sup>1</sup> revolted, the Athenians pronounced sentence of death against any one who should propose to reduce it. Solon exposed himself, however, to that danger; and having animated his countrymen by the verses which he composed and sang, he restored that country to the Athenians, and redeemed them from the disgrace they had incurred. The inhabitants of Salamis erected a<sup>2</sup> statue to his memory, about 166 years after his death; for Demosthenes, from whom I borrow these particulars, remarks that at the time of his oration 'against the Prevarications of Æschines in his Embassy,' fifty years had not elapsed since the erection of the statue, and that it was then 215 or 216 years since the death of Solon. Now as this oration was delivered in the second year of the 109th Olympiad<sup>3</sup>, the statue must have been erected about the year 4322 of the Julian period, 392 years before our era. The text of Demosthenes, it is true, says, that Solon had been dead 240 years when that oration was pronounced; but the text is corrupt, as has been proved by Corsini in his *Fasti Attici*, and by Meursius 'in Solone.' I shall not quote the proofs they bring forward. For my own part, I correct the text agreeably to the supposition that Solon died in the year 4155 of the Julian period, 559 years before our era.

This statue, which the Salaminians<sup>4</sup> had placed in their public square, represented the legislator with his hand within his robe; the attitude of wise and modest persons, as may be proved from a thousand passages of the ancients. I shall content myself with the following, from Valerius Maximus<sup>5</sup>: "Xenocrates . . . omissâ re quam disserebat, de modestiâ ac temperantiâ loqui cœpit. Cujus gravitate sermonis

<sup>9</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIII. 5. p. 576, E. p. 197.

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. de Falsâ Legat. p. 254. § 456.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. Hal. ad Ammœum, x. vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> Æsch. in Timarch. p. 264, c.

<sup>5</sup> Valer. Max. VI. ix. Extern. I.

p. 612.



resipiscere coactus Polemo, primum coronam capite detractam projecit ; paulo post brachium intra pallium reduxit," &c.

CXIX. 218. Διὸς Στρατίου. *Jupiter Stratius*. Ζεὺς στράτιος, 'Jupiter' warrior.' The Carians were, at the time of Herodotus, the only people who adored Jupiter under this name. He was peculiarly honoured at Labranda. Strabo<sup>7</sup> also calls him Jupiter Labrandenus. He held in his hand a hatchet, for which Plutarch assigns the following reason. Hercules<sup>8</sup> having killed Hippolyta, and, from among the other arms of that Amazon, having carried off a hatchet, presented it to Omphale. The kings of Lydia who succeeded that princess, considering it as a sacred symbol, always carried it; and the custom was handed down from one king to another, till Candaules, disdaining to carry it himself, committed that office to another. But on the revolt of Gyges, Arselis having come to his assistance with troops which he had levied at Mylassa, defeated Candaules, and killed him, together with the bearer of the axe. He removed this axe to Caria, with other trophies of his victory; and having erected a statue to Jupiter, he placed it in his hand, naming him the Labradean god. The Lydians, in their language, call an axe λαβρύς. In later times, this god was adored by the same name in other places<sup>9</sup>: "in Ponto circa Heracleam, aræ sunt Jovis Stratii cognomine." Mars was likewise honoured by the same epithet.

In the last edit. fol. of the Oxford Marbles<sup>1</sup>, we find a stone which seems to have served as an altar, with a double-headed axe, and the following inscription: 'Of Labrayndian Jupiter and of Jupiter the mighty.' It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a considerable distance from Labranda.

Appian has informed us of the mode in which<sup>2</sup> this god was worshipped. "Mithridates," says he, "having made an incursion into Cappadocia, and having driven out the garrisons of Murena, offered a sacrifice to Jupiter Stratius, on the top of a high mountain, according to the custom of his ancestors. On this mountain was raised a lofty pile of wood; the first trees of which were carried by kings. Around this pile was constructed another, much smaller. On the first were sprinkled milk, honey, wine, oil, and all sorts of perfumes. On the smaller pile were placed bread and different viands, to regale those who were present. This same custom is observed at Pasargadæ in the solemn sacrifices offered by the kings of Persia. These piles of wood are afterwards set on fire, and the flame which arises from them is so great, that it is

<sup>6</sup> Hesychius, at the word Στράτιος.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 973, c.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Gr. p. 301, F; 302, A.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. H. N. XVI. xliv. vol. II. p. 40, lin. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Marm. Ox. pars II. Tab. V. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Appiani Hist. Bell. Mithrid. p. 361.

perceived at sea at the distance of 1000 stadia (near 38 leagues); and the atmosphere is so heated, that the spot cannot be approached for several days after."

219. Παράδόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι. *Surrendering themselves to the Persians.* Demon, or Damon<sup>3</sup>, relates this with some slight variation. "The Carians," says he, "having assembled in the sacred wood of Labranda, debated amongst themselves as to who were their bravest neighbours, that they might choose them for allies. Some were of opinion that they should appeal to the Milesians, as being the most powerful of all their neighbours, and as their territory adjoined that of Caria; others said that they ought to make peace with the Persians, whose empire was both stronger and more extensive, since they were masters of all Asia. The Carians resolved to refer the matter to Apollo; and the oracle answered them, 'The Milesians were brave in former times.' This oracle having been promulgated in the towns of Asia, the Milesians accused the priestess of being corrupted by the Persian gold. They marched immediately with their whole force to the succour of the Carians, and having given battle to the Persians, perished almost to a man."

CXXIV. 220. Ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος. *Displayed very little firmness on this occasion.* Valla had translated, 'mentis non erat compos,' and Gronovius suffered it so to remain. It should seem that M. Coray had been misled by them, as he cites this example to prove that ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, in lxxiii. of bk. I., signifies the same thing. Aristagoras was not a madman, as his general conduct will evince; but danger deprived him of that firmness so necessary to repel it. See M. Wesseling's excellent note.

221. Τὴν Ἰστιαῖος ἐτείχεε. *Which Histiaëus had begun to surround with walls.* Such is the force of the imperfect tense. We have seen before (xxiii.), that Histiaëus was compelled to leave the walls of Myrcinus unfinished.

CXXVI. 222. Πόλιν περικατήμενος. *Having invested a town.* This city was called Ἐννέα ὁδοί, 'the nine roads:' Agnon, son of Nicias, who founded it sixty-one years after the defeat of Aristagoras, gave it the name of Amphipolis.

The defeat of Aristagoras occurred in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, 498 years before our era. I find a proof of this in Thucydides. That historian relates<sup>4</sup>, that thirty-two years after the defeat of Aristagoras, the Athenians sent to this place a colony, which was cut to pieces; but that twenty-nine years afterwards, Agnon, son of Nicias, conducted thither another colony, which drove out the Edonians, and built the city of Amphipolis, on the spot where formerly had stood that

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Plutum, 1003.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. IV. cii.

called the Nine Roads. Now this last colony was sent under the archontate<sup>6</sup> of Euthymenes, in the fourth year of the 85th Olympiad, 437 years before the vulgar era. The first colony, which had preceded that by twenty-nine years, was therefore sent in the third year of the 78th Olympiad, 466 years before our era; and the defeat of Aristagoras, thirty-two years anterior to this colony, must have taken place in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, 498 years B.C.

## ERATO. BOOK VI.

I. 1. Τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ, ὑπεδήσατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης. *You have contrived this plot, and Aristagoras has executed it.* In the Greek, 'You have sewed the shoe, and Aristagoras has tied it on.' This passed into a proverb, to imply that one person was the author of an enterprise, and that another had executed it.

III. 2. Φοίνικας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας, ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ κατοικίσαι. *Removing the Phœnicians, to transplant them into Ionia.* It was the more easy to persuade the Ionians of this, as removals of that sort were often practised by the Assyrians and the Persians. We know that the Jews were transplanted into Babylon and into Media; we find Hyrcanians in Asia Minor: in short, there would be no end to the enumeration of all the communities transferred from one place to another in ancient times.

VII. 3. Ἐς Πανιώνιον. *To the Panionium.* This was the place in which the Ionians celebrated the festival called Panionia. Twelve cities only<sup>6</sup> had the right to be present at it. Smyrna was afterwards<sup>7</sup> admitted to this privilege, as we find from a medal of Antoninus Pius<sup>8</sup>.

VIII. 4. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις. *Near them.* The term very frequently signifies 'besides these things,' 'præterea;' but as our author in this passage is describing the order of battle of the Ionian fleet, I think that this preposition must be taken in the sense which I have given it, and which is not less frequent than the other.

5. Τὰ ἴδια. *Profane.* Τὰ ἴδια opposed to τὰ ἴσα, signifies not only the houses of individuals, but also public edifices; in a word, all such

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. xxxii. vol. I. p. 499. de Nummorum Usu et Præst. Dissert.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. I. cxlv.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VII. v. p. 532. Spanheim,

IX. p. 643.

<sup>8</sup> See Herod. I. cxlviii.

as were not dedicated to the worship of the gods. The Greeks say also in the same sense *δσια*, and oppose it to *τοῖς ἱεροῖς*. See M. Valckenaer's learned and curious note. [A little lower down (VI. xxv.) our author uses the expression *οὔτε ἡ πόλις* (i. e. *τὰ ἴδια*) *οὔτε τὰ ἰρά.*]

IX. 6. *Ἐπηρεάζοντες. Threatening them.* Such is the meaning of the Greek. *κατ' ἐπήρειαν* is explained by the scholiast of Thucydides<sup>9</sup>, *κατ' ἀπειλήν*. See also Raphelius on St. Matthew<sup>1</sup>.

XI. 7. *Τὰ πρήγματα. Our affairs.* "The figure Hyperbaton," says Longinus<sup>2</sup>, "is but 'the transposition of the thoughts or words in the order of a composition;' and this figure bears with it the character of strong and violent passion. Observe all those who are moved with anger, fear, spite, jealousy, or any other passion whatsoever; their mind is in a continual agitation. Scarcely have they formed one design, when they immediately conceive another, and in the midst of that propose to themselves a fresh one, neither having reference to the other, and then frequently return to their first resolution. Passion with them is like a changing wind, which impels them first to one side, then to the other; so that in this perpetual flux and reflux of conflicting opinions, they change every moment both their thoughts and their language, and preserve no order or consistency in their discourse.

"Skilful writers, to imitate these natural emotions, use hyperbata: and, to speak truth, Art never attains a higher degree of perfection than when it resembles Nature so strongly, as to be taken for Nature itself; and on the other hand, Nature never appears to so much advantage as when Art is concealed.

"We have a fine example of this transposition in Herodotus, where Dionysius the Phocian thus speaks to the Ionians: 'In short, our affairs have reached the last extremity, sirs. We must now necessarily be either free men or slaves, and miserable slaves. If, then, you would avoid the evils that threaten you, you must without delay incur toil and fatigue, and purchase liberty by the defeat of your enemies.' Had he followed the natural order of speech, he would have said, 'Sirs, it is now time to betake us to toil and fatigue; for our affairs are reduced to the last extremity.'"—BELLANGER.

XII. 8. *Ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας τὰς νέας. Bringing up the ships on each wing in column.* For such is the meaning of *ἀνάγων ἐπὶ κέρας*. This expression is frequently met with in Thucydides and in Xenophon's Hellenics, and has been well explained by Paulmier de Grente-

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. I. xxvi. p. 22, lin. 49. et ibi Schol. Scar. vol. I. p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Longin. de Subl. XXII. p. 76.

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Raphelii Annotationes in Script.

mesnil<sup>3</sup>. See also the note of Grammius on the scholia of Thucydides<sup>4</sup>. Onosander has also made use of it<sup>5</sup>: ἂν τε γὰρ σφίσι κατὰ μέτωπον ὑπαντήσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι πλατύτεροι τεταγμένοι, ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς τρέπονται, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως ὄντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις κυκλούμενοι. This was not thoroughly understood by Baron Zurlauben, who renders the latter part thus, 'they will put them to flight as easily as they surround the wings in a battle.' The entire passage should be translated, 'if the enemy, presenting a more extended line, attack in front, he will put them to flight as easily as those who, in battles, surround the troops formed upon a single man in front.'

9. Διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος. *Having broken the line.* This is a term of naval warfare, to signify the passing between the enemy's vessels to attack them, or to break their oars, to withdraw quickly and return to the attack, as has been explained by the scholiast of Thucydides<sup>6</sup>, διέκπλους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαι, καὶ αὖθις ἐμβαλεῖν. Διέκπλους means, 'to rush upon the vessels, then to retire, and immediately return to the attack.' This was a very skilful manœuvre. And Thucydides, therefore, after remarking that it was not practised in the battle between the Athenians and the Corcyreans on one side, and the Corinthians on the other, adds<sup>7</sup>, that in that contest there was more display of strength and courage than of science.

The learned Ernesti very clearly explains this term in his Lexicon of Polybius<sup>8</sup>, at the word διέκπλους; but he is mistaken in saying that the vessel tacked about on its return. The time necessary for that manœuvre would have given the enemy time to intercept it. Instead of tacking, they rowed backwards, and this is what the Greeks call πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, ἀνακρούσασθαι, ἐπὶ πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, and the Latins, 'inhibere remis,' a term which Cicero himself confesses he never understood till one day in going to his country-house by water. "Inhibere" . . . . . est verbum totum nauticum. Quanquam id quidem sciebam; sed arbitrabar sustineri remos, cum inhibere essent remiges jussi. Id non esse ejus modi didici heri, cum ad villam nostram navis appelleretur: non enim sustinent, sed alio modo remigant. Id ab ἐποχῇ remotissimum est.'

The scholiast of Thucydides explains it so that it cannot be misunderstood: "Πρύμναν κρούεσθαι<sup>1</sup>," says he, "is to retire slowly without putting the vessel about. He who retires in this way, rows at the poop. This manœuvre is practised with a view to avoid the appearance of retreating, as well as to prevent being so easily wounded, as is likely

<sup>3</sup> Exercit. in Opt. Auct. Græc. p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. Dukeri, p. 653. col. 1. ad voc. Συντόμως.

<sup>5</sup> Onosandri Strateg. VI. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Thucyd. I. xlix. p. 35. col. 1, lin. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. I. xlix. p. 35, lin. 15.

<sup>8</sup> At the end of the edit. of Polybius printed at Leipsic in 1763.

<sup>9</sup> Cic. ad Atticum, XIII. Epist. xxi.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Thucyd. I. l. p. 36. col. 2, lin. 9.

to happen when one's back is turned to the enemy." Πρύμναν κρούεσθαι, ἐστὶ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ στρέψαντα τὸ πλοῖον. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἀναχωρῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρύμναν κωπηλατεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι φανερῶς φεύγειν . . . ἢ ἵνα μὴ τὰ νῶτα τοῖς πολεμίοις δόντες, ῥᾶον τιτρώσκωνται.

10. Τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων. *The rest of the day he kept the vessels at anchor.* The Greeks were in the practice of mooring their ships close to the coast, and remaining on shore themselves. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's vessels, they gave notice, and the ships were instantly manned. We can scarcely read a chapter of Xenophon's Hellenics, without meeting with examples of this custom, which caused the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægos Potamos. The Ionians, whom the general did not permit to land, must have found this service very hard; and as they were unaccustomed to military discipline, it is not wonderful that they should have considered it a kind of slavery, and be anxious to shake it off.

11. Δι' ἡμέρης. *During the whole course of the day.* This ought not to be rendered 'quotidie,' 'every day,' but 'during the whole day,' as if it were δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης. Hesychius explains δι' ἔτους, δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους, 'the whole year.' Δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μετ' εὐνοίας ἀκροασαμένων ἡμῶν διὰ τέλους. 'We earnestly entreat you to hear us out to the end.' See Valckenaer's note.

XVI. 12. Πεζῇ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. *They went on foot across the mainland.* Their design was to make the port nearest to the island of Chios, and thence, in a few hours, they could have reached the island itself.

13. Θεσμοφορίων. *The Thesmophoria.* The Thesmophoria were rites celebrated by the women in honour of Ceres, because she was supposed to have first given laws to men. The festival lasted five days<sup>3</sup>: it began on the 14th of the month Pyanepsion, that is to say, the 23rd of October, and ended on the 18th. The 16th, that is to say, the 25th of October, was a fast-day, as we learn from Plutarch<sup>4</sup>, who tells us that Demosthenes died on the 16th of the month Pyanepsion, which was the day that the women kept as a fast; and from Athenæus, who says<sup>5</sup> that this fast fell on the middle day. The above festival was celebrated at different places in Greece. At Athens, or rather at Eleusis, it was kept in the month of October; but in most of the other cities of Greece in summer. It should seem from this passage of Herodotus, that the Ephesians celebrated it in summer. Those who would inform themselves as to the rites which were observed at this festival, may consult Meursius's Græcia Feriata, and Potter's Archæologia. The first of

<sup>3</sup> Lysias, Orat. pro Bonis Aristophanis, p. 153, lin. 2.

<sup>5</sup> As we may infer from verse 80 of the Thesmoph. of Aristophanes, where it

is said, that the third day of that festival was the middle day.

<sup>4</sup> In Demosth. Vita, p. 860, B, c.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. Deipnos. VII. xvi. p. 307, r.

these writers, in enumerating the different nations that kept this festival, omits the Ephesians, who are mentioned by Herodotus, and the Agri-gentines, mentioned by Polyænus<sup>6</sup>.

XVII. 14. Ὡς εἶχε. *Without losing a moment, and in the state in which he was.* The words, 'without losing a moment,' are not in the Greek; I have added them with a view of conveying the force of the Greek expression ὥς εἶχε, which has been a stumbling-block to most of the interpreters. Gronovius has very clearly explained it in his edition of Arrian (I. xiv.), but no one better than Raphelius on St. Mark (iv. 36, p. 378).

XVIII. 15. Κατ' ἄκρης. *By assault.* I have thought it best to follow the explanation of Casaubon, who interprets κατὰ κράς αἰρεῖν, 'to take by assault.' See his notes on the 8th chapter of Theophrastus, p. 82. This expression may, however, signify that they took it by the citadel; and it has been thus understood by the scholiast of Homer on the 557th verse of the 15th bk. of the Iliad. Κατ' ἄκρης, says he, ἀπὸ ἀκροπόλεως.

XIX. 16. Νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις. *Our temple at Didymi.* Didymi<sup>7</sup> was a part of the territory of Miletus. There was in this place a temple dedicated to Apollo, by the name of Didymæan Apollo; for which Macrobius<sup>8</sup> assigns the following reason: "Ἀπόλλωνα Διδυμαῖον vocant, quod geminam speciem sui numinis<sup>9</sup> præfert ipse, illuminando formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis, gemino sidere spatia diei et noctis illustrant. Unde et Romani solem sub nomine et specie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur."

Statius calls this temple 'Didymæa limina<sup>1</sup>,' and Quintus Curtius, 'templum<sup>2</sup> quod Didymæon appellatur.' It received this name in later times<sup>3</sup>: it was before called the temple of the Branchidæ<sup>4</sup>.

The temple of the Branchidæ was burned on account of the revolt of the Milesians. Strabo, however, relates<sup>5</sup> that it was Xerxes who set it on fire, and that the Branchidæ, having given up to him the treasures of the temple, retired with him into Persia, for fear of being punished for their perfidy. Xerxes assigned them a small territory in Sogdiana, where they built a city. But Alexander<sup>6</sup>, in abhorrence of their treason and sacrilege, destroyed it, and put all the inhabitants to the sword<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>6</sup> Strateg. v. i. § i.

<sup>7</sup> Stephan. Byzant. voc. Δίδυμα.

<sup>8</sup> Macrobi. Saturnal. I. xvii. p. 198.

<sup>9</sup> 'Numinis' gives no meaning; I think we should read 'luminis.' [That the two-fold form (geminam speciem) is here attributed to the divine agency, and not to light, is manifest from the explanatory words, 'illuminando formandoque.']

<sup>1</sup> Stat. Thebaid. VIII. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Quint. Curt. VII. v. § xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Oraculum Branchidarum appellatum, nunc Didymæi Apollinis. Plin. Hist. Nat. V. xxix. vol. I. p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> See Note 53, bk. V.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 941, B.

<sup>6</sup> Id. XI. p. 787, c, D.

<sup>7</sup> Quint. Curt. VII. v.



although they had not only submitted, but most joyfully received him. Plutarch confesses<sup>8</sup> that the most devoted partizans of that prince condemned his cruelty.

Demodamas<sup>9</sup>, general of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, erected altars to Didymæan Apollo on the banks of the Jaxartes.

XXI. 17. Μάλιστα . . . ἀλλήλοισι ἐξεινώθησαν. *They were particularly allied to each other in friendly intercourse.* "The Sybarites," says Timæus<sup>1</sup>, "wore clothes of Milesian wool, which was the cause of the friendship that subsisted between the two cities."

18. Φρυνίχῳ. *Phrynichus.* "The ancients speak of three of this name, all Athenians, and all dramatic poets, the two first in tragedy, the last in comedy. The first and most ancient was, according to some, the son of Polyphradmon, or of Minyas or of Chorocles, according to others, as we learn from Suidas, who himself thinks that he was the father of Polyphradmon, likewise a tragic poet. He was a disciple of Thespis, the inventor of tragedy, who flourished about the 61st Olympiad. He was anterior to Æschylus, as may be inferred from a passage of Aristophanes (*Ranæ*, 910), in which Euripides accuses Æschylus of an attempt to deceive the spectators, whom Phrynichus had stupified. Whence we may conclude that Eusebius, in his *Chronicle* (p. 130), is wrong in reckoning him after Æschylus, in the 74th Olympiad, and that Suidas is nearer the mark in assigning the 67th Olympiad as the period when he flourished and gained the prize, as is remarked by Perizonius on Ælian<sup>2</sup>. Suidas attributes to him nine tragedies: in his piece entitled 'Pleuronia,' he mentions the thread given by the Fates to Althæa, on the duration of which depended the life of Meleager; a fable which Phrynichus first promulgated<sup>3</sup>. He was the first who introduced female characters on the stage, and was the inventor of the tetrameter. Suidas mentions a second Phrynichus, likewise an Athenian, the son of Melanthus, and a tragic poet. He states him to have been the author of several dramas, as well as of several airs denominated Pyrrhic, the cadence and the words of which animated men in battle, and which were sung and danced with great vivacity by young men in arms. His theatrical pieces are 'Andromeda,' 'Erigone,' and the 'Capture of Miletus by Darius, king of Persia,' which latter drew tears from the spectators, according to Herodotus<sup>4</sup>. It may be suspected that this second Phrynichus and the first are in reality the same: for though Suidas makes a distinction between them, all the authors who speak of the piece called 'the Capture of Miletus,' attribute it to Phrynichus the tragic poet, without hinting at any such distinction, or that there were two of the name. The different fathers assigned by Suidas

<sup>8</sup> De Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 557, B.

<sup>9</sup> See Pausan. X. xxxi. p. 874, edit.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xvi. vol. I. p. 315. Kuhn.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. p. 519, B.

<sup>3</sup> See also Ælian. Var. Hist. XIII. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Var. Hist. III. xviii.

and some of the scholiasts to the two pretended Phrynichi, is scarcely sufficient to decide the point; for if we were to admit as many different poets of this name, as there have been fathers for them alleged by different writers, we should have four. Tzetzes in his scholia on Hesiod<sup>5</sup> expressly says, that before Æschylus, Phrynichus (for so we must read, and not Pherenicus) was punished by a fine of 1000 drachmæ, for having told the truth in his tragedy entitled 'the Capture of Miletus.' The third Phrynichus was a comic poet; he flourished about the 86th Olympiad, and was contemporary with Alcibiades."—BELLANGER.

There was but one tragic poet of this name. Miletus was taken in the third year of the 70th Olympiad; the piece therefore founded on that occurrence must be posterior to it, but not any great time. The same author produced another under the archontate of Adimantus<sup>6</sup>, in the third year of the 75th Olympiad<sup>7</sup>.

19. Χιλίησι δραχμῇσι. *A thousand drachmæ.* Strabo<sup>8</sup> after Calisthenes relates the same circumstance.

The obolus was worth  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ; six of these constituted a drachma. The drachma was consequently worth  $9d.$  A mina was worth 100 drachmæ, or  $3l. 15s.$  of our money; the 1000 drachmæ therefore made 10 minæ, or  $37l. 10s.$

XXII. 20. Τι ἔχουσι. *Having property.* Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσι τι ἔχουσι should be rendered, 'those of the Samians who are wealthy,' and not 'those who have some wealth.'

21. Καλὴν ἀκτὴν. *Calacte.* This word signifies 'fine shore.' I have rendered καλὴ ἀκτὴ, 'Calacte,' in imitation of the Latins. See Cicero's third oration against Verres, xliii. "Calactinis quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas Calactæ dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Cæsio decumano darent." Also Silius Italicus<sup>9</sup>:

Telâque superba

Lanigerâ Melite, et littus piscosa Calacte.

XXIII. 22. Σκύθης. *Scythes.* Perizonius<sup>1</sup> thinks that this Scythes was father of Cadmus, tyrant of Cos. But it is not likely that the father of Cadmus should leave his sovereignty of Cos, to seek another at Zancle. It is more probable that he died at Cos, leaving the tyranny in a flourishing condition to his son, as Herodotus says. (VII. clxiv.) It is not unlikely that the tyrant of Zancle was the uncle of Scythes, tyrant of Cos; which is the opinion of M. Valckenaer, as appears by his note on VII. clxiii. Indeed, if he had not been of the same family, it would have been strange that Cadmus should go to reside at Zancle in Sicily, where Scythes had reigned.

<sup>5</sup> Opera et Dies, 414.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 114, c.

<sup>7</sup> See Bentley's Answer to Boyle, p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, XIV. p. 942, B.

<sup>9</sup> Silius Ital. XIV. 251.

<sup>1</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. VIII. xvii. p. 562, note 5.

23. Ἀναξίλεως. *Anaxilas*. This Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, lived at the time of the capture of Miletus, as we find from Herodotus, that is to say, the third year of the 70th Olympiad, or 498 years before our era. He was the son of Cretines, and had married Cydippe, daughter of Terillus, tyrant of Himera<sup>2</sup>. He was descended from the ancient Messenians. He abolished the democratic government of Rhegium, and took the power into his own hands, as we learn from Aristotle<sup>3</sup>.

24. Σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην. *Taking possession of Zancle*. They did not keep it long. In fact, the same Anaxilas<sup>4</sup>, tyrant of Rhegium, drove them from it a short time afterwards, and having re-peopled it, called it Messana [now Messina], from the name of his original country.

XXVI. 25. Ἐκ Πολίχνης. *Of Polichna*. The Latin version has 'ex oppidulo;' but I think it is the name of some little town in the island. The article τῆς, being placed before Χίῳν, appears to me to be so placed for the purpose of distinguishing this city from those that bore the same name in Troas, in Crete, and in Sicily.

XXVIII. 26. Λιμαιοῦσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς. *The army wanting provisions*. The former reading was δειμαιοῦσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς, 'the army becoming frightened.' This appears ridiculous. If, in fact, it had been frightened, it would only have had to remain at Lesbos, where there was nothing to fear; but by making it pass over to the continent, where the Persian forces were, its terrors were more likely to be increased than abated. I have adopted the correction<sup>5</sup> of M. Heringa, an individual not less eminent as a Greek and Latin scholar, than as a physician.

27. Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος. *From Atarneus*. Atarneus was a district of Mysia, opposite to Lesbos, which the Persians had given to the inhabitants of Chios<sup>6</sup>, as a recompense for having delivered Pactyas up to them. It is very probable that subsequently to the revolt of the Ionians, the Persians had restored this little territory to the Mysians. Hermias, famous by his revolt against the Persians and by his unhappy end, and still more so from a pæan or discourse composed in honour of him by Aristotle, was afterwards tyrant of it.

XXX. 28. Δοκέειν ἐμοί. *In my opinion, &c.* This conjecture of our historian is founded on the benignity of Darius, who was more given to remember services rendered than faults committed, and on that humane law of the Persians, which forbade the punishment of death

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. clxv.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Politic. V. xii. p. 412, c.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. VI. v.

<sup>5</sup> Adr. Heringæ Observ. Crit. Liber singularis, xxxi. p. 277.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. I. clx.

for a single offence<sup>7</sup>, and indeed the infliction of any punishment, unless the offences exceeded the services of the offender. The crime of Histæus was, no doubt, a serious one; but the service he had rendered the Persians by preserving the bridge over the Ister, and thereby saving Darius himself and the whole army, greatly exceeded it. For this the prince<sup>8</sup> testified his gratitude; and not only expressed his displeasure that he had been put to death, but treated his remains with honour. Many other examples of the munificence and clemency of Darius might be adduced, as in the cases of Democedes, of Syloson, of Coës, &c.

XXXIV. 29. Τὴν ἱερὴν ὁδόν. *By the sacred way.* There was a sacred road<sup>9</sup> from Athens to Eleusis, which was very celebrated; this cannot be here meant: but it was perhaps that by which the Athenians accompanied<sup>1</sup> the sacred pageant to Delphi.—WESSELING.

XXXV. 30. Οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου. *He was of a family which maintained four horses for the Olympic games.* That is to say, he was very rich. Attica being a barren country and almost destitute of pasturage, the keeping of horses was exceedingly expensive, and none but rich persons could support it. See the opening of the comedy of Nubes by Aristophanes.

31. Αἰακοῦ. *Æacus.* "Oceanus and Tethys<sup>2</sup> had a son named Asopus; this latter had a daughter called Ægina, who was carried off from Phlius by Jupiter to the island of Ægina, where she bore him a son named Æacus, who was king of that island. Æacus had two sons, Peleus and Telamon. Peleus went to Phthia in Thessaly. He became king there, and was father of Achilles. Telamon retired to Salamis."

32. Φιλαίου, τοῦ Αἴαντος παῖδος. *Philæus, son of Ajax.* Pherecydes<sup>3</sup> calls him Philæas, and considers him as the son of Ajax, as do Herodotus, Plutarch<sup>4</sup>, and Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>5</sup>. Pausanias<sup>6</sup>, however, says he was his grandson. But however this may be, Philæus<sup>7</sup> was the father of Daïclus, or Æclus, as Casaubon will have it. This last had Epidycus, Epidycus had Acestor, Acestor had Agenor, Agenor Olius, Olius Lyces, Lyces Typhon, Typhon had Laius, Laius had Agamestor, who was archon of Athens; Agamestor had Tisander, Tisander had Hippoclides, Hippoclides had Miltiades, and Miltiades had Cypselus<sup>8</sup>, the father of Miltiades, sovereign of Chersonesus.

Thus Miltiades was descended from Ajax by seventeen generations.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. I. cxxxvii.

<sup>8</sup> Id. V. xi.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xxxvi. p. 88. Athen. XIII. p. 594, f.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 646, c.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxii. vol. I. p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucyd. initio.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, vol. I. p. 83, d.

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. voc. Φιλαίδαι.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. I. xxxv. p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> Pherecydes. Vide Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucydidis, initio.

<sup>8</sup> There is a chasm here, and I should conclude not the only one; as the number of generations is not sufficient to reach so far back as the siege of Troy.

Miltiades colonized the Thracian Chersonesus in the year 560 before our era. He must then have been about 40 years old, that is to say, he was born about the year 600 B. C. Ajax killed himself about the year 1270 B. C. There was therefore an interval of 670 years between the death of that warrior and the birth of Miltiades, founder of the Chersonesus, which makes twenty generations. Three of his ancestors are wanting to complete his genealogy. He died without children, and left his principality to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon. This latter having also died without children, Miltiades, the third of that name, his brother, succeeded him. Pausanias<sup>9</sup> says that Miltiades, son of Cimon, was the founder of Chersonesus; and this error has misled Father Corsini in his catalogue of the Olympionics. Ælian is as much in error<sup>10</sup> as Pausanias in his enumeration of the three Miltiades. The first was son of that Hippoclides, whom Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, refused for a son-in-law, on account of his indecent dancing; the second was the son of Cypselus, and grandson of the first Miltiades; this was the founder of Chersonesus. The third was the son of Cimon, brother by the mother's side of Miltiades the founder. This Cimon was not son of Cypselus the father of the second Miltiades; but as the ancient families seldom married but among themselves, it is probable that this Cimon was also a descendant of Ajax, and that the third Miltiades was thus of the blood of that warrior.

Philaïdæ, a village of the tribe Ægeis, took its name from Philæas or Philæus<sup>11</sup>.

XXXVI. 33. Ὀλύμπια ἀναιρηκῶς πρότερον τουτέων τεθρίππῳ. *Had formerly obtained the prize of the chariot-race.* We do not know the time of this victory of the second Miltiades. This circumstance alone suffices to prove how very defective are the lists of the Olympionics.

34. Στάδιοι ἑξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. *Thirty-six stadia.* The Epitome of Strabo<sup>12</sup> says forty. In remote times, before it was known how a place might by its situation, its strength, and its garrison, arrest the advance of an enemy, they opposed to invaders merely a wall, which enclosed the country, and formed some impediment to hostile incursions. This was the only means then known; and this was found insufficient when the Thracians became more expert in the art of war, especially at the time of low water. The Emperor Justinian<sup>13</sup> repaired this wall, which had partly fallen to decay; he added battlements, and above these battlements a roof, to protect the defenders; above this roof again were other battlements, manned by troops, who served as an additional protection. He afterwards constructed moles, which, stretch-

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. VI. xix. p. 498.

<sup>10</sup> Ælian. Hist. Var. XII. xxxv. p. 777.

<sup>11</sup> Stephan. Byz. voc. Φιλαΐδαι.

<sup>12</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 511, c.

<sup>13</sup> Procop. de Ædificiis Justiniani, IV. x. p. 89.

ing out into the sea, prevented the Thracians from penetrating into the Chersonesus at low-water. The Romans had before this time made use of similar means for protecting the Britons from the incursions of the Picts; I mean the famous wall of Septimius Severus, which extended from Tynemouth to Solway-Frith. The Chinese, less skilled than the Romans in the art of fortification, have devised no better means of protecting themselves from the incursions of the Tartars, than by erecting that immense wall, known by the name of the Great Wall. This was also the means employed by the Greeks of the latter empire, under Emanuel Palæologus, to secure the Peloponnesus from the incursions of the Turks.

35. Εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων. *Four hundred and twenty.* Soylax<sup>1</sup> says only four hundred; but the difference is trifling.

XXXVII. 36. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς. *Miltiades was held in estimation by Cræsus the Lydian.* "I look upon this expression to be altogether synonymous with κατὰ νόον εἶναι, which Herodotus has elsewhere used (IV. cx.). Sophocles has employed it (Ajax, 1038) where it is more redundant;

Ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα.

The opposite expressions are, ἀπὸ θυμοῦ εἶναι (Iliad I. 562), and ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν (Iliad XXIII. 595)."—CORAY.

M. Coray appears to me in the right; but the example which he adduces from Sophocles, I do not think in point. It ought, I apprehend, to be interpreted, 'He whom this maxim shall not please, after he has examined it.'

37. Πλανωμένων. *Wavering.* In the Greek, 'The Lampsaceni wandering in their counsels from one side to the other,' that is to say, being undecided, having no fixed resolution or opinion, 'on the threat of Cræsus, that he would cut them down like pine-trees.'

38. Τί θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι. *What is the meaning of the expression.* The Lampsaceni understood the general import of the threat, but not the meaning of the peculiar terms in which it was pronounced. Why does Cræsus (must have been the question amongst themselves) mention the pine rather than any other tree? This was the only difficulty, and it was this that the old man resolved in the manner Herodotus relates.

39. Πανώλεθρος ἐξάπόλλυται. *Perishes entirely.* This old man of Lampsacus must certainly have been in error. The pine is not the only tree which perishes on being cut. Aulus Gellius wrote a whole chapter on this point, of which only the summary remains to us. "Quod Herodotus<sup>2</sup>, scriptor historiæ memoratissimus, parum vere dix-

<sup>1</sup> Scylacis Periplus, p. 28, inter Geogr. Vet. Script. Min. vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. VIII. iv.

erit unam solamque pinum arborum omnium cæsam nunquam denuo ex iisdem radicibus pullulare."

At all events, this expression had passed into a proverb. The supposed author of the Letters of Phalaris<sup>3</sup> has made use of it, but it has not been properly rendered by the Latin translator, Charles Boyle. M. Van Lennep has understood it. This letter is the ninth in his edition. See his note, p. 48. Zenobius, Diogenianus, and Suidas, have also used the same expression. These allegories were particularly affected by the ancients. "There is something very grand in them, and especially in threats," says Demetrius Phalereus<sup>4</sup>. "Such is that of the tyrant Dionysius to the Locrians: 'Your grasshoppers [cicadæ] shall sing on the ground.' Had he simply said, 'that he would devastate Locris, and not leave a tree standing,' he would have appeared angry and shown himself the slave of passion; but, instead of this, he veils his intentions in an allegory. That which is uncertain is always the most terrible, it leaves so much to the magnifying power of apprehension and conjecture; whereas that which is clear and manifest soon becomes the object of contempt, like a man without garments."

Aristotle attributes this last expression to Stesichorus<sup>5</sup>, and praises it, as well as Demetrius Phalereus. Quintilian censures this kind of allegory when it is obscure. When an allegory is obscure, says he, it degenerates into an enigma; which is, in my opinion, a defect, since clearness is the principal object of discourse.

XXXVIII. 40. Ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν. *Equestrian game*. A race of saddle-horses is not here meant, but a race of chariots. Sophocles says<sup>7</sup>, ὁθ' ἵππικῶν ἦν . . . . ὠκύπους ἀγών. He had previously thus described the chariot-race in which Pelops gained Hippodamia<sup>8</sup> as the reward of his victory, ὦ Πέλοπος ἀ πρόσθεν πολύπονος ἵπκεία.

XXXIX. 41. Ἐπιτιμέων. *Doing honour*. It was the custom, in time of mourning, never to go from home. Ἐπιτιμέων is seldom used in the sense of 'to honour;' and the examples of it which have been adduced, have been disputed. Suidas<sup>9</sup>, however, explains τὰ τιτίμια, which occurs in the Electra of Sophocles, verse 915, by τὰ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τινος γινόμενα: the ancient scholiast of Sophocles, τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ γινόμενα τοῦ πατρός: and the latter scholiast, αἱ τιμαί: which would lead us to believe that ἐπιτιμέων is also taken in this sense. Stephens, in his Thesaurus, appears of the same opinion, though in his Greek and Latin edition of Herodotus, since published, he has changed his mind.

42. Ἡγησιπύλην. *Hegesipyle*. This princess, after the death of Mil-

<sup>3</sup> Phalaridis Epist. xcii. p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Demetrius Phalereus, p. 555, lin. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Rhetor. II. xvii. § iii. p. 124; III. vi. p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Quintil. Instit. Orat. VIII. vi. § lii.

p. 408.

<sup>7</sup> Sophocl. Elect. 698.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. 504.

<sup>9</sup> Suidas, at the word Ἐπιτίμια.



tiades, married an Athenian of distinction, and gave to the son who sprung from this second marriage the name of Olorus, after her father. Thucydides<sup>1</sup> was the son of this Olorus. His great-grandfather, consequently, was king of Thrace. It was these alliances of the Athenians with the most illustrious families of Thrace, which caused Seuthes<sup>2</sup> to say, that he knew the Athenians to be their relations. Moreover, it is well known, that Sadocus, son of Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ, and the most powerful prince of that country<sup>3</sup>, became a citizen of Athens.

XL. 43. Τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτεϊ τούτων. *Three years after these events.* The Pisistratidæ having put to death Cimon, father of Miltiades, the latter retired into the Chersonesus, in the year 4196 of the Julian period, 518 years before our era; as Hipparchus perished in the year 4200, 514 years before our era. Hippias was expelled in the year 4204, 510 years before the same era. After the taking of Babylon, Darius marched against the Scythians, accompanied by Miltiades. After returning from this expedition, he spent a year at Sardis, which should be the year 4206 of the Julian period, 508 years before our era. The Scythians then made an incursion into the Chersonesus. We have here a period of ten years. How then can our author say, that 'Miltiades had arrived but a short time, when events occurred still more vexatious than the previous ones?' These events were,—his arrival in the Chersonesus, the manner in which he seized on the sovereign power by arresting the first persons in the country, the necessity he was under of raising troops to maintain himself in it, the commotions excited by his proceedings, and which it became necessary to quell. Though Herodotus passes over these occurrences in two words, they must have occupied a period of six or seven years; nor is this space so long, but he might with propriety say, that Miltiades had but recently arrived in the Chersonesus, when affairs still more embarrassing arose. By these last vexations, I understand the invasion of the Chersonesus by the Scythians, which occurred three years 'after these events,' i. e. after the entire pacification of the Chersonesus. So far, therefore, we are in accordance with settled dates. What follows does not reconcile itself so easily: ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. I think, however, that in understanding by ταῦτα, not only the invasion of the Scythians, but also the return of Miltiades to the Chersonesus, and by τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων, the commencement of the troubles in Ionia, all will be explained. The invasion of the Scythians, and the return of Miltiades to the Chersonesus, must have been in the year 4207 of the Julian period, 507 years before our era. The taking of Miletus was in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 4216 of the Julian period, 498 years B. C.; it follows, then, that the commencement

<sup>1</sup> Marcellinus in Vita Thucydidis.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. II. xxix. p. 115; Aristoph.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Exped. Cyri, VII. ii. p. 397. Acharn. 145, et ibi Scholiast.

of the troubles in Ionia, which, according to Herodotus, preceded the taking of that city six years, must have been in the year 4210 of the Julian period, 504 years before our era: by this computation, therefore, we find that Miltiades returned into the Chersonesus three years before the breaking out of these troubles. I shall abide by this explanation, till a more satisfactory solution be furnished.

XLIII. 44. Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω. *Mardonius, son of Gobryas.* Gobryas was one of the seven conspirators who dethroned the magian Smerdis. He was a relative of Darius, for we learn from Diodorus Siculus<sup>4</sup>, that Mardonius was cousin to Xerxes: he was moreover his brother-in-law, ἀνεψιὸς μὲν καὶ κηδεστῆς ἦν Ξέρξου.

45. Στρατὸν ναυτικόν. *Intended to be embarked in the ships.* Ναυτικὸς στρατὸς is not here a naval armament, as it was impossible to convey vessels from Persia to Cilicia; but signifies troops intended to man vessels.

XLVI. 46. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ τουτέων. *The second year after, &c.* Miletus was taken in the third year of the 70th Olympiad. In the year following, the Persians<sup>5</sup> took possession of the islands of Chios, Tenedos, &c., made prisoner Metiochus, son of Miltiades<sup>6</sup>, and restored peace to Ionia. I am of opinion that the year 4218 of the Julian period, or 496 years before our era, which comprises the last six months of the fourth year of the 70th Olympiad, and the first six months of the first year of the 71st Olympiad, was employed in preparations for the war against the Greeks, and that Mardonius set off, as Herodotus says<sup>7</sup>, in the beginning of the spring of the year 4219 of the Julian period, 495 years before our era, and about the end of the first year of the 71st Olympiad. He returned in the same year with disgrace into Asia, after having been checked by a tempest, and lost many of his troops by the hands of the Brygi. The second year after this, that is, the fourth year of the 71st Olympiad, the Thasians were obliged to destroy their walls. In the same year<sup>8</sup> Darius sent heralds to all parts of Greece, demanding earth and water. The first and second years of the following Olympiad were employed in preparations for war; in the third year the battle of Marathon was fought, which was ten years before that of Salamis<sup>9</sup>, the latter having taken place in the first year of the 75th Olympiad.

Such is the order in which, according to my calculation, these events occurred. Petavius and Wesseling do not altogether agree with me; but, in the first place, I have proceeded from certain established dates, and then have arranged the intermediate events agreeably to the account

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. i. p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. VI. xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. xli.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. VI. xliii.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. xlviii.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. I. xviii.

of Herodotus. The following table will make this calculation more clear :

	Julian period.	Years B. C.	Olympiad.
Miltiades retires into the Chersonesus . . . . .	4196	518	65 3
Hipparchus is killed . . . . .	4200	514	66 3
Hippias is expelled . . . . .	4204	510	67 2
Stay of Darius at Sardis . . . . .	4206	508	68 1
Invasion of the Chersonesus by the Scythians . . . . .	4207	507	2
Commencement of the troubles in Ionia . . . . .	4210	504	69 1
Taking of Miletus . . . . .	4216	498	70 3
Taking of Chios, Tenedos, and pacification of Ionia . . . . .	4217	497	4
Preparations for war against Greece by Darius . . . . .	4218	496	71 1
Departure of Mardonius ; his return into Asia . . . . .	4219	495	1
The Thasians rase their walls ; the heralds of Darius go into Greece demanding earth and water . . . . .	4221	493	4
New preparations of the Persians against Greece . . . . .	4222 4223	{ 492 491	} 72 1 & 2
Battle of Marathon . . . . .	4224	490	3
Battle of Salamis . . . . .	4234	480	75 1

47. Ἐκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου. *From the continent.* The Thasians<sup>1</sup> had mines and excellent lands on the coast of Thrace.

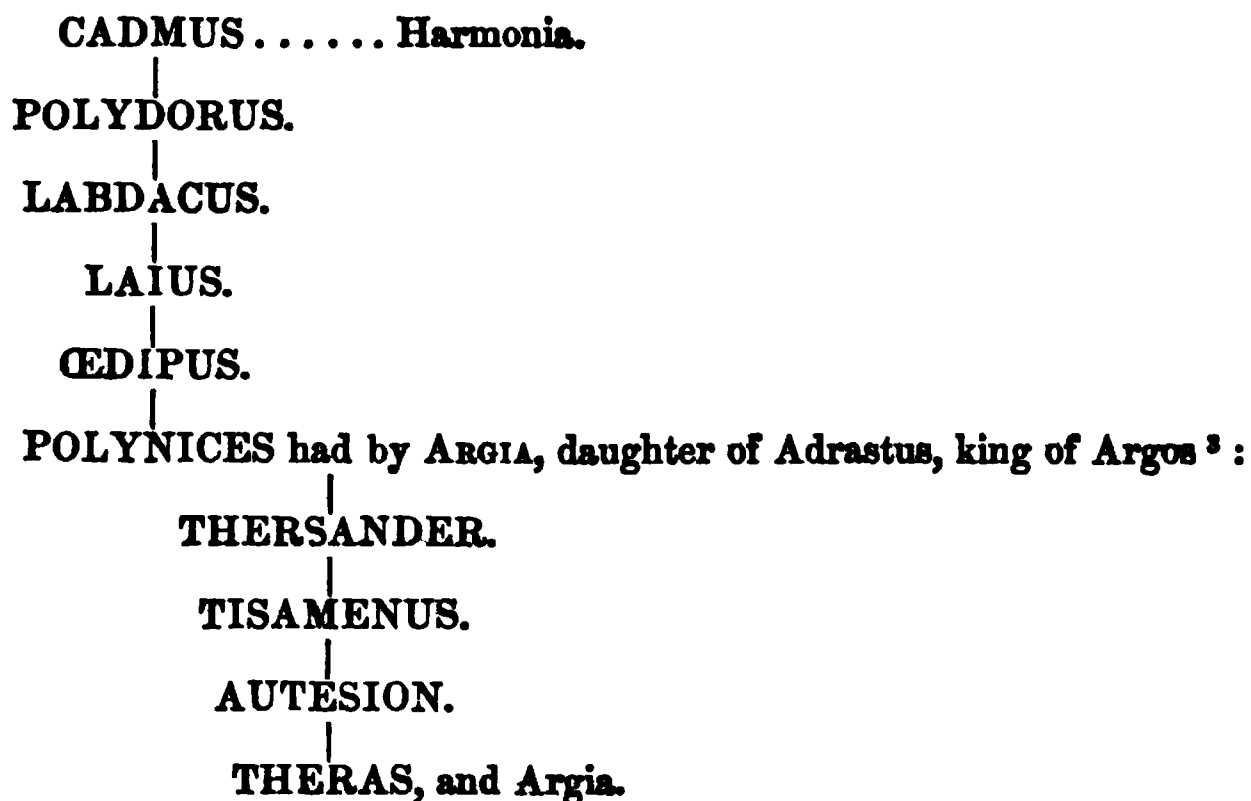
48. Ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν, &c. *At least.* The particle γε indicates that the mines on the continent, which were at Scapta-Hyla, produced 80 talents, at least. Without this particle the reasoning would be defective. In fact, the produce of the mines of the island not being so great as that of Scapta-Hyla, which was estimated at only 80 talents, how could they together make 200, or even 300 talents ? This is not explained either by translators or commentators. The reasoning depends entirely on the particle γε ; but I apprehend that in this sum total, we must include the produce of the lands of both the island and the continent. [The particle γε is merely emphatic. That the reasoning here does not depend entirely on it, is manifest from the explanation which Larcher himself adds in his last sentence.]

L. 49. Καταχάλκον τὰ κέρεια. *Arm well your horns.* Cleomenes here alludes to the name of Crios, which signifies a ram. It is thus

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. c.

that Cicero ridicules Verres<sup>2</sup>, who had ravaged Sicily. “Videtis Verutium? videtis primas litteras integras? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demersam esse in litura?”

LII. 50. Ἀργείην. *Argia*. She was the sister of Theras, uncle and guardian of Eurysthenes and Procles. See bk. IV. cxlvii. This princess was of the most illustrious birth, being descended in a direct line from Cadmus. Thus:



This princess married Aristodemus, father of Eurysthenes and Procles, who were the two first kings of Lacedæmon. Thus Theras and Argia were descended from Cadmus in the tenth generation.

LIII. 51. Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές. *True Egyptians*. Born in the country. This is the same as αὐθιγενεῖς. Hesychius explains αὐθιγενής by ἰθαγενής, αὐτόχθων. Had Herodotus thought that Danaüs was the brother of Sesostris, and the same with Armaïs, he had here a very good opportunity of informing us of it, as also in II. xci. But he was so far from thinking this, that he affirms, in the passage last cited, that Danaüs and Lynceus were of the city of Chemmis. We must therefore consider the genealogy of Danaüs, as given by Manetho, as a fable invented by that writer.

LIV. 52. Περσεύς. *Perseus*. “Perseus, according to the remark of Le Clerc on Hesiod, (Theog. 280.) is a Phœnician word, signifying ‘a horseman.’ It is therefore an epithet as well as a proper name, and was appropriate to Perseus, on account of his horse Pegasus. I have a reason, however, for not adopting this Phœnician etymology; which is, that Perseus had a son named Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, (bk. VII. lxi.) Perseus and Perses are nearly the same name.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Actio II. in Verr. II. lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodori Bibl. I. ix. p. 46.

Now the name of Perses<sup>4</sup>, and consequently that of the Persians, is written with 'samech,' and not with 'shin.'—BELLANGER.

53. Τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε πατέρας. *The ancestors of Acrisius.* "If the tradition which Herodotus relates here and in VII. lxi. be really that of the Persians, viz. that Perseus was the son of Jupiter and Danaë, and that by Andromeda he had Perses, who gave his name to the Persian nation, then the Greeks and the Persians agree as to who were his father and mother; but if the latter will not acknowledge Acrisius for the grandfather of Perseus, nor for one of his relations, Danaë must be an Assyrian."—WESSELING.

LVI. 54. Διός τε Λακεδαίμονος. *Jupiter Lacedæmonius.* Herodotus is the only author who mentions Jupiter as worshipped under this name. Therefore nothing certain can be advanced on the subject. I conjecture, however, that Λακεδαίμων is the 'Jupiter tonans,' which comes from λακεῖν, 'sonare;' and is therefore the same with ὑψιβρεμέτης.

55. Ἐκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς. *A hundred chosen men for their guard.* Thucydides, who was well informed as to the Lacedæmonian government, asserts that these kings had three hundred men as their guard. Τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ μέσῳ, ἥπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄγης ἦν, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τριακόσιοι ἱππῆς καλούμενοι προσπесόντες<sup>5</sup>, &c., 'falling on them with the rest of the army, and principally the troops of the centre, where king Agis was, with the three hundred men of his guard, called knights.' When the kings of Lacedæmon were not with the army, they had no guard.

LVII. 56. Διπλήσια. *Twice as much as.* This was an ancient custom, frequently mentioned by Homer. At their festivals, each guest had a portion served him, as is now practised among those who lead a monastic life. Such as they wished to honour, were supplied with a double portion. Xenophon<sup>6</sup> has well observed on this, that Lycurgus granted to the king the distinction of a double portion, not that he might eat twice as much as any one else, but that he might bestow it on whomsoever he pleased.

57. Ἰρήϊον τέλειον. *A perfect victim.* This is said of an animal of full age, and which is not mutilated<sup>7</sup>.

58. Προεδρίας. *The place of honour.* Wherever the king came, all rose, in token of respect to him, except the Ephori<sup>8</sup>, whose office was in a manner superior to the royal dignity, as it was instituted in the view of controlling the kings.

59. Προξένους. *Proxeni.* Ξένος is a man who receives into his house a friend who is on his journey, or who is so received when travel-

<sup>4</sup> Esdras II.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. V. lxxii. p. 361.

<sup>6</sup> De Republ. Laced. XV. iv. p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> See Budæus, Comment. Ling. Gr.

p. 626.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. xv. § vi. p. 99. Nicolaus Damasc. de Moribus Gentium apud Stobæum, Serm. xlii. p. 294, lin. 7.

ling himself. *Πρόξενος* is a person commissioned by the state to receive ambassadors, and the deputies of either princes or cities<sup>9</sup>. The states of Greece had in all the cities, to which they were in the habit of sending deputies, accredited persons, by whom these deputies were entertained. These were also called *Proxeni*. This word is frequently met with in the orations of Demosthenes, and especially in that for the Crown.

The *Proxenus* not only entertained the ambassadors, but was likewise commissioned to present them to the assembly of the people, and procure them an audience. *Πρόξενος μὲν ἐστίν, ὁ τοὺς ἀπ' ἄλλης πόλεως ἀναδεχόμενος· καὶ προσόδου φροντίζων τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν*<sup>1</sup>.

60. *Προσκεῖσθαι*. *It is one of their prerogatives*. This is the true meaning of *προσκεῖσθαι*: Eustathius<sup>2</sup> explains it by *γέρας εἶναι*.

61. *Πυθίους δύο*. *Two Pythians*. Those who were sent to consult the oracle of Delphi were termed *Θεοπρόποι*: at Lacedæmon they gave them the name of Pythians, *Πύθιοι*. They lived with the kings, as Herodotus says, and as is confirmed by Xenophon in<sup>3</sup> his treatise on the Lacedæmonian Republic. The inscriptions<sup>4</sup> found at Calama, at Amyclæ, and at Pharæ, by the Abbé Fourmont, rank them immediately after the kings. Eustathius<sup>5</sup> says that there was at Delphi a college of priests called *Theopropi*, who, according to Herodotus, were maintained, together with the kings, at the public expense. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ τάγμα τι θεῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς, οἱ Θεοπρόποι, οἱ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἐσιτοῦντο μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια*. But if these Pythians lived at Delphi, how could they be maintained with the kings? It is clear that the passage of Eustathius is altered, and that we must read *ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι*.

62. *Πατροῦχος παρθένος*. *An heiress*. The Greek *κληρος* signifies a certain portion of land or other property, an inheritance; *κληροῦχος*, the person who possesses the inheritance; *ἐπικληρος*, she who, having neither father, mother, nor brother, is sole heiress. Some also call it *ἐπιπαματις* and *πατροῦχος*<sup>6</sup>. *Ἐπιπαματις* is a Doric word, and *πατροῦχος* is Attic. See the Lexicon of Timæus, on the word *πατρούχου παρθένου*, with the learned note of M. Ruhnken; Hesychius at the word *ἐμπαγμῶ*, and the note of M. Hemsterhuis.

63. *Δύο ψήφους*. *Two votes*. Thucydides<sup>7</sup> asserts the contrary: and it is to be presumed, that being connected with the government of Lacedæmon, and perfectly acquainted with all its details, he is in the right. Lucian, however, says with our historian<sup>8</sup>, that the kings of Sparta had each two votes; but perhaps he advances this only on the

<sup>9</sup> See Eustathius on Homer, vol. iii. p. 405, lin. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Moschopul. *περὶ Σχεδ.*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. in Homer. *Iliad*. III. vol. I. p. 401, lin. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. XV. v. p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. XV. p. 396.

<sup>5</sup> Eustath. in *Iliad*. A. p. 55, lin. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Platonis ad Legg. I. p. 567, E.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. I. xx. p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Lucian. *Harmonid.* iii. vol. I. p. 885.

authority of Herodotus. The scholiast of Thucydides remarks, that the kings had in the senate but one voice each, which one had the force of two; and in this way we may reconcile the two historians.

LVIII. 64. Ἀριθμῶ τῶν περιούκων. *A certain number of villagers.* Ἀριθμῶ signifies 'a certain number, a determinate number.'

Οἱ περίουκοι were, according to Heinsius, the same<sup>9</sup> as the Helots; but that critic is mistaken. Herodotus clearly distinguishes them in IX. xxviii.; for the 5000 Lacedæmonians here mentioned can be no other than the Perioeci. Neither were they freed Helots, as appears by the following passage of Xenophon<sup>10</sup>: ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος ἀρμοστής, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιούκων τινὲς, καὶ τῶν νεοδαμωδῶν οὐ πολλοί. 'Clearchus, who was governor at Byzantium, had with him some of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities of Sparta, and a small number of freed men.'

I have remarked, that wherever the Perioeci are mentioned in opposition to the Spartans, we are to understand the inhabitants of the cities and towns of Laconia, with the exception of Sparta.

Χωρὶς Σπαρτιηρέων signifies, 'without reckoning the Spartans,' as has been noticed by M. Bellanger, and by M. Valckenaer. M. Wesseling, it should seem, was of a contrary opinion, because Lycurgus forbade the use of<sup>1</sup> mourning and lamentations amongst the Spartans; but I am induced to suppose, that they were forbidden by that legislator only in the case of private individuals, and not when the loss concerned the state at large.

LX. 65. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι. *They agree in these respects with the Egyptians.* Diodorus Siculus<sup>2</sup> asserts the same thing of the Egyptians; and Dicæarchus<sup>3</sup> says, that by a law of Sesonchis, no one in Egypt could cast off the profession of his father.

LXI. 66. Ἐπίβασις. *An action.* It means properly an action raised against a person who pretends to be of a family, to which, in fact, he does not belong<sup>4</sup>.

67. Ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων. *Very rich people.* The lands of Laconia having been<sup>5</sup> equally divided amongst all the citizens, and gold and silver having been proscribed<sup>6</sup> in the republic of Sparta, upon pain of death<sup>7</sup>, how could there be any rich people there? Cupidity, more powerful than laws, had closed the eyes of justice to a multitude of abuses.

68. Τοῦ Φοιβητίου ἱεροῦ. *The Phœbæan temple.* We are the more dis-

<sup>9</sup> Heins. in Notis ad Max. Tyr. p. 138. ex ed. Cantab. 1703. 8vo.

<sup>10</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. I. iii. § x. p. 22.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Instit. Lacon. p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. I. lxxiv. pp. 85, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Scholiast. ad Apoll. Rhod. IV. 273.

<sup>4</sup> See Julius Pollux, II. iv. § cc. p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 44, A.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. p. 44, D.

<sup>7</sup> Nic. Damasc. de Moribus Gentium apud Stob. Serm. xlii. p. 293.



posed to think, that we ought here to read 'the temple Ephebæum,' or of the Ephebi, 'Εφηβαῖον, as Pausanias informs us in two places, that in it the Ephebi, 'the youths,' sacrificed to Mars. In the first of the passages alluded to<sup>8</sup> he calls it 'Εφηβαῖον, and in the other<sup>9</sup> Φοιβαῖον. Sylburgius, who did not advert to the passage of Herodotus, thinks that in the second passage of Pausanias we should read 'Εφηβαῖον. This temple, situated a little above Therapnæ, was consecrated to Apollo, to Castor, and Pollux. From this we may conclude, that it bore the name of the first of these divinities.

LXIII. 69. Δέκα μῆνας. *Ten months.* The usual period of pregnancy for women is nine months; it sometimes exceeds this, but sometimes parturition takes place at the end of the seventh. The ancients usually reckoned it at ten months, because their year was lunar. The nine months of our solar year amount to 274 days; nine lunar months make only 265 days: thus the full term will encroach nine days upon the tenth month; which caused the ancients to reckon ten months as the term of pregnancy.

70. Κατημένος ἐν θώκῳ. *Was sitting with the Ephori.* 'Sitting in council.' This is an imitation of the third verse of the 5th book of the Odyssey:

Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ θῶκόνδε καθίζανον.

Eustathius explains this passage very clearly<sup>1</sup>: λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκκλησιάζειν θῶκόνδε καθιζάνειν. We might conclude that Ariston was at this moment sitting with the Ephori only, in a place appropriated to their meetings, and which was called 'Εφορεῖον. But Pausanias prevents us from taking the word in this sense; for he says positively that<sup>2</sup> he was then in the senate with the Ephori, αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν 'Εφόρων καθημένῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐν βουλῇ.

71. 'Επὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλεόμενος τοὺς μῆνας. *He calculated the months upon his fingers.* All calculations were made by the ancients with the assistance of their fingers only. This cannot be doubted, after the frequent mention made of it by various authors. I shall not, however, undertake to explain how these arithmetical operations were performed, but merely observe, that all numbers up to 100 were calculated on the left hand, that the 100th began on the right hand, and the 200th returned to the left. It is thus that we must understand the following verses of Juvenal:

Felix nimirum, qui tot per sæcula mortem  
Distulit, atque suos jam dextrâ computat annos<sup>3</sup>.

We may add, that this custom subsisted so late as the time of St.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. III. xiv. p. 242, lin. ult.

lin. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. xx. p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. III. vii. p. 211.

<sup>1</sup> Ad Homerî Odyss. V. p. 1520.

<sup>3</sup> Juvenal. Sat. x. 248.

Augustine, that is to say, A. D. 426. That illustrious and learned father of the Church thus expresses himself in his immortal work, *De Civitate Dei*, bk. XVIII. liii. "Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resolvit, et quiescere jubet ille qui dicit, 'Non est vestrum scire tempora, quæ Pater in suâ posuit potestate.'"

LXV. 72. Τοῦ Ἁγίος. *Of Agis.* In all the MSS. we read Agis. Yet Agis was not the son of Menares, but Agesilaus was, as we shall see hereafter (VIII. cxxxi.). Leutychides is an Ionism. In the ordinary language it was called Leotychides, as we find in *Thucydides*<sup>4</sup>. See also the *Ionian Lexicon* of Æmilius Portus, at the word Εὔ.

73. Ἀρμοσαμένον. *Having been betrothed.* This has been mistranslated, 'cum sponsam haberet.' Had Leotychides been married to Percale, Demaratus would not have been suffered to take her away from him. Ἀρμόσασθαι signifies, 'to betroth.' This word has been ill rendered in III. cxkxvii. ὅτι ἤρμωσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα, 'duxisse uxorem Milonis filiam.' It should have been translated, 'despondisse sibi Milonis filiam.' The expression is properly rendered in V. xlvii. ὃς ἀρμωσάμενος Τήλυνος τοῦ Συβαρίτηος θυγατέρα, 'qui desponsâ sibi filia Telyos Sybaritæ.'

74. Χίλωνος. *Chilo.* This Chilo is not the same that was accounted one of the seven sages. Herodotus has already mentioned him I. lix., and he mentions him again, VII. ccxxxv.: he was the son of Damagetes; whereas the one here spoken of was the son of Demarmenes.

75. Αὐτὸν οὐκ ἱκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρτιητέων. *The crown of Sparta did not legitimately belong to him.* Eurysthenes and Procles, sons of Aristodemus, were both appointed kings, as we have seen above. They became the stocks of two royal families, who gave kings to the state so long as the republic endured. The crown always descended<sup>5</sup> to the eldest of the king's children, and on the death of the eldest without children, it passed to the younger. Thus if the king had no children, his brother, or if he had no brother, his nearest relative, succeeded to the throne on his demise.

LXVII. 76. Γυμνοπαιδίαι. *The Gymnopædiæ.* The Gymnopædiæ<sup>6</sup> at Sparta was a festival in which naked boys sang the praises of Apollo, and of the three hundred Lacedæmonians who fell at the battle of Thermopylæ: ἐορτὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐν ᾗ παῖδες ᾗδον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παιᾶνας γυμνοὶ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Πύλαιαν πεσόντας.

The Gymnopædiæ were celebrated on the 7th or 8th of the month Hecatombeon, which answers to the 20th or 21st July. The battle of

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. I. lxxxix.

<sup>5</sup> Cragius de Republ. Lacedæm. II. ii.

pp. 92, 93.

<sup>6</sup> Etymolog. Magn. p. 243.

Leuctra was fought<sup>7</sup> on the 5th of that month, and the news of it reached Sparta on the last day of the games<sup>8</sup>. The populace were then in the theatre witnessing them, and the chorus of men had already entered<sup>9</sup>. These games therefore must have lasted several days, and men were admitted to them, not children exclusively.

Though I have said that the boys were naked, it must not be supposed that they were entirely so. The middle of the body was covered with a girdle. The Greeks usually understand by γυμνός a man but slightly clothed. "At the time of the Lupercalia<sup>1</sup>," says Plutarch, "the young people of the most illustrious families, and many magistrates, run naked through the town, carrying in the hand large thongs covered with their own hair, with which they strike, as in jest, all those whom they meet." Had they been entirely naked, this custom would have been highly indecent. And what proves that they were not so is, that the same author, in his life of Romulus, speaking of the Lupercalia, says, "They then make<sup>2</sup> thongs of these goats' skins, and having fastened round their middle a bandage, they run out naked, striking with the thongs whomsoever they meet." The second passage explains the first. Neither must we believe that the gymnosophists of India went absolutely naked; they wore a bandage round their bodies, which prevented any indecent exposure. St. Augustine positively asserts this<sup>3</sup>: "Per opacas quoque Indiæ solitudines, cum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde gymnosophistæ nominantur; adhibent tamen genitalibus tegmina, quibus per cætera membrorum carent."

LXVIII. 77. Ἐσθεὶς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας. *Putting into her hands.* In taking an oath, the ancients laid their hand upon the victim, which was called ὀμνύναι κατὰ or ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγίων, ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων, ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων. The ancient authors abound in these modes of expression.

78. Τοῦ Ἐρκείου Διός. *Hercæan Jupiter.* The enclosure round a house was called<sup>4</sup> ἔρκος: and within this enclosure they erected altars to Jupiter, who, for this reason, was called Hercæan. He was the protector of the house. "Hercæus<sup>5</sup> Jupiter intra conseptum domûs cujusque colebatur, quem etiam deum penetralem appellabant." Hence the names of Cortalis and of Septitius, by which Jupiter was known amongst the Latins. Servius has also said, "Dictus<sup>6</sup> autem Jupiter Hercæus, quia ara ejus erat intra aulam et septum parietem ædificata, quod Græce Ἐρκος dicitur." Jupiter was adored by this name not only in private houses, but also in the citadel of Athens. Philochorus<sup>7</sup>, in the 9th book of his Attic History, relates, that a bitch having entered

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Agesilao, p. 612, A.

<sup>8</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. VI. iv. § xvi. p. 398.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Agesilao, p. 612, A.

<sup>1</sup> Idem, in Cæsare, vol. I. p. 736, D.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, in Romulo, vol. I. p. 31, C.

<sup>3</sup> S. August. de Civitate Dei, XIV. p. 181, lin. 23.

xvii. p. 369, E.

<sup>4</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Ἐρκεῖος Ζεὺς, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Festus de Verb. Sign. VIII. p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> Ad Æneid. II. 506, vol. II. p. 280.

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. in Dinarcho, iii. vol. II.

the temple of Minerva Polias, penetrated into the Pandrosium, and ascended as far as the altar of Jupiter Hercæus, which is under the olive-tree<sup>8</sup>.

LXIX. 79. Τοῦ ἡρώτου Ἀστραβάκου. *The chapel of the hero Astrabacus.* Perhaps he had been interred there. The word Ἡρώον may likewise signify that it was his monument; but as he was worshipped as a god<sup>9</sup>, according to the remark of St. Clement of Alexandria, I have decided in favour of the first signification, though I am aware that the monuments of heroes were frequently placed in the little chapels erected in honour of them. This Astrabacus was of the race of the Eurysthenidæ, which was the first royal family of Sparta. Irbus<sup>1</sup> was his father, Amphisthenes his grandfather, Amphicles his great-grandfather, and Agis his great-great-grandfather. All the notice I can find of him in ancient history is, that having with his brother Alopecus<sup>2</sup> found the statue of Orthian Diana, which Orestes and Iphigenia had carried away from Tauris, they both lost their senses.

80. Τῇσι θύρῃσι τῇσι αὐλείῃσι. *At the doors of the court.* Αὐλή is what the Latins call 'vestibulum,' the true meaning of which, as given by C. Ælius Gallus<sup>3</sup>, is as follows: "Vestibulum esse, dicit, non in ipsis ædibus, neque partem ædium, sed locum ante januam domûs vacuum, per quem a viâ aditus accessusque ad ædes est." Thus the 'vestibulum' was a yard or court, and not what we call a vestibule, πρόδομος. This court or open space before the house was separated from the public way by a wall. The division of the ancient buildings, according to Eustathius<sup>4</sup>, was as follows: Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀκριβεστέρους, ἡ τάξις οὕτως· ἔρκος, περὶ ὃ πύλαι· μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἔρκιον, αὐλή· μεθ' ἣν, αἶθουσα· εἶτα πρόδομος, δόμος καὶ θάλαμος. 'The following is the division of the buildings, according to the most accurate authorities: the outer wall<sup>5</sup>, in which is the gate; next is the court; then the portico, the vestibule, the house itself and its apartments.'

LXX. 81. Μοῦνος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλῆων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας. *Being the only one of all the kings of Sparta up to this time, who did so.* The kings of Sparta were perhaps of opinion, as M. Valckenaer remarks, that the victories in the games of Greece were due rather to riches than to courage. The list of the Olympionics is so defective, that we do not know in what year to place the victory of this prince. The learned Father Corsini has omitted it in his list of the Olympionics.

LXXIV. 82. Τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. *The water of Styx.* It appears

<sup>8</sup> See Brunck's Soph. Antig. 487.

<sup>9</sup> Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. III. xvi. p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gell. Noët. Attic. XVI. v.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. in Iliad. IX. p. 764, lin. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Called by Festus, under the word Hercæus, 'conseptum domûs.'

from this passage, that the Greeks, when they wished to render their oaths inviolable, used to assemble at Nonacris, and there swear by the waters of the Styx. The gods also swore by the Styx, as being the most solemn oath they could take. "This river," says Pausanias<sup>6</sup>, "is mortal both to men and animals;" and it was doubtless for this reason that its source was said to be in hell. Its water could be preserved only in vessels made from the hoof of a mule. "Ungulas<sup>7</sup> tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam, quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pausanias attributes<sup>8</sup> the same efficacy to the hoof of the horse, and Plutarch<sup>9</sup> to that of the ass.

LXXV. 83. Τῶν τις Εἰλωτέων. *Some Helot.* The Helots, strictly speaking, were the inhabitants of the city of Helos, in Laconia. When the Heraclidæ had conquered a part of the Peloponnesus, wishing<sup>1</sup> to attach their new subjects to them, they granted them very extensive privileges, and even admitted them to the magistracy. Agis, an ambitious prince, not content with depriving them of these privileges, imposed a tribute on them; to which the greater part of the cities, not daring to trust to the fate of war, submitted. The city of Helos alone took up arms. Agis attacked it, and, after an obstinate resistance, conquered it, and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. M. Capperonnier says on this subject<sup>2</sup>, "Pausanias places this event under the reign of Alcamenes, more than 300 years afterwards; but Plutarch and Strabo, who assign it to the reign of Agis, have won me to their opinion." But this critic should have perceived that Pausanias<sup>3</sup> speaks of a second capture of Helos. The Achæans had rebuilt its walls; Alcamenes defeated them, and destroyed the city anew. The Messenians afterwards experienced the same treatment<sup>4</sup>, and at length became one and the same body with the Helots. Those who wish for further information on the subject of the Helots, will do well to consult Cragius.

84. Ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε. *It was a chastisement for deceiving the Pythoness, &c.* The intemperance of Cleomenes was the true cause of his frenzy. See lxxxiv.

85. Ἐκείρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν. *He cut the wood consecrated to the goddesses.* Ceres and Proserpine. Τέμενος is properly a piece of ground consecrated to a god. Sometimes this term is taken in a more extensive sense for a temple, and sometimes it signifies a sacred wood, as in lxxix.

86. Ἐξ ἰποῦ τοῦ Ἀργου. *From the grove consecrated to Argos.* This Argos<sup>5</sup> was the son of Jupiter by Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus. He gave his name to the city of Argos<sup>6</sup> and its territory. No temple was

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VIII. xviii. p. 635.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. H. N. XXX. xvi. vol. ii. p. 543.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. VIII. xviii. p. 636.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Alexandro, p. 707, A, B.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VIII. p. 561, A.

<sup>2</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom.

XXIII. Mém. p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. III. ii. p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, IV. xxiii. p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, II. xxxiv. p. 191. III. iv. p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. xvi. p. 145.

ever erected to him, nor had he even a chapel. Pausanias' speaks only of his monument, which was doubtless in the grove consecrated to him.

Finally, this Argos was a very different person from him who was surnamed Panoptes, and who, because nothing escaped the quickness of his sight, was supposed to have eyes all over his body. This latter was the son of Agenor, and great-grandson of the hero above mentioned.

LXXVII. 87. 'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενά νικήσῃ. *But when the female shall the male o'ercome.* This oracle is very obscure, nor does Herodotus throw any light on it whatever. The first part of it, however, is clearly explained by Pausanias<sup>†</sup>. "When Cleomenes led his troops against the city of Argos, which he imagined was without defenders, Telesilla posted the slaves, and all those who from youth or age were incapable of bearing arms, on the walls. She then collected all the arms which were left in the temples and in the private houses, distributed them among the women who were in the flower of their age, and placed them where she thought the enemy most likely to make their attack. Without being alarmed by the approach of the Lacedæmonians, or by their war-cries, these women courageously withstood the shock; but the Lacedæmonians reflecting that if they were successful, such a victory would gain them no honour, and that if they were defeated, the infamy would be doubled, preferred retiring from before the place."

Plutarch relates the same anecdote a little differently; and perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see his account of it.

"Cleomenes<sup>‡</sup>, king of the Spartans, having slain in a battle a great number of Argians, but not precisely 7777, as some authors fabulously pretend, marched directly against the city of Argos. The young Argian women, being inspired by the gods with a boldness scarcely natural in their sex, took the resolution of making a desperate effort to repel the enemy and preserve their country. Telesilla placed herself at the head of them; they ran to arms, arranged themselves on the walls all round the city, mounted the battlements, and astonished the besiegers. They came to action; Cleomenes lost a great number of men, and was finally repulsed. Demaratus, the other king, as Socrates says, had already entered the city, and occupied the quarter called Pamphyliacon; he yielded to the desperate efforts of these heroines, and retreated, like his colleague. The city having been thus delivered, the survivors buried in the Argian way those of their companions who had fallen in the battle; and were afterwards permitted to erect, in commemoration of their valour, a statue to the god Mars. This battle was fought, according to some, on

<sup>†</sup> Pausan. *ibid.* xxii. p. 161.

<sup>‡</sup> *Id.* II. xx. p. 157.

<sup>§</sup> Plutarch. *de Virtutibus Mulierum*, vol. II. p. 245, D, E.

the 7th, and according to others on the 1st of the month now called 'Tetartus,' (fourth,) anciently called by the Argians 'Hermæus;' the day on which they celebrate, to the present time, a solemn festival termed Hybristica, in which the women wear the sagum and cloak of the men, and the men the robes and veils of women."

The magnanimity of the Argian women recalls to mind the courageous conduct of those of Beauvais. Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, having in the year 1472 come with a numerous army to attack the place, then without a garrison, and having taken the suburbs at the first onset, the women and the girls took up arms, and so inspirited the citizens, that, supported by a few troops who came to their assistance, they repulsed the Burgundians, and compelled them to raise the siege. The heroines who principally distinguished themselves on this occasion, were Jeanne Hachette and Jeanne Fourquet. The latter took a standard from the enemy. Among other privileges granted by Louis XI. to the inhabitants of Beauvais, he commanded a festival to be annually celebrated in that city in honour of St. Angadrême, patroness of Beauvais, in which the women, both in the procession and at the offertory, should take precedence of the men.

LXXVIII. 88. "Ὅταν σημήνην ὁ κήρυξ ποιέεσθαι ἀριστον. *When the herald should give the signal for the repast.* Polyænus relates this stratagem at greater length<sup>1</sup>. "Cleomenes, king of Sparta," says he, "made war on the Argians, and encamped opposite to them. The latter observed with the greatest vigilance all the proceedings of the enemy. If Cleomenes issued his orders to his troops by the voice of a herald, the Argians did the same thing. If they took to arms, the Argians did the same; if the former marched out in order of battle, the latter did so too; if these took their repast, those took theirs; when one side went to rest, the opposite side repaired to theirs. At length Cleomenes gave secret orders, that when the signal for repast was given, his troops should take to arms. On the signal being made, the Argians sat down to table; Cleomenes then fell on them thus disarmed, and slaughtered a great number."

LXXXIII. 89. "Ἐσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα. *Took into their hands the management of affairs.* "The Argians," says Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, "did not adopt the expedient of uniting their slaves in marriage with the wives of those whom they had slain, as Herodotus, contrary to truth, asserts; but they granted the right of citizenship to the most deserving of their neighbours, and bestowed on them the widows. But these latter seemed to despise their new husbands, as unworthy of them, and would scarcely deign to admit them to their beds. This was the occasion of a

<sup>1</sup> Polyæni Strateg. I. xiv. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Virtut. Mulier. vol. II. p. 245, E.



law, ordering the newly married women to wear a false beard when they went to bed to their husbands."

LXXXIV. 90. Ἀναβαίνειν. *To ascend* (i. e. *go up the country*). In almost all the historians this expression is used to signify retiring from the sea. Both here and in Xenophon it means advancing along the sea-coast towards Upper Asia, and thus towards the centre of the dominions of the great king. The expedition of the Greeks, therefore, which we commonly call the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, is called in Greek Ἀνάβασις, because they quitted the sea-shore to proceed towards Babylon.

It is astonishing that the Spartans, who had given so unfavourable a reception to the proposal of Aristagoras<sup>3</sup>, should have engaged with the Scythians in a plan to penetrate into Upper Asia.

LXXXVI. 91. Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα. *Glaucus, son of Epicycles*. This Glaucus, if we may rely on Pausanias, was king of Sparta<sup>4</sup>. The same author, however, omits him in his list of the kings of that country. The true reading has been preserved by one Phralites, who, in the year 1431, made certain extracts from that author, which we find in the Royal Library. We should read, according to this compiler, Γλαύκῳ τῷ Ἐπικύδου Σπαρτιάτῃ βουλεύσαντ' ἐπ' ἰορκα ὁμόσαι, &c. 'The Pythoness answered to Glaucus of Sparta, son of Epicycles, who consulted her, that if he perjured himself, &c.'<sup>5</sup>

92. Ἐν χρόνῳ ἱκνευμένῳ. *The appointed time*. Such is the meaning of this passage, which has been ill rendered by the Latin translator, 'procedente tempore;' it should be 'constituto tempore.' We find in Demosthenes, τοῖς ἀποφθιμένοις ἐν ἱκνουμένῳ ἀμέρῳ τελεῖν. 'To offer sacrifices for the dead, at the time appointed by the laws.' This expression has proved a stumbling-block to all the translators. Abydenus, speaking of Nebuchadnezzar<sup>6</sup>, says, τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἱκνευμένῳ ἀφανισθῆναι, which the Latin translator has improperly rendered, 'ac deinceps mortalium oculis ereptum esse:' it should be, 'He disappeared at the appointed time,' i. e. at the time fixed by the Divinity.

93. Ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ χρήματα ληΐσεται. *Questioning the shrine whether he shall, by an oath, make plunder of the money*. Glaucus certainly knew what he desired to do. That therefore cannot be the meaning of our author. This Spartan had an intention of sounding Apollo, to know if he would suffer him to commit a crime. That is the true meaning of the sentence, which has been perfectly well rendered by Juvenal, and by his learned interpreter.

Quærebat enim, quæ Numinis esset

Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus, V. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. II. xviii. p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Mém. Acad. des B. L. vol. XIV. p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> Apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. IX.

xli. p. 457, c.

<sup>7</sup> Juvenal. XIII. 199.

“He consults the Pythoness to know what Apollo will think of it, and whether he shall obtain his consent.”

94. Τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω. *It is immediately advantageous.* All philosophers and moralists have vied with each other in expatiating on the consequences of riches ill acquired, or obtained by false oaths. “If a man,” says Theognis<sup>1</sup>, “greedy of wealth, obtain riches by unjust means, or by false oaths, he thinks at the moment that he has secured an advantage; but these riches will ultimately prove a great evil to him, for the will of the gods is above all. Men are deceived, because the gods do not inflict punishment the moment a crime is committed.”

95. Ἀλλ’ Ὀρκου πάϊς ἐστίν. *But the Oath has a son.* Making of the oath a kind of divinity, whose son is no other than the divine vengeance.

96. Πᾶσαν γενεήν. *The entire race.* Lycurgus had, no doubt, this oracle in his mind, when, in his oration against Leocrates, he says<sup>2</sup>: “Perjury cannot conceal itself from the gods, nor escape their vengeance. If the offender himself is not the object of it, his children and his whole posterity suffer the heaviest calamities.”

Hesiod had expressed the same sentiment several centuries before<sup>1</sup>. “He who knowingly bears false witness,” says he, “and perjures himself, inflicts a wound on justice, and commits a crime which nothing can expiate. His race is extinguished and disappears for ever; whilst that of the man faithful to his oaths prospers through all succeeding ages.”

97. Συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέτο αὐτῷ ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων. *He prayed the god to pardon what he had said.* “Shall we believe,” says Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, “that Glaucus, son of Epicycles, did not repent of his crime, never was afflicted by it, never was punished for it? For my part, I think it superfluous for either god or man to inflict a punishment upon the wicked; the trouble excited in their souls by their crimes is quite sufficient.”

Such was the reasoning of the Epicureans, and it is surprising that the wise Plutarch, who was one of their most strenuous opposers, should be the author of so weak an argument. But what shall we say to Josephus, who, wishing to prove<sup>3</sup> against Polybius, that Antiochus had perished for having robbed the temple at Jerusalem, and not for having intended to pillage that of Diana Elymais, as the Greek historian asserts<sup>4</sup>, adds, “The intention, without being carried into effect, did not merit punishment?” One is sorry to find such an assertion in the mouth of a Jewish priest. Had he no knowledge of the prophet Zechariah? from whom I shall quote a passage perfectly applicable to the

<sup>1</sup> Theognidis Sentent. 199, et s.

<sup>2</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocrat. p. 157, ver.

38.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiodi Opera et Dies, 258.

<sup>2</sup> De Serâ Num. Vind. p. 456.

<sup>3</sup> Antiq. Jud. XII. ix. § i. p. 621.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb. in Excerptis Valesianis, p. 145.

case of Glaucus<sup>5</sup>: "And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I answered, I see a flying roll . . . . This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth . . . . for every one that sweareth shall be cut off as on that side, according to it. I will bring it forth, saith the Lord of Hosts, and it shall enter into the house . . . . of him that sweareth falsely by my name; and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof." The Septuagint, instead of 'volumen,' read δρέπανος, 'a scythe.'

98. Ἀποδοῖ σφι τὰ χρήματα. *He should restore them the deposits.* Stobæus relates a story which has some resemblance to this; the substance of which I shall repeat, because his collection is not in the hands of those who generally read translations. Archetimus of Erythræ<sup>6</sup>, in Ionia, left in the hands of his friend Cydias, at Tenedos, a considerable sum in gold. Having afterwards demanded it of him, the latter denied having ever received it, and as the dispute grew warm, it was determined that in three days he should make oath of the fact. Cydias employed this interval in hollowing out a cane, into which he introduced the money of Archetimus, and, the better to conceal his deception, he covered the handle of it with a linen bandage. He went out on the appointed day, leaning on his cane, as if he had been ill; and when he had reached the temple, he handed over his cane to Archetimus, whilst he raised his hands and made oath that he had returned to him the deposit confided to him. Archetimus, indignant, struck the cane violently against the ground; it broke, the gold fell from it, and the bad faith of Cydias was thus publicly exposed. He was afterwards cut off by an untimely death.

99. Ἐκτέρπηται τε πρόρπιζος. *This family is wholly eradicated.* Juvenal has turned this story into verse, and the reader, I apprehend, will not be displeased to see in what manner he has done it.

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia Vates,  
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret  
Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri  
Jurando: quærebat enim quæ Numinis esset  
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.  
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem  
Vocem adytî dignam templo, veramque probavit,  
Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque,  
Et quamvis longâ deductis gente propinquis.  
Has patitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas<sup>7</sup>.

I know not whether Cicero, in his Offices, had in view this passage of our historian. However, what he says on the subject is so excellent, that I cannot refrain from quoting it.

<sup>5</sup> Zechariah, V. 2. and following.

<sup>6</sup> Stob. Serm. cxvii. p. 362.

<sup>7</sup> Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 199, et s.

“Those<sup>8</sup> who have made any progress in true wisdom, will consider it as impious and blameable in the highest degree, to deliberate whether we shall follow that course which we know to be right, or voluntarily stain ourselves with crime. The very doubt is criminal. Were we assured of being able to conceal our actions from the gods as well as from men, we ought not thence to deem ourselves entitled to do that which may be stigmatized as avaricious, unjust, or incontinent . . . A wise man, had he the ring of Gyges, would not for that reason assume a greater licence; for the honest man seeks after what is right, and not after what may be concealed.”

LXXXVII. 100. Τὴν Θεωρίδα. *The Theoris*. This was a vessel<sup>9</sup> sent every year to Delos, for the purpose of making sacrifices to Apollo, in virtue of a vow made by Theseus on his departure for Crete. At the commencement of the festival celebrated on this occasion<sup>1</sup> the city was purified, and it was an inviolable law to put no one to death till the vessel had returned. It was sometimes a long while on the voyage, especially when the wind was contrary. This festival, which was called Theoria, commenced when the priest of Apollo had crowned the poop of the vessel. The ambassador sent to offer a sacrifice to a god, or to consult the oracle, was termed Theorus, Θεωρός. This name of Theorus served to distinguish such ambassadors from those who were charged with civil affairs. The latter were called Πρέσβεις. Πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς ἐξέπεμψε, says, Polybius<sup>2</sup>, in speaking of Antiochus. See Suidas, at the word Θεωροί. Plutarch relates an instance of base adulation, which proves how greatly degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors were the Athenians under the Macedonian kings. Stratocles<sup>3</sup>, a bold and infamous character, proposed a decree conferring the title of Theori on the ambassadors sent to Antigonus and Demetrius; which was placing those princes on an equality with the gods<sup>4</sup>.

LXXXVIII. 101. Συντίθεσθαι Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης. *He covenants to deliver up Ægina to the Athenians*. Aristotle mentions this occurrence<sup>5</sup> in his Republic. “He who wished to deliver up the city to Chares, undertook to change the form of government.” This Chares was an Athenian general, much more ancient than him who was conquered by Philip at the battle of Cheronea.

LXXXIX. 102. Δίδουσι εἴκοσι νέας. *Gave them twenty vessels*. The Corinthians put the Athenians in mind of this service, when the latter were about to espouse the interests of the Corcyreans. “When before the Persian war, said their deputies in the assembly of the peo-

<sup>8</sup> Cicero de Officiis, III. viii.

<sup>9</sup> Suidas, voc. Θεωρίς, vol. II. p. 185.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, in Phædone, vol. I. p. 58, B.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. Deipnos. V. v. p. 194, c.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Demetrio, p. 893, E.

<sup>4</sup> See Valckenaer, ad Ammonium, II.

iii.

<sup>5</sup> Aristot. Polit. V. vi. p. 394, c.

ple, you wanted ships of war for your expedition against Ægina, you received twenty vessels from the Corinthians. To this benefit, we have added another concerning the Samians. We prevented the Peloponnesians from giving them assistance, and by this means afforded you a facility in conquering the Æginetæ, and avenging yourselves on the Samians<sup>6</sup>."

103. Πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι. *Parting with them for five drachmæ.* Meaning<sup>7</sup> that they sold each of these vessels for five drachmæ. Had it been πέντε δραχμῶν, it would have signified that they sold the whole twenty vessels for five drachmæ.

The five drachmæ were worth about 3s. 9d., so that the whole twenty vessels were sold for 3l. 15s.

XC. 104. Ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἥγον. *They carried and harried.* The phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν is generally known, and is most frequently said of the pillage of a country. The first word applies to the prisoners, or to the cattle driven off by the conquerors; and the second to the articles carried away. This is confirmed by Ammonius<sup>8</sup>: ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν διαφέρει. "Ἀγεται μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἔμψυχα· φέρεται δὲ τὰ ἀψυχα. "Ἀγειν and φέρειν differ; for living animals are driven before, and inanimate things are carried.' The Latins have borrowed this mode of expression from the Greeks; and it is quite familiar with them, especially with their historians. See Drakenborch on Livy, VIII. xxxviii. vol. II. p. 821.

XCI. 105. Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρον. *Ceres Thesmophora.* Before the invention of agriculture, men led a wandering life, and lived without laws. Ceres was the first who taught them to till the ground, and is therefore supposed to be the first who gave laws. Virgil<sup>9</sup> calls her 'Legifera.' Ovid likewise assigns to her the same honour, as well as the invention of agriculture.

Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro :  
Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris :  
Prima dedit leges<sup>1</sup>.

XCII. 106. Πεντάεθλον. *The Pentathlon.* This included five kinds of exercise; jumping, running, the exercise of the quoit, that of the javelin, and wrestling. Simonides enumerates them in this verse :

"Ἀλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην<sup>2</sup>.

These five exercises were not all in use at the Olympic games from

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. I. xli. p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Joh. Toup, Epist. de Syracusiis. Vid. Theocrit. Warton, vol. II. p. 330.

<sup>8</sup> Ammonius de Differentiis Voc. p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Virgil. Æneid. IV. 58.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid. Metamorph. V. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Antholog. I. i. Epigr. VIII. p. 2, edit. H. Stephan. 1566, 4to.

the beginning. To those of jumping, the quoit, and the javelin, they first added the simple<sup>3</sup> race of the stadium; in the fourth Olympiad, that of the double stadium or diaulis was introduced; and in the eighteenth, wrestling: this combination was properly called the Pentathlum. Pugilism<sup>4</sup> having been introduced in the 23rd Olympiad, they still continued to give these exercises the name of Pentathlum, though the more suitable name would have been Hexathlum. This Eurybates obtained the prize of the Pentathlum at the Nemean games<sup>5</sup>.

XCIV. 107. Δᾶτιν τε. *And Datis*. Darius<sup>6</sup> commanded him to bring before him the Eretrians and the Athenians, under pain of losing his head. A command worthy of a barbarian!

This satrap, in the exultation of his first success, cried out, ὡς ἤδομαι, καὶ τέρπομαι, καὶ χαίρομαι. Χαίρομαι is a barbarism; the Greeks always say χαίρω, which is a reciprocal verb. This kind of barbarism was afterwards called<sup>7</sup> Datism<sup>7</sup>.

XCV. 108. Ἐχον. *Coasting along*. Ἐχω very often signifies 'appello,' as in the following passages of Thucydides: σχόντες τῆς Ἡλείας ἐς Φειάν, ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας<sup>8</sup>, "having landed at Phia in Elis, they ravaged the country for two days." Σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν<sup>9</sup>: "Navigating along the coast, they landed in Cephallenia." Here this word signifies the same as ἐλαύνω, as has been remarked by M. Wesseling, to whose note I refer the reader.

109. Ἐκ Σάμου. *From Samos*. On quitting the Aleian plain to go to Samos, they had been obliged to cross the Icarian sea. It would have been much more direct to have gone immediately to Naxos; but no doubt their intention was to repose some time at Samos, after their voyage, before undertaking the siege of that city.

XCVI. 110. Μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον. *Remembering the affront which they had formerly received, &c.* The phrase μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον refers to the Persians; for they had been obliged to raise the siege of Naxos<sup>1</sup>.

If, however, it be thought better to refer μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον to the Naxians, we must then translate, 'They landed at Naxos, which the Persians were impatient to attack first. The Naxians recalling to mind the past, took to flight,' &c. I give a decided preference to the first method: because the memory of the past, that is, of their former exploits, should have induced them to defend the place, and not to fly.

XCVII. 111. Ταύτην μηδὲν σίνεσθαι. *To do it* (the sacred territory)

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. V. viii. p. 394.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Id. I. xxix. p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, Menexenus, vol. II. p. 240, B.

<sup>7</sup> See Scholiast on Aristoph. Pax, 288.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. II. xxv.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. xxxiii.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. V. xxxiv.

*no harm*<sup>2</sup>. "These islands<sup>3</sup> owe their safety to their towers, Delos owes its safety to Apollo. Is there a more solid rampart? The impetuous blast of Boreas may overthrow a wall; but the god who protects thee, dear Delos, is invincible."

XCVIII. 112. Πρῶτα καὶ ἔσχατα. *For the first and the last time.* Thucydides says<sup>4</sup> that this island felt the shock of an earthquake a little before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; and asserts that within the memory of man it had never before experienced such a thing. These earthquakes, from which gloomy prognostics were drawn, were no doubt founded only on popular reports amongst the Delians, or at least they were not felt far from the island. This earthquake may, however, have been real; and Thucydides perhaps alludes to the same that is mentioned by Herodotus. We know that the Persian war terminated in the year 4235 of the Julian period, 479 years B.C.; and that that of the Peloponnesus began in the year 4283 of the same period, 431 years B.C. This interval therefore being only 48 years, Thucydides may have spoken with some latitude. This is the opinion of M. Wesseling.

The notion of the stability of the island of Delos, though founded only on popular opinion, has been nevertheless adopted by Pindar, and by the philosophers; and, if we believe Seneca, was considered by them as established on authority. "Hanc<sup>5</sup> (Delum) philosophi quoque, credula natio, dixerunt non moveri, auctore Pindaro."<sup>6</sup>

113. Τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεέων. *Under these three consecutive reigns, &c.* Γενεαὶ must not here be taken for a determinate time, as a generation or space of thirty-three years, but for the duration of a reign. Herodotus has elsewhere used it in the same sense.

C. 114. Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας. *The headlands of Eubœa.* These are what Virgil calls "Euboicæ<sup>7</sup> cautes, ultorque Caphareus." They were in that part of Eubœa called 'the hollows of Eubœa,' from the coast being hollowed out at that place, τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας. Livy says<sup>8</sup>, "est sinus Euboicus, quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis." Philostratus points out the spot where these rocks were situate, so that it cannot be mistaken. Τί δὲ δὴ γενναῖον εἰργᾶσθαι φήσεις . . . . . ἐρμάτων ὑπερᾶραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κοίλῃ οὐπὲρ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν<sup>9</sup>; "What then have you done so wonderful? Will you say that your vessel has passed over those rocks, with which the hollow of Eubœa is so thick set, at the place where

<sup>2</sup> Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Corcyra, Eubœa, Sardinia, Cyprus.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. II. viii.

<sup>5</sup> Senec. Quæst. Nat. VI. xxvi. vol. ii. p. 808.

<sup>6</sup> Carm. Pindaric. Fragm. cura J. G.

Schneider, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Virgil. Æneid. XI. 260.

<sup>8</sup> Tit. Liv. XXXI. xlvii.

<sup>9</sup> Philost. Vita Apollonii, III. xxiii. pp. 113, 114.



there are several promontories?" These promontories, which Philostratus does not name, are those of Caphareus and Geræstus; and it is between these promontories that the abbreviator of Strabo places the hollows of Eubœa<sup>1</sup>, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ Καφηρέως καὶ Γεραιστοῦ, τὰ Κοῖλα Εὐβοίας καλεῖται. The following passages are scarcely less decisive. We know that the ships of Ajax, on their return from Troy, were wrecked on the promontory Caphareus. Euripides thus expresses himself on the subject. Minerva is addressing Neptune<sup>2</sup>:

Πλῆσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν.

'Fill the cavities of Eubœa with corpses.' We know, also, that Nauplius, wishing to avenge the death of his son Palamedes, lighted fires on the promontory Caphareus, that the Greeks, on their return from Troy, thinking to find a harbour, might be shipwrecked there. Philostratus<sup>3</sup> calls this place τὴν κοίλην Εὐβοίαν, as well as Euripides, in the verse above quoted. The scholiast of Lycophron, Tzetzes, is not less precise. "Nauplius," says he<sup>4</sup>, "having afterwards learned that the Greeks were returning to their country, lighted a torch near the cavities of Eubœa, on the promontory which we might call Caphareus, but which is now named Xylophagus, (devourer of vessels,) where the Greeks who sailed towards it, imagining that it was a port, perished." Meletius<sup>5</sup> says that this coast is beset with rocks, some of which are covered by shallow water, τραχὺς καὶ σκοπέλοις διειλημμένος, καὶ ἄρμασι, καὶ χοιράσι. I correct ἄρμασι, 'scopulis mari latentibus.'

These authorities appear to me decisive, and we can oppose to them only the following passage of Strabo<sup>6</sup>: καὶ πρῶτον, ὅτι τῆς Εὐβοίας τὰ Κοῖλα λέγουσι τὰ μεταξὺ Αὐλίδος καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραιστοῦν τόπων. Strabo, wishing to explain the situation of the hollows of Eubœa, should rather have named the two points of Eubœa between which they were found, than a place on the coast of Bœotia. I cannot doubt but that the text is corrupt. Casaubon perceived this, and has not hesitated to adopt the reading of the abbreviator of Strabo, τὰ μεταξὺ Καφηρέως καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραιστοῦν τόπων. This critic adds, that he will elsewhere speak more fully of these hollows or bays. I do not know whether he has done so; but in another note he remarks that this reading makes the description approach to that given by Ptolemy. That geographer<sup>7</sup> places first the port of Geræstus, then the promontory Caphareus, and then the bays of Eubœa. He is wrong only in this, that he should have placed these bays between Geræstus and the promontory Caphareus. Meletius, in the passage above quoted, has copied Ptolemy.

<sup>1</sup> Strabonis Epit. X. p. 1266, c.

<sup>2</sup> Euripid. Troad. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Philostr. Heroic. X. xi. p. 716.

<sup>4</sup> Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 384, p. 47, col. i. lin. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Meletii Geogr. Ant. et Nov. p. 399, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, X. p. 682, B.

<sup>7</sup> Ptolem. Geogr. III. xv. p. 98.

115. Προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο. *Prepared to betray their country.* Gongylus, the only Eretrian who espoused the interests of the Persians, as Xenophon says<sup>8</sup>, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gongylus, his descendants, were in possession of them so late as the 95th Olympiad, that is to say, 90 years afterwards, when Thymbron, the Lacedæmonian general, went into Asia Minor to make war on the Persians.

116. Ἐὼν τῶν Ἐρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα. *Holding first rank among the Eretrians.* Thucydides<sup>9</sup> says in the same manner, τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν, 'the middle class of citizens;' and the Latins, in imitation of them, 'prima virorum'<sup>1</sup>, the principal men of the nation.

CI. 117. Τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνδραποδίσαντο. *They reduced the inhabitants to slavery.* The Persians surrounded Eretria, and took the inhabitants as in a net, if we may believe the report mentioned by Plato, as being circulated throughout Greece, and especially at Athens. "Datis," says that philosopher<sup>2</sup>, "having under his command so many thousands of men, was not long in making himself master of the Eretrians. He took pains to circulate in our city a report, that not a single Eretrian had escaped him; that his soldiers, having clasped each other's hands, had surrounded and taken them all, as in a net. This intelligence, whether true or false, or whoever was its author, struck all the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, with terror."

What appeared to Plato a mere hearsay, the truth of which he could not avouch, has been advanced by Strabo as an undoubted fact. "The Persians," says that geographer<sup>3</sup>, "having entirely destroyed the ancient city, took the inhabitants as in a net, as we are assured by Herodotus."

But it is not Herodotus who makes this assertion. Strabo probably cited him only from memory. Diogenes Laërtius<sup>4</sup> relates the same circumstance, but his translator has not understood him.

CIII. 118. Ὀλυμπιάδι. *At the Olympic games.* It is not known in which of the Olympiads Cimon obtained these victories. See Corsini, in Catalogo Olympionicarum.

119. Πέραν τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. *Beyond the road through Cœla, as it is called.* In the former editions the reading was διακοίλης, in a single word. MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer have restored, upon excellent authorities, διὰ Κοίλης. Cœla<sup>5</sup> is a part of Attica, near the Melitean gates, where the tomb of Cimon was. Those of Herodotus and Thucydides were in the same place. Not far from this spot was the Ceramicus; for Ælian says that Miltiades<sup>6</sup> caused the

<sup>8</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. III. i. § iv. p. 128.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. III. lxxxii. p. 219.

<sup>1</sup> Lucret. I. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Plato de Legib. III. vol. II. p. 698, D.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, X. p. 687, B.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laërt. III. xxxiii. p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Marcellin. in Vitâ Thucydidis, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ælian, Hist. An. XII. xl. p. 709.

mares which had obtained the three prizes at the Olympic games to be buried in the Ceramicus.

120. Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος. *Evagoras of Lacedæmon*. Evagoras also gave honourable burial to his horses<sup>7</sup>, which had gained the prize in the Olympic games three times.

CV. 121. Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα. *Phidippides an Athenian*. The ancients vary much as to this name. Some, for instance Cornelius Nepos<sup>8</sup> and St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>9</sup>, call him Philippides; and others, as Herodotus, Phidippides: neither do the various MSS. of this last author agree upon the point. It is one, however, of very little importance.

This Phidippides was Hemerodromus, or a runner by profession. ["Hemerodromos vocant Græci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium<sup>1</sup>."] ]

122. Περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος, τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης. *Near Mount Parthenion, above Tegea*. "On the road from Tegea to Argos<sup>2</sup>, we first come to a chapel with a statue of Esculapius; after that, on the left hand, at about the distance of a stadium, to the ruins of a temple of Pythian Apollo. On regaining the high road, we find close to it a grove of oaks consecrated to Ceres, and in the grove a chapel of that goddess, surnamed Corythean Ceres. Near this spot is the temple of Bacchus Mystes. Then begins Mount Parthenion. A piece of land is shown there which is consecrated to Bacchus. A little further on is a temple of Pan, on the spot where that god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him important counsel, as the Athenians and Tegeatæ relate."

123. Οὐδεμίην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται. *They offer him no worship*. St. Clement of Alexandria says<sup>3</sup>, "the Athenians did not even know Pan, before Phidippides informed them who he was." With all possible respect for this father of the church, he appears to me to be in the wrong on this point. It does not follow that the Athenians had no knowledge of this god, from their having instituted no festival in honour of him.

124. Ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν. *A chapel to Pan, under the citadel*. "When<sup>4</sup> you have descended, not to the lower city, but only a little below the propylæa of the citadel, you find a fountain, and very near it a chapel of Apollo, and another of Pan."

After the victory of Marathon, a song was sung in honour of this god, called Σκολιὸν, which is quoted by Athenæus<sup>5</sup>, but much more correctly by M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*<sup>6</sup>:

<sup>7</sup> Ælian. Hist. An. XII. xl. p. 709.

<sup>8</sup> Corn. Nepos, in Miltiad. IV.

<sup>9</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 39, lin. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, XXXI. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. VIII. liv. pp. 709, 710.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 38, lin. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxviii. p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XV. xiv. p. 694, D.

<sup>6</sup> Brunck. *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.* vol. I. p. 156. viii.

“Pan, protector of illustrious Arcadia, who art pleased with the dance and the company of laughing nymphs, ever take part in our joy, and in our songs, which are the expression of it. We have obtained the victory, as we desired, and the gods have brought from the temple of Pandrosus the crown dear to Minerva.”

This crown was formed of branches of the olive consecrated to Minerva, which was preserved in the temple of Pandrosus in the citadel. The poet, whoever he was, has by a bold figure placed the olive crown for Victory, of which it was the symbol. This induces me to believe that the last four verses at least are Pindar's, who was very free in the use of such figures. MM. Brunck and Wyttenbach, however, are of opinion that this song alludes to the victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa. M. Wyttenbach<sup>7</sup> also thinks that the parts of two verses have been improperly joined together as one, and that the last four verses, beginning with Νικήσαμεν ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα, are Pindar's. This is also the opinion of MM. Heyne<sup>8</sup> and Hermann.

I think also that it is the assistance given by Pan on this occasion, that is alluded to in the following enigmatical verse of the Syrix attributed to Theocritus<sup>9</sup>:

\*Ὁς σβέσεν ἀνορέαν Ἰσανδέα  
Παπποφόνου.

‘Who has extinguished the warlike courage of (the sons of) Perseus.’

The statue of Pan was doubtless in the chapel above mentioned. It was Miltiades who erected it, as we find from the following inscription of Simonides:

“Miltiades<sup>1</sup> has erected me, Pan, with the goats' feet, the protector of Arcadia, who took part with the Athenians against the Medes.”

Lucian speaks<sup>2</sup> of the cave of Pan situate at the foot of the citadel. It was probably in this cave that the statue was placed, and it is most likely the chapel of which Pausanias speaks in the passage above quoted.

This statue was of Parian marble, as appears by this other epigram in the Anthologia:

“The Athenians<sup>3</sup> have erected me, of Parian marble, near the citadel dedicated to Pallas, for having triumphed over the Persians.”

125. Λαμπάδι. *The torch race.* The manner of this race was as follows<sup>4</sup>. A man, holding a torch in his hand, ran from the altar of the god in honour of whom this race was instituted, to a certain distance, without extinguishing the flambeau. If the flambeau of him who first attempted it went out, he gave way to a second, and he, in the

<sup>7</sup> In a letter which he did me the honour to write on the 12th Oct. 1778.

<sup>8</sup> Pindari Carmina ex edit. Heyne, vol. III. p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Theocr. Syrix, 9. See what I have said on this piece, book II. note 398.

<sup>1</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. I. p. 131. xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian. Deor. Dialog. xxii. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Antholog. IV. xii. p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxx. p. 76.

like case, to a third. This festival was established in honour of several of the divinities; as Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Esculapius, &c. At the Panathenæa, or festival of Minerva, the Lampadophori started from the Piræus, and in that of Vulcan and of Prometheus<sup>5</sup>, from the Ceramicus, or Academy. There was in the Academy a statue<sup>6</sup> of Love, consecrated by Pisistratus, at which the sacred torch, borne in these races in honour of the gods, was lighted. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we find from this passage of Herodotus, and from the MS. Lexicon of Photius, under the word *Λαμπάς*. *Ἀγὼν Ἀθήνησι, Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεῖ ἀγόμενος*: 'a game which is celebrated at Athens, in honour of Pan and of Prometheus.' But even without the authority of Photius, we might have concluded that the Athenians kept a lamp constantly burning before the statue of this god, as Pausanias says<sup>7</sup> was done at one of his temples in Arcadia. Hence the inscription LUCIDO PANI, which appeared<sup>8</sup> so mysterious to Reinesius. We find also, on a medal of Cerasus, the god Pan, holding in his right hand a lighted torch, and in his left a crook. Alexander celebrated a similar festival at Soli<sup>9</sup>, in Cilicia, in honour of Esculapius; but there is no mention of this race in the passage of Arrian, from which I derive the fact. A great number of authors make allusion to this custom, and amongst them Lucretius, in the following verses:—

Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur:  
Inque brevi spatio mutantur sæcla animantum:  
Et, quasi cursores, vitæ lampada tradunt<sup>1</sup>.

'Some nations multiply; others dwindle away: a short space changes the generations; and, as in the race of the sacred games, the lamp of life is passed from hand to hand.'

I think it is to this custom likewise that Alcæus of Messenia alludes in an epigram, which was published for the first time in Brunck's *Analecta*.

"Protarchus<sup>2</sup> is beautiful: he does not care for this at present; but the time will come, when he shall wish for it; for beauty, like the lamp which passes from hand to hand in the race, flees rapidly away."

Ἡ δ' ὥρη λαμπάδ' ἔχουσα τρέχει.

A festival was celebrated also<sup>3</sup> at Corinth, in honour of Minerva, with a game called *Λαμπαδοδρομικὸς*, 'the game of the race of the flam-beaux,' in which young people ran, holding lighted torches in their hands.

CVI. 126. Δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ. *In*

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. xxx. p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Solone, p. 79, B.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VIII. xxxvii. p. 677.

<sup>8</sup> Syntagm. p. 173.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian. de Exp. Alex. II. v. § x. p. 116.

<sup>1</sup> Lucret. II. 76, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.* vol. I. p. 486. I.

<sup>3</sup> Scholiast. Pindari ad Olymp. XIII.

56. p. 147. col. 1, lin. 14.

*two days after his departure from Athens he reached Sparta.* That is to say, that in two days he marched 1140 stadia, which is the distance from Athens to Sparta. This appeared an instance of extraordinary expedition<sup>4</sup>, till Anystis, a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides, the courier of Alexander, performed in one day, according to Pliny, the journey from Sicyon to Elis, that is to say, 1200 stadia.

Pliny, however, is mistaken; for, reckoning every winding of the road from Sicyon to Elis, the distance will be scarcely more than 600 stadia, of 8 to the mile; just as there were 1140 of these stadia between Athens and Sparta. Had he meant the smaller stadium, he should have expressed it; because a line above, in mentioning the distance from Athens to Sparta, he speaks of the greater stadium, as the actual distance clearly proves.

127. Εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου. *They said that they would not march forth on the ninth, the orb not being full.*

It was the custom of the Lacedæmonians not to commence a march before the full of the moon. Notwithstanding a host of authorities<sup>5</sup>, Plutarch, not content with denying the fact, asserts that the battle of Marathon was fought on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that as the Lacedæmonians arrived shortly after the battle, they must have started before the full of the moon.

But can we persuade ourselves that Plutarch, who lived nearly 600 years after the battle of Marathon, was more accurately informed as to the date of this battle than Herodotus, who had often conversed with those who had been in it? Plutarch, who always describes Herodotus as an evil-disposed writer, admits that he was ingenious. But had he been as dull as a Bœotian, I doubt whether he would have dared to advance such a falsehood as to a matter so recent, and of which there were many eye-witnesses present, when he read his history at the Olympic games.

CVII. 128. Συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου. *He conjectured therefore from the dream.* The dream here mentioned was considered as a fortunate one. "It is advantageous," says<sup>6</sup> Artemidorus, "for the principal magistrate, or a chief person in the state, to dream of lying with his mother. The mother indicates his country; and as the body of a woman who lies with a man is voluntarily in his power, so he who has such a vision shall become master of the state."

Cæsar, the tyrant who abused the talents with which nature had endowed him, to reduce his country to slavery, had a similar dream;

<sup>4</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. VII. xx. vol. I. p. 386, lin. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, I. xxviii. Lucian, Astrol. xxv. vol. II. p. 371, where he attributes the regulation to Lycurgus; the author

of the Treatise on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch, vol. II. p. 1157; Hermogenes, de Inventione, II. p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Oneirocritic. I. lxxxii. p. 72.

and though he did not believe in the immortality of the soul, as appears by his speech to the senate on the conspiracy of Catiline, he yet had the weakness to put faith in this presage, and to be troubled by it<sup>7</sup>; but the interpreters of dreams assured him that he should one day be master of the world.

CVIII. 129. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν. *They followed the advice.* M. Valckenaer has ably defended the reading οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, against the person who proposed to substitute οὐκ ἠπειστήσαν, and he has proved that the ancients said ἀπιστεῖν for ἀπειθεῖν, 'to disobey.' I may add that ἀπιστεῖν is frequently used in this sense by Sophocles, of which I shall quote two examples :

Τὸ μὴ 'πιχωρεῖν τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν τάδε<sup>8</sup>.

'Show no indulgence to those who shall infringe these interdicts.'

The ancient scholiast explains τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν by τοῖς ἀπιθοῦσιν, 'the disobedient;' ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὴν πειθῶ, πίστιν, 'for they also said πίστις for πειθῶ, 'obedience.'

Οὐ δὴ πον

Σέ γ' ἀπιστοῦσαν

Τοῖς βασιλείοισιν ἄγουσι νόμοις<sup>9</sup>;

'It is not you, Antigone, whom they lead away for having violated the laws of the prince?'

The ancient scholiast very properly renders ἀπιστοῦσαν by μὴ πειθαρχοῦσαν, 'who have disobeyed.'

CIX. 130. Τὸν πολέμαρχον. *The Polemarchus.* The Polemarchus<sup>1</sup> was the third of the nine archons. He offered sacrifices to Diana Agrotera, or the huntress, and to Mars. These sacrifices<sup>2</sup> were made annually in commemoration of the victory of Marathon. He regulated<sup>3</sup> the funeral games, celebrated in honour of those who died in the field. He made funeral sacrifices to Harmodius and Aristogiton. He judged the Metœci, or domiciled strangers, as we learn likewise from Aristotle<sup>4</sup>, and exercised over them the same authority that the Archon Eponymus did over the other citizens.

CXI. 131. Τοῦ μὲν δεξιῶ κέρεος ἡγέετο. *Placed himself at the head of the right wing.* The tribe Æantis was in the right wing, and the polemarchus Callimachus was of that tribe. Plutarch proves this<sup>5</sup> from the Elegies of Æschylus, who distinguished himself in this battle.

<sup>7</sup> Sueton. Jul. Caesar. vii.

<sup>8</sup> Sophocl. Antig. 225.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. 387.

<sup>1</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. VIII. ix. § xci. p. 910.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malign.

vol. II. p. 862, A.

<sup>3</sup> Pollux, as above.

<sup>4</sup> Harpocrat. voc. Πολέμαρχος.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. I. Quæst. x. p. 628, D.



When the Athenians held council as to their march against the Barbarians, and came to the resolution of taking the field, adds Plutarch<sup>6</sup>, it was the turn of the Æantic tribe to preside over the assemblies. This same tribe distinguished itself also at the battle of Plataea.

132. Ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι. *Every five years.* The Delia and the Panathenæa were celebrated every five years. I am inclined to think that Herodotus here means the Panathenæa, which were more magnificent than the Delia. But not having the work of Meursius at hand, I cannot say whether he is of the same opinion.

CXII. 133. Ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο. *The army being drawn up.* Xenophon<sup>7</sup> relates that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and that not being able to procure a sufficient number, they resolved to sacrifice to her annually five hundred. Ælian<sup>8</sup> relates the same fact a little differently. According to him, it was Miltiades who vowed to sacrifice three hundred she-goats. We read in the scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>9</sup>, that the polemarchus Callimachus vowed to sacrifice to Diana as many oxen as he should kill enemies at Marathon; but that having killed a great number, and not being able to procure so many oxen, he offered in their stead she-goats.

The Polemarchus having been killed in the battle, it must have been his successor who made the sacrifice in his stead.

Meursius<sup>1</sup> says that Herodotus has mentioned this vow in Book VI., but Meursius is mistaken; he does not mention it, and this omission has drawn on him the reproof of Plutarch for negligence<sup>2</sup>.

134. Οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι. *Having neither cavalry.* Attica having no pastures, the Athenians could not maintain any cavalry; but took into their pay that of Thessaly<sup>3</sup>. But that country was then in the hands of the Persians; and the Thessalians, moreover, favoured the Pisistratidæ.

135. Δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους. *Running to the charge.* If we may believe Pausanias<sup>4</sup>, the Messenians ran, long previous to these Greeks, in a battle with the Lacedæmonians; but this author is too modern to be opposed to Herodotus. At all events, this mode came into general use among the Greeks; many examples may be found in their history, especially in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Cæsar practised this method in a battle against Pompey with perfect success. He blames the conduct of Pompey, who forbade his troops to run. "Quod<sup>5</sup> nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur: propterea quod est

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. I. Quæst. X. p. 628, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> Xenoph. Cyri Exp. III. ii. § vii. p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> Æl. Var. Hist. II. xxv. p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 657.

<sup>1</sup> Meursii Athen. Attic. II. v.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Herod. Malign. vol. II. p. 862, A.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. V. lxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. IV. viii. p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> Cæsar's Comm. de Bello Civ. III. xcii.

quædam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturalitèr innata omnibus, quæ studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent<sup>6</sup>."

CXIII. 136. *Ἐνίκων*. *Obtained the victory*. It is remarkable, that Herodotus makes no mention here of the exploits of Aristides. Plutarch must supply the deficiency. Aristides<sup>7</sup> was one of the ten generals, as also was Themistocles. In the council he was an advocate for giving battle. When his turn to command arrived, he yielded his right to Miltiades, and his example was followed by the other generals. Themistocles<sup>8</sup> and Aristides, the one at the head of the Leontic tribe, and the other at the head of the Antiochic, cut through the Persians, and drove them to their ships. The Athenians, then fearing for their city, repaired thither with nine tribes. Aristides was left with his at Marathon, to guard the prisoners and the booty. He did not deceive the good opinion that had been formed of him; for though the gold and silver lay scattered about, and the tents and vessels which had been taken were filled with magnificent furniture and incalculable riches, not only did he refrain from appropriating the smallest part of it to his own use, but likewise prevented others from so doing. There were some, however, who purloined a portion unknown to him, and of this number was Callias the torch-bearer.

The battle of Marathon was fought about the 6th of the month Metageitnion, i. e. about the 17th of August, 490 years before our era<sup>9</sup>. Father Corsini is of a different opinion; but had he seen the work of M. Fréret, I doubt not that he would have changed his mind.

CXIV. 137. *Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται*. *Callimachus was killed*. Herodotus does not say in what manner. Some of the rhetoricians have been pleased to say that he was pierced by so many arrows and javelins, that, instead of falling, he remained erect<sup>1</sup>. It is to this that Panteleus alludes in the following epigram, where he makes the Persians to speak thus<sup>2</sup>: "Vain labours, fruitless war! What shall we say to our king when we appear before him? Sire, why have you sent us against warriors who are immortal? We throw darts at them, but they fall not; we wound them, and they do not fly. A single man has pillaged the whole army; though covered with blood, he stood amongst us like the statue of the invincible Mars, and, firm as a tree fixed to the ground by roots of iron, cannot fall. Perhaps he will even reach our vessels. Pilots, unloose the cables; let us fly from the threats of the dead."

<sup>6</sup> Appian. de Bell. Civ. II. p. 782.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 321, B.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. c.

<sup>9</sup> See M. Fréret, Mém. de l'Acad. B. L. vol. XVIII. p. 149, &c.

<sup>1</sup> See Polemon, in Orat. I. p. 2, lin. 3 et s. ex edit. H. Stephani, 4to.

<sup>2</sup> Anthologia Græca, post indices. Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II. p. 404.

This piece has been preserved to us by Stobæus<sup>3</sup>. Grotius has given it a place in his *Florilegium*, p. 51. Stephens, in his *Anthology*, has omitted the sixth verse, either from inadvertence, or because it was wanting in the MS. of Stobæus, to which he had recourse.

138. *Κυναιγείρος*. *Cynægirus*. Cynægirus was the brother of Æschylus<sup>4</sup>, the tragic poet. He distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he held any command, any more than Epizelus, as is pretended by the author of the *Parallel between the Greeks and the Romans*, falsely attributed to Plutarch, and printed with the editions of that author<sup>5</sup>.

“Cynægiri<sup>6</sup> quoque militis Atheniensis gloria magnis scriptorum laudibus celebrata est: qui post prælii innumeras cædes, cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset, onustam navem dextra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit, quam manum amitteret. Tum quoque amputatâ dextrâ, navem sinistrâ comprehendit; quam et ipsam cum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot cædibus fatigatus, non duabus manibus amissis victus; truncus ad postremum, et veluti rabida fera, dentibus dimicaverit.”

Phasis, a painter, whom we hear of on no other occasion, had represented Cynægirus with both his hands. Cornelius Longinus wrote an epigram on this, which we find in the *Anthologia*, (IV. viii. Epigr. xxxii. p. 213.) “Happy Cynægirus! Phasis has not represented you like Cynægirus: he has given you two hands. He was a wise painter, who would not deprive of his hands a man whose hands had immortalised him.”

To this translation, I add that of Grotius, the elegance of which entitles it to notice;

Te Phasis, Cynægire, tamen non ut Cynægirum,  
Instructum siquidem fecit utraque manu.  
Sed sapuit pictor, manibus qui noluit orbem  
Pingere, qui manuum nomine morte caret.

139. *Τῶν ἀφλάστων*. *The upper part of the poop*. The Greek *τὸ ἀφλαστον* implies the elevated part of the poop, composed of large curved planks. To understand clearly what is meant by *ἀφλαστον*, we should be better acquainted with the construction of the ancient vessels, than I profess to be. The reader will do well, however, to consult Eustathius<sup>7</sup>, from whom I have borrowed the above definition. This name was given to that part, because it was not easily broken<sup>8</sup>: *ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως φλᾶσθαι*, i. e. *θλᾶσθαι*, in the Attic dialect. The scholia attributed to Didymus explain this term but indifferently.

<sup>3</sup> Stobæus, Sermo VII. p. 91. Grotius in *Florilegio*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, voc. *Κυναιγείρος*.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. *Opera*, vol. II. p. 305, B, C.

<sup>6</sup> Justin. II. ix. p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. in *Homerum*, vol. II. p. 1039, lin. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.* lin. 39.

The Homeric Lexicon of Apollonius<sup>9</sup> says, that the ἄφλαστον is the same thing as the ἀκροστόλιον; but the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius proves that he is mistaken. The ἀκροστόλιον, says he<sup>1</sup>, is the upper part of the στόλος. Now the στόλος is the projecting timber which stretches from the part of the vessel where the name is painted to the prow. The ἀκροστόλιον, then, is the prow; but the poet (Homer) indicates that the ἄφλαστον was the poop. He then maintains that ἄφλαστον is by antiphrasis; because, says he, this part, which is only a thin board fastened to the poop, is easily broken.

The scholiast is quite in the right. The aphlaston was at the poop, as he very satisfactorily proves. But whether this part was weak, as he says, or very strong, as Eustathius contends, I am unable to decide.

CXV. 140. Οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι. *The barbarians having retreated.* If we believe Heraclides of Pontus<sup>2</sup>, it was Thersippus the Eroensian, whilst, according to most of the historians, it was Eucles who carried to the archons the first news of this success. The battle was scarcely ended, when, without laying aside his arms, he ran, he flew, announced the victory, and fell dead at their feet.

Ἐξανακρούσασθαι signifies to retreat, without putting about the ship. They practised this manœuvre on the present occasion, because they were close-pressed by the enemy.

141. Αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινόηθῆναι. *This scheme of theirs (the Persians) was imputed by the Athenians to the contrivance of the Alcmaeonidæ.* I prefer reading with Plutarch<sup>3</sup>, αἰτίην δὲ ἔσχον, and the rather, as in some MSS., and among them, in those of the Royal Library, we find αἰτίην. Αἰτίην ἔχειν signifies properly, to be accused, to render one's self guilty. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, οὐ πάνυ γε ῥᾷδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον, ἔφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχοι<sup>4</sup>. 'It is not easy to find a thing in which one may not render one's self guilty.' The same word also signifies, to have an ill name, to be blamed. Οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἔνεκα χρόνου, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔξετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λοιδορεῖν<sup>5</sup>. 'In a short time, Athenians, those who would insult you, will take occasion from my death to give you an ill name, and to reproach you with it.' It means likewise 'dici,' 'perhiberi.' Μαθητήν; ἢ τῶν ξένων τινὰ, ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ ἄλλον, ἐλεύθερον, ἢ δοῦλον (ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν) ὅστις αἰτίαν ἔχει, διὰ τὴν τούτων ὁμιλίαν σοφός τε καὶ ἀγαθός γεγονέναι<sup>6</sup>; 'Can we name one of their disciples, whether stranger, citizen, or any other, free or slave, who is said to have become wise or

<sup>9</sup> Apollonii Lex. Homer. voc. Ἀφλαστον, p. 230.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhodii, ad I. 1089, fol. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Gloria Athen. vol. II. p. 347, c.

<sup>3</sup> Id. de Herodoti Malign. vol. II. p. 862, c.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. Mem. Socratis Dicta, II. viii. v.

<sup>5</sup> Plat. Apolog. Socratis, vol. I. p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Æschin. Socrat. de Virtute, II.

honest by associating with them?' We find a similar example in the first Alcibiades<sup>7</sup> of Plato, and it might even be supposed that the one had been copied from the other.

142. Ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα. *To hold up a buckler.* This was a signal for the Persians to attack Athens. Demetrius<sup>8</sup> likewise held up a gilded shield, as the signal for action.

CXVI. 143. Ἐβοήθειον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. *They brought succour to the city.* The Persians took them for fresh troops. "Miltiades<sup>9</sup> quum ingentem Persarum multitudinem apud Marathona fudisset, Athenienses circa gratulationem morantes compulit, ut festinarent ad opem urbi ferendam; quam classis Persarum petebat. Quumque præcurrisset, implessetque moenia armatis, Persæ rati ingentem esse numerum, et alio milite apud Marathona pugnatum, alium pro muris suis opponi, circumactis exemplo navibus, Asiam repetierunt."

144. Ἐξ Ἡρακλητίου. *From a place consecrated to Hercules.* Ἡρακλητίον implies a field, a piece of ground consecrated to Hercules, and not a temple of that god; τεμένος is understood. See cviii., where we have Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος, ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες. 'Whilst the Athenians were in order of battle, in the field consecrated to Hercules, the Platæans came to their assistance.'

CXVII. 145. Ἐπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. *Such was exactly the number which fell on both sides.* The orators did not fail to swell the number of the dead; and inscriptions, dictated by vanity or flattery, attested that the Persians lost in this battle 200,000 men<sup>1</sup>. If Herodotus asserts any thing in praise of the Athenians, Plutarch, who takes every possible opportunity to depreciate him, avers that it is flattery; but when our historian does not exaggerate their advantages, as in the present instance, he then declares<sup>2</sup> that he conceals the grandeur of the victory, by reducing to nothing so memorable a success. So much for his candour. Justin says that the loss of the Persians amounted to 200,000 men. "Ducenta millia<sup>3</sup> Persæ eo prælio, sive naufragio, amisere." I insist on this passage, because a commentator, wishing to reconcile Justin with Herodotus, says that our historian speaks of those only who were killed on land, and that Justin includes those who perished at sea by shipwreck, and he cites Diodorus Siculus, (XI. xii, xiii.) The fact is, that there was no shipwreck; that Diodorus Siculus, in this place, speaks only of the expedition of Xerxes, and that his 10th book, which treated of the battle of Marathon, is lost. 'Naufragium,' in the passage of Justin, is not to be rendered literally, but figuratively.

<sup>7</sup> Plato in Alcibiade primo, vol. II. p. 119, A.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XX. li. vol. II. p. 444.

<sup>9</sup> Frontini Strateg. IV. vii. § xliii.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, voc. Ποικίλη, vol. III. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> De Herodoti Malign. p. 862, D.

<sup>3</sup> Justin. II. ix. p. 94.

Hippias, formerly tyrant of Athens, also lost his life in this battle. "Cecidit<sup>4</sup> et Hippias, tyrannus Atheniensis, auctor et concitor ejus belli, Diis patriæ ultoribus poenas repetentibus." This is likewise confirmed by Cicero<sup>5</sup>. "Nefarius Hippias, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonía pugna cecidit, arma contra patriam ferens."

Suidas however relates, under the word Hippias<sup>6</sup>, I know not on what authority, that "Hippias fled to Lemnos, where he died, the blood gushing from his eyes. Thus was his country, against which he led the Barbarians, avenged."

This battle was painted in the Portico, which the variety of the paintings had caused to be named Pœcile, but which was properly called Peisanactæum<sup>7</sup>. The Plataeans<sup>8</sup>, and all the Athenians who had fought against the Persians, were represented in it. At the commencement of the battle, the victory leans to neither side; as it proceeds, the Barbarians fly, and push one another into a marsh. In the back ground are seen the Phœnician vessels, and the Greeks slaughtering the Persians who are endeavouring to escape to them. The Persians are represented with large trowsers; which occasioned Persius to describe this Portico as

Braccatis illita Medis  
Porticus<sup>9</sup>.

It was Panæmus, brother of Phidias, who painted this battle. Pliny<sup>1</sup> says that the art of painting had at that time attained a high degree of perfection; and that Miltiades, Callimachus, and Cynægirus on the side of the Athenians, and Datis and Artaphernes on that of the Barbarians, were portrayed to the very life.

Pausanias<sup>2</sup> relates that the neighing of horses and the noise of the combatants might be heard every night in the plain of Marathon. Those, says he, who go to the place expressly to hear them, are very ill treated; but those who are there by accident have nothing to fear from the anger of the genii. I quote this fable merely to remark, that Spon<sup>3</sup>, travelling over the same ground in 1676, was told by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, that they were often terrified by hearing unknown voices in the night. The Albanian with whom he lodged, assured him that he had often heard them; that they resembled the voices of complaining women, but that, when he approached the spot, they retired. These good people had certainly never heard of the battle of Marathon; but the fable of these ghosts had been handed down to them by tradition.

A mound of earth was raised on the spot, by way of monument to

<sup>4</sup> Justin. II. ix. p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. ad Attic. IX. Epist. x.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, voc. Ἰππίας, vol. II. p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, voc. Πεισανάκτειος στοῶν, vol. III. p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. I. xv. p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Pers. Sat. III. 53.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. viii. vol. II. p. 690, lin. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. I. xxxii. p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Travels of Spon and Wheeler, vol. II. p. 184.

the Athenians who had fallen in the battle, and another to the Plataeans. Columns were placed on the summits, and on these were engraved their names, and those of the tribes to which they belonged. The Persians were buried near the same spot. This monument still existed in the time of Pausanias<sup>4</sup>, as well as the columns; which is not surprising: the care with which the ancients preserved whatsoever tended to exalt the character of their country is well known; but it is astonishing that it should remain in part to the present day. Mr. Chandler<sup>5</sup> recognised it. It is a mound, he says, which rises on the plain. The columns have disappeared. A little further on, towards the north, he adds, is seen a square pedestal of white marble, which was probably the base of a trophy.

146. *Ἐπίζηλον. Epizelus.* If we may believe<sup>6</sup> the author of the *Parallels* attributed to Plutarch, his name was Polyzelus, and he was one of the generals; but it is highly probable, that he was only a private soldier, or at most an inferior officer, as was Cynægirus, whom the same writer raises to the rank of general.

147. *Ἦκουσα. I heard.* To the story of Epizelus may be added that related by Plutarch. A great number of those who fought at the battle of Marathon<sup>7</sup> thought they saw before their ranks Theseus, completely armed, rushing upon the battalions of the Persians. This tale was not credited in the time of Herodotus, or he would not have failed to mention it.

CXIX. 148. *Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀνδραποδισμένους. The Eretrians who had been reduced to slavery.* There were 780<sup>8</sup> prisoners taken in Eretria, including old men, women, and children. The greater part of the Eretrians took refuge amongst the rocks of Eubœa. Four hundred were carried to Susa, of whom ten were women. The rest perished in Ionia and in Lydia.

149. *Ἀρδέρικκα. To Ardericca.* This village is not the same which has been already mentioned (I. clxxxv.); that was in the territory of Babylon, this in Cissia.

150. *Ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίων. Two hundred and ten stadia from Susa.* If we may rely on the testimony of Damis<sup>9</sup>, this village was in Media, one long day's journey from Babylon. There are neither cities nor towns, says he, in Cissia, nothing but villages. The inhabitants are a wandering people, who rarely quit their horses. The residence of the Eretrians is in the heart of the country. They have secured themselves from the incursions of the Barbarians, by conducting round their abode a river, which serves as a rampart. The

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxxii. p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Travels in Greece, XXXV. pp. 165, 166.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. Parallel. p. 305, c.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, in Theseo, p. 17, A.

<sup>8</sup> Philostr. Apollonii Vit. I. xxiv. p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 30. Philostratus did not know the city of Ecbatana, designated Ecbatana Magorum.



earth, impregnated with bitumen, has a natural bitterness; and the people are short-lived, owing to the bad quality of the water, which is strongly tinged with bitumen. Near the village is a piece of rising ground, of indifferent quality, which produces them a subsistence. Strabo<sup>1</sup> says, that the Eretrians were transported to Gordyene; but he is mistaken.

The following sepulchral inscriptions, relative to the Eretrians who were conveyed to Cissia, are attributed to Plato. In the first, it is said that they were transplanted to the plain of Ecbatana; in the second, that their settlement was near Susa: and it seems difficult to reconcile the two. But if we reflect that there was a city of Ecbatana<sup>2</sup> called 'Ecbatana Magorum,' near to the mountains whither Darius had removed certain inhabitants of Ecbatana in Media, and that Susa was the nearest city of any magnitude to the former, we shall discover why Ecbatana is mentioned in the first of these inscriptions, and Susa in the second.

"Here lie<sup>3</sup>, in the middle of the plain of Ecbatana, those men who abandoned the ever-agitated waves of the Ægean sea. Adieu, Eretria, my illustrious country, I bid you farewell; and you, Athens, the neighbour of Eubœa; and you also, beloved sea."

"Eretrians of Eubœa, we are interred near Susa! alas! at what a distance from our dear country!"

151. Ὑποτύψας. *Having dredged.* Ὑποτύπτειν signifies, to put one thing under another for the purpose of raising it up<sup>4</sup>.

152. Οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην. *They occupied the same district down to my time.* If we believe Philostratus, they occupied it even at the beginning of the Christian era, that is to say, more than 500 years afterwards; and Apollonius of Tyana, his hero, obtained<sup>5</sup> a promise from the king of the Parthians, that they should in future be secured from the vexations of the neighbouring nations.

CXXI. 153. Καλλίῳ τῷ Φαινίππου. *Callias, son of Phænippus.* The genealogy of this Callias, as far as I have been able to gather from detached passages of different authors, is as follows:

Phænippus is the first of the family I find mentioned, and that only in the passage of Herodotus. His son was Callias, who purchased<sup>6</sup> the effects of the Pisistratidæ when they were banished from Athens. He was the winner in the horse-race at Olympia, &c.<sup>7</sup>

His son, Hipponicus, surnamed Ammon, also became rich, if we may believe Athenæus<sup>8</sup>. "Diomnestes of Eretria, having received from the Persian general a considerable sum in gold to be kept for him, guarded

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, XVI. p. 1083, D.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. VI. xxvi. vol. I. p. 45.  
330, lin. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. I. p. 173. xxiii. et xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> See note 371, bk. II.

<sup>5</sup> Philostr. in Vit. Apoll. I. xxxvi. p.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VI. cxxi. et cxxii.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. ix. p. 536, F.  
et 537, A.

it carefully after the total defeat of the Persians: but when the king sent back the army with an order to destroy Eretria, each person carried his wealth to whatever place he thought most secure. The descendants of Diomnestes committed theirs to Hipponicus, the son of Callias; and when the Eretrians were all killed or carried away into slavery by the Persians, this treasure remained with Hipponicus."

Although Athenæus gives this anecdote on the authority of Heraclides of Pontus, I still consider it a fable; because it was only a short time before the battle of Marathon that the Persians invaded Eubœa, and attacked Eretria.

At all events, this Hipponicus had a son named Callias, who was in the battle of Marathon<sup>9</sup>. He was a Daduchus, or torch-bearer<sup>1</sup>. A Barbarian mistaking him for a king, from his long hair, and a fillet which he wore round his head, threw himself at his feet, and showed him a ditch, in which was concealed an immense quantity of gold. Callias put him to death, and by this detestable means became possessed of the treasure. He was for this reason surnamed Λακκόπλουτος (rich from the ditch). Herodotus speaks of him, (vii. cli.) This Callias was sent as ambassador to Artaxerxes, surnamed the Long-armed, son of Xerxes, to ratify the treaty entered into by this prince with Cimon. Demosthenes mentions this circumstance<sup>2</sup>.

Hipponicus, who with Eurymedon<sup>3</sup> commanded the Athenian troops in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, was son of this Callias, and father of another Callias, who dissipated his wealth with courtesans<sup>4</sup>, and died in the greatest poverty. This latter had a son, called Hipponicus, who married a daughter of the famous Alcibiades, whom he afterwards repudiated<sup>5</sup>. We see, therefore, that the family was illustrious. The office of the Daduchus was the second dignity in the Eleusinian mysteries, and was hereditary in the most illustrious families of Athens.

CXXII. 154. Καλλίεω δὲ τούτου ἄξιον. *This Callias merits.* If this paragraph were wholly suppressed, as the learned and judicious M. Valckenaer remarks, the narration would be more clear and distinct. It differs greatly from the style of our historian, and seems to have been interpolated by some sophist anxious to pay court to Hipponicus, the son of this Callias.

CXXV. 155. Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι. *The Alcmaeonidæ were illustrious in Athens even in early times.* "The first Alcmaeon, from whom they were descended, according to Suidas, under the word Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, lived in the time of Theseus."—BELLANGER.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 321, D.

<sup>1</sup> As to the Daduchi, see the excellent work of M. de St. Croix, on the Mysteries of Paganism, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. De Falsa Legat. pp. 258.500.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. III. xci.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. in Ranis, 432, et ibi Schol.

<sup>5</sup> Lysias adv. Alcibiad. p. 142, lin. 18, &c.

M. Bellanger should rather have cited Harpocraton than Suidas, as the latter writer has borrowed from the former. Alcmaeon, the contemporary of Theseus, however, although of the same family, was not one of the ~~ancestors~~ of the Alcmaeon mentioned by Herodotus. This latter was descended in a direct line from Alcmaeon the last of the perpetual archons, and consequently ~~from~~ Neleus, king of Pylos. His genealogy was as follows :

Neleus, Nestor, Periclymenus, Penthilus, Borus, Andropompus, Melanthus, Codrus.

Melanthus, being driven by the Heraclidæ from Messenia, of which he had been king, came to Athens, and reigned there also. Codrus his son succeeded him, and was the last king of Athens. Medon, his eldest son, was the first perpetual archon. He was succeeded in regular descent from father to son by thirteen : Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetes, Pherecles, Aripbron, Thespeius, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcmaeon. The last of these governed but two years, that is, a part of the year 755, the whole of the year 754, and a part of the year 753 before our era. The names of his descendants until Megacles, who was annual archon in the year 612 before our era, are unknown ; but we learn from writers worthy of credit, that this annual archon was descended in a direct line from Alcmaeon, last perpetual archon, and consequently from Neleus, the father of Nestor. Neleus having been born in the year 1391 before our era, and Megacles, one of his descendants, having been annual archon in the year 612 before the same era, this family must have subsisted for 799 years in the greatest splendour.

156. Τεθριπποτροφήσας Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται. *He bears off the prize at Olympia in the race of chariots with four horses.* Alcmaeon was, according to Isocrates<sup>6</sup>, the first citizen of Athens who obtained the victory in the race of chariots drawn by four horses.

CXXVI. 157. Τοῦ Μύρωνος, τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. *Of Myron, son of Andreas.* In Pausanias<sup>7</sup>, we find Pyrrhon instead of Myron ; but we must correct this author by Herodotus and Plutarch<sup>8</sup>. Kuhn, who in a note gives the genealogy of Clisthenes, has forgotten Andreas.

158. Νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθριππῷ. *Conqueror in the chariot race.* The name of Clisthenes is not found amongst the conquerors in the Olympic games, and Father Corsini has omitted him in his Olympionics.

Clisthenes distinguished himself in the sacred war, undertaken by decree of the Amphictyons, to vindicate the majesty of the god of Delphi. Eurylochus of Thessaly, who claimed to be descended from

<sup>6</sup> Isocrat. de Bigis, vol. II. p. 431.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. II. viii. p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de his qui sero a Numine puniuntur, vol. II. p. 553.

Hercules, was the commander-in-chief<sup>9</sup>, and not Clisthenes, as Pausanias<sup>1</sup> asserts.

Clisthenes brought to the siege of Cirrha a very well-equipped and valiant body of troops; and as the siege was greatly protracted in consequence of provisions being furnished to the besieged by sea, he equipped a fleet at his own expense, for the purpose of cutting them off.

The Amphictyons, in acknowledgment of this important service, adjudged to him the third of the spoils of the Crisseans, and the Sicyonians instituted on this occasion the Pythian festival. This we learn from the scholiast of Pindar<sup>2</sup>, who cites Herodotus as his authority, though our historian never mentions it. The same scholiast is also mistaken, when he adds that they likewise gave Sicyonia to Clisthenes. They could not give him that which he inherited from his fathers.

CXXVII. 159. Ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς ἀπῆκετο. *Had carried luxury to the highest pitch.* This Sybarite<sup>3</sup> left Italy with a thousand bird-catchers and cooks. In the repast<sup>4</sup> given by Clisthenes to his guests on their arrival, Smindyrides would allow no one to sit beside him at the table; saying that he would suffer none there but the princess for whom he came.

The mere sight of a labourer tilling the ground fatigued Smindyrides, and the fold of a rose-leaf on his couch prevented him from sleeping<sup>5</sup>.

160. Σιρίρης Δάμασος. *Damasus of Siris; the son of Amyris.* We commonly read Damas of Siris, but Wesseling and Valckenaer read Δάμασος Ἀμύριος, which reading is entitled to the preference, because Damasos has a Greek termination, and Amyris was a usual name amongst the Italiotæ<sup>6</sup>. It was the name of the inhabitant of Sybaris, who was sent by his fellow-citizens to Delphi to consult the god, and who passed for a madman, though his madness was true wisdom. We learn this from the Lexicon of Pausanias, cited by Eustathius<sup>7</sup>. Athenæus<sup>8</sup> relates the same story, and gives the answer of the oracle.

161. Τιτόρμου. *Titormus.* This Titormus<sup>9</sup> of Ætolia, according to the account of Alexander of Ætolia, was excessively voracious. He disputed one day with Milo of Crotona, which of them could devour an ox in the shortest time. It is related<sup>1</sup> of the latter, that he took on his shoulders a bull of four years old, carried it the length of a stadium,

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 641; Schol. Pindari in Prolegomenis ad Pythia, p. 163; Thessalus in Oratione ad Athenienses in operibus Hippocratis, vol. II. p. 941.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. X. xxxvii. p. 894.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Nem. IX. 2. p. 299. col. 1. lin. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. xi. p. 541, c.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, Συβαριτικάις.

<sup>5</sup> Senec. de Irâ, II. xxv. See also, Diod. Sic. Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit.

vol. II. p. 550.

<sup>6</sup> Those people were called Italiotæ, who, not being natives, had settled in Italy.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 298, lin. 4, &c. See also Diogeniani Proverb. Centur. III. Proverb. 26. p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. XII. iii. p. 520.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. X. ii. p. 412.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid.

then killed it, cut it in pieces, and ate it up in one day. Theodore of Hierapolis relates also, that Milo ate twenty minæ of meat and as much bread daily, and drank three congii of wine; that is, something more than seventeen pounds of meat, and the same quantity of bread. This latter feat is more within the limits of probability, and serves to render the two former ones incredible.

162. Ἀπὸ δὲ Φεῖδωνος. *Descended from Phidon.* The ancient Phidon was, according to Strabo<sup>2</sup>, the tenth descendant from Temenus, and consequently the fourteenth from Hercules. These fourteen generations suppose an interval of 466 or 467 years. Hercules having been born in the year 3330 of the Julian period, 1384 years B. C., Phidon's birth must have been about the year 3791 of the same period, 923 years before our era. He is said to have invented measures, which from him were called Phidonian, weights, silver and other coin. Gellius, however, ascribes these inventions to Palamedes. "Mensuras<sup>3</sup> et pondera Phidon Argivus invenit, vel Palamedes, ut maluit Gellius." Pythagoras, according to the musician Aristoxenus, was the first<sup>4</sup> who brought weights and measures into Greece. The Oxford Marbles attest<sup>5</sup> that Phidon was the inventor of weights and measures; and if any doubt remained, Julius Pollux would remove it. "The Phidon," says he<sup>6</sup>, "is a sort of vase, in which oil is kept, so named from the Phidonian measures." These passages throw light on each other. I may add, that the scholiast of Pindar<sup>7</sup> explains the words ἰκπελοῖς ἐν ἔντεσσιν, by τὰ Φειδώνεια ἀγγεῖα, 'the vases of Phidon.' Though his explanation may not be just, it still follows that these were measures of capacity.

Phidon may have rectified and improved the weights and measures which existed in his time, and perhaps introduced others, more correct or more convenient than those previously in use; but it is scarcely possible that before this prince no such thing was known in Greece. If we believe<sup>8</sup> Gregorius Abulpharagius, it was Samirus, who reigned at Babylon next after Nimrod, and who was contemporary with Serug, father of Nahor, great-grandfather of Abraham, that invented weights and measures.

163. Ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἡλείων ἀγωναθέτας. *Having driven away the agonotheætæ of the Eleans.* The Pisæans, says Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, were the cause of their own ruin, by wishing to regulate the Olympic games, instead of the Eleans, whom they hated. They called in to their assistance, in the 8th Olympiad, Phidon, tyrant of Argos, the most overbearing of all the Greeks, and presided with him over the games. The

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, VIII. p. 549, A.

<sup>3</sup> Plin. VIII. lvi. vol. I. p. 414, lin. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Diog. Laërt. in Pythag. VIII. xiv. p. 499.

<sup>5</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. XXXI. p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. X. clxxix. vol. II.

p. 1370.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Pindari, ad Olymp. XIII. 27. col. 2, lin. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Greg. Abulphar. Chron. Syriac. p. 9, ex edit. Lips. 1789, 4to.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. VI. xxii. p. 509.

same people, having raised troops among their neighbours, celebrated these games also, in the 34th Olympiad, with Pantaleon their king.

The Olympiads here mentioned, neither are nor can be those of Coræbus, which began in the year 776 before our era, but those of Iphitus, which commenced 884 years before our era, as I have proved in a memoir<sup>1</sup> read to the Academy of the Belles-Lettres. I have likewise proved in the same memoir, that Phidon invented weights and measures in 895, that he expelled the Agonothetæ of the Eleans in 856, and that he was dethroned by the Lacedæmonians 854 years before our era.

164. Διοσκούρους. *The Dioscuri.* Castor and Pollux. This Euphorion seems to be a very different person from the Phormion<sup>2</sup> mentioned by Pausanias, who also entertained Castor and Pollux. The latter was a Spartan, and Euphorion an Arcadian.

165. Τῶν Σκοπαδίων. *The family of the Scopadæ.* This family was very wealthy; insomuch that their riches became proverbial. Critias<sup>3</sup>, one of the thirty tyrants, is represented in the Elegies as wishing for the riches of the Scopadæ. Quintilian<sup>4</sup> and Ælian<sup>5</sup> mention several persons named Scopas. The one mentioned by Quintilian was the son of Creon. Simonides, in a piece addressed to him, says, that it is a difficult thing<sup>6</sup> for a man to be without reproach. This Scopas, together with a number of guests whom he was entertaining, were crushed by the falling-in of the ceiling of the room in which they were feasting. Simonides alone escaped from this misfortune. Phædrus<sup>7</sup> says the vault of the roof fell in; but I think that in the time of Simonides there were no vaulted roofs in Greece.

CXXVIII. 166. Καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς. *Their inclinations.* Ὀργὴ signifies 'the character,' 'the inclinations.' We find it in this sense in a thousand authors, and especially in Theognis. "Learn," says he, "to endure ridicule: you would be patient out of your own house, if you were to know the character of each one."

Εἶδε φέρειν τὰ γελοῖα· θύρηφι δὲ καρτερὸς εἶης,  
Γιγνώσκων ὀργὴν ἣν τιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει<sup>8</sup>.

CXXIX. 167. Κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου. *The celebration of the marriage.* Κατάκλισις τοῦ γάμου is strictly the act of placing the husband upon the nuptial couch by the side of his bride, or the act of lying beside the bride on a couch at table. Diodorus Siculus has an example of this, which is cited by M. Wesseling in his note. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μετὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν δείπνῳ προσιόντος τινὸς ὅπως κατακλιθῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰπεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, vol. XLVI. p. 43, et suiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. III. p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Cimone, p. 484, F.

<sup>4</sup> Quintil. de Instit. Orat. XI. ii.

<sup>5</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. i. p. 718.

<sup>6</sup> Plat. in Protagorâ, vol. I. p. 339, A, B.

<sup>7</sup> Phædrus, bk. IV. Fab. XXIV. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Theognidis Gnom. 311. 305.



ὅτι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πάρεστιν ἢ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἢ μόνος κατακλιθασόμενος<sup>9</sup>. 'At the repast which succeeded his arrival, some one having advanced in order to place himself on the bed where he was, he told him, that he was come according to the proclamation, to sit on the bed beside his wife, or else to be there alone.'

168. Προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος. *As the drinking was going on.* In Greece it was not the custom to drink during the repast, but after they had done eating. We find an example of it in the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. When drink<sup>10</sup> was brought to Aristus, at the table of Seuthes, he answered that he had not yet finished his dinner, and that they might hand it to Xenophon, who had done eating.

169. Κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης. *Hippoclides having caught the attention of the others, &c.* Literally, 'who very much detained the others.' Herodotus means, that all the company admired him, that their eyes were fixed on him, that he attracted the attention of all present, engaging (κατέχων) them all in observing his person.

170. Αὐλῆσαι ἐμμέλειαν. *To play the Emmelia.* The ancient dances were of two kinds, the warlike dances and the dances of peace. The first were called Pyrrhic, and the other Emmelia. These latter were again subdivided. There were those which, though lively, were decent and modest. Plato, in his laws<sup>1</sup>, speaks in praise of them. The airs to which the Emmelia were danced bore the same name. This species of dance was introduced in the tragedies<sup>2</sup>.

There was another kind of Emmelia, differing greatly from this. It was indecent and grotesque; as is proved by Herodotus. Hippoclides was one of those who sought the daughter of Clisthenes in marriage. His wit sparkled during the repast, and wishing afterwards to give his future father-in-law a specimen of his talents, "he told the flute-player to play the Emmelia; the flute-player obeyed, and Hippoclides began to dance. He was very well satisfied with himself; but Clisthenes, who was among the spectators, looked on him with an eye of displeasure." Now Clisthenes would have had no cause to be displeased with those who danced solemn dances; but he had a bad opinion of Hippoclides, from seeing him dance the Emmelia: he was offended at his want of modesty, at his impudence, τὴν ἀναιδείην, as our historian expresses it. The Emmelia of Herodotus was not, therefore, a solemn dance, but an indecent one, the air of which could scarcely be serious. We find from Hesychius<sup>3</sup>, that the Emmelia was a satirical dance; and according to that author, Æschylus has used that word for this species of dance. It was also called Sicinnis. The Sicinnis, according to the same lexicographer, was a comic and lascivious dance. The dances of

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. vol. II. p. 550.

<sup>10</sup> Xenoph. Anab. VII. iii. § xii. p. 406. λεία.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. de Legibus, VII. vol. II. p. 816, B.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychius, under the word Ἐμμέλεια.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychius, voc. Ἐμμέλεια.



the satyrs were very indecent. Clisthenes having considered the Emmelia danced by Hippoclidides as indecent, it may in this sense be said to have been satiric.

171. Ἀπωρήσας τὸν γάμον. *Your dancing has set aside your marriage.* The Greek expression is much more energetic: it answers nearly to the English phrase, "You have danced away your marriage." Stephens has explained it in his Thesaurus, vol. II. p. 1485, ε; by the indecency of your dancing, you have lost your marriage.

172. Ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο οὐνομάζεται. *Hence the origin of this saying.* Lucian has used this proverb on many occasions. Ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοὺς ἄλλους κἂν συνάμα πάντες κατηγορῶσιν, ἱκανὸν ἂν εἴη μοι τὸ, οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ<sup>4</sup>: 'As to the rest, if they should accuse me altogether, I should content myself with the adage, Hippoclidides cares not.'

CXXXI. 173. Ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας. *Who constituted the tribes and democracy at Athens.* Herodotus simply says that Clisthenes divided the people into tribes. This general expression wants accuracy, because we might understand from it that before his time the people were not divided into tribes. We know that there were four tribes before the time of Clisthenes. We must read this passage, therefore, according to that in V. lxix. Lest a cursory reader might be mistaken, I have thought it better to explain this passage by the other.

174. Τῆς Κλεισθένεος Ἀγαρίστης. *Agarista, a daughter of Clisthenes.* This is clear enough. Hippocrates had a daughter, who was named Agarista, after Agarista the daughter of Clisthenes, her grandmother. I cannot, therefore, comprehend why the celebrated Markland<sup>5</sup> should say that she was the wife of Clisthenes.

CXXXIV. 175. Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι. *Whilst Miltiades hesitated.* The narrative of Cornelius Nepos is very different from that of our historian. He had, no doubt, other sources of information, and perhaps followed Euphorus, who had probably committed to writing the traditions of the other Greeks. I have thought proper, however, to give it a place here, that the reader may conveniently compare it with that of Herodotus.

"After<sup>6</sup> the battle of Marathon, the Athenians gave to the same Miltiades seventy vessels to attack the islands which had assisted the barbarians. He compelled the greater part of them to return to their duty, and some of them he subdued; but Paros, proud of its riches, would not submit. Upon which he landed his troops, formed a line of

<sup>4</sup> Lucian, Apolog. pro Mercede, vol. I. p. 21.  
xv. p. 724.

<sup>6</sup> Corn. Nep. in Miltiade, VII.

<sup>5</sup> In notis ad Eurip. Iph. in Aul. 130.

circumvallation round the place, and thus cut off all assistance, whether in men or provisions. He then fixed his machines of war, and approached nearer to the walls.

“ When he was on the point of taking possession of the city, a wood at some distance on the continent, which was in sight of the island, was suddenly seen on fire in the night, without the cause of the accident being known. The flames being perceived both by the besieged and the besiegers, each party imagined that it was a signal given by the fleet of the great king. On this the Parians gave up all thoughts of surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing lest the fleet of the king should arrive, set fire to his works, and returned to Athens with the same number of vessels with which he had sailed from thence. The citizens were exasperated against him. He was accused of treason, and of having accepted the money of the king, for retiring without doing any thing, when he might have become master of the place. He was then ill from the wounds which he had received at the siege. As he was, for this reason, incapable of defending himself, his brother Tisagoras spoke for him. After a discussion and examination of the affair, the sentence of death was remitted; but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, the amount of the expenses of the expedition. Not being able to pay the fine, he was put in prison, where he died.”

Cornelius Nepos adds, that his conduct before Paros was rather the pretext than the real motive for his condemnation. The Athenians had but lately recovered their liberty, and, in their anxiety to preserve it, they feared all whose talents raised them above the level of their fellow-citizens. Besides, the sovereign authority, which he had enjoyed in the Chersonesus, subjected him to the suspicion of still retaining a taste for it, and consequently rendered him formidable to his countrymen.

176. Ὑποζάκορον. *Priestess*. Suidas observes<sup>7</sup>, that in Herodotus ὑποζάκορος is the same as ἱέρεια, ‘a priestess;’ for my own part, I think that the Neocora was charged with the decoration of the temple, and that the Hypozacora was subordinate to her.

CXXXVI. 177. Προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου. *The people favouring him in respect to the remission of the sentence of death*. I am more inclined to trust to Plato, who asserts<sup>8</sup>, “ that the people condemned him by a decree to be precipitated into the barathrum, and that if the prytanis had not opposed it, he would have been thrown there.” The epistates of the prytanæa whose turn it was to preside, chose nine proëdri, one from each tribe, except from that which was in office. These nine proëdri with the epistates of the prytanæa presided over the assemblies of the people, to maintain order, and take care that nothing was done contrary to law. If matters

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, voc. Ζάκορος.

<sup>8</sup> Plato in Gorgiâ, vol. I. p. 516, E.

were conducted in an orderly manner, the epistates permitted the people to give their votes, and it was his office to take them; but when he found that the people were misled by factious persons, he refused to do so. This chief magistrate was called also Prytanis. We may recollect that Socrates, on a very critical occasion, adopted a still more generous line of conduct. The Athenians having beaten the Lacedæmonians near the Arginusæ, the commanders pursued the enemy's vessels, and gave orders to two of their number to take up those who were shipwrecked, as well as the bodies of those who had fallen in the battle. The latter were prevented from doing so by a tempest which came on. These commanders were accused of having betrayed a most essential duty, and the people resolved to condemn them to death. The prytanes refused to take the votes; but as the people threatened to involve them in the same decree, they submitted. Socrates, who was then<sup>9</sup> epistates, alone opposed the wishes of the people, and, in spite of the cries and threats of the enraged multitude, he would not permit them to come to the vote.

It were to be wished that Plato had handed down to us the name of the generous citizen, who thus preserved the life of Miltiades.

178. Κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην. *For his fault.* As Cornelius Nepos has said: "Ea lis quinquaginta talentis æstimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat."

CXXXVIII. 179. Πεντηκοντέρους σησάμενοι. *They equipped vessels.* The Greek implies, 'having obtained vessels of fifty oars.' It is not probable that the Pelasgi, who had not long before crossed from Attica to Lemnos, should have had no vessels of their own. The reading σησάμενοι, in Sancroft's MS., does not appear to me any better. I have translated as if there had been κατεσκευασάμενοι: and it would seem that the Latin translator adopted the same reading, as he renders the phrase by, 'navibus quinquaginta remorum instructis.'

180. Τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας. *The women of the Athenians.* It is as well to observe, that the Athenians, who were called Ἀθηναῖοι, never gave to their wives the name of Ἀθηναῖαι, because<sup>1</sup> Minerva was called in Homer Ἀθηναία: such was their superstition. They called their wives by a periphrasis, as in the present instance, or by the word Ἀσθαῖ<sup>2</sup>, 'female citizens,' because Athens was properly called Ἀστυ, or "the city."

The Pelasgi carried off the Canephoræ, that is to say, the young girls who carried the sacred baskets in the festival of Diana. Philochorus, who communicates this circumstance, appears to me in the right<sup>3</sup>; but when he says that the Pelasgi were called Sintii, that is

<sup>9</sup> Xenophon. Socrat. Mem. I. i. xviii.;  
IV. iv. ii.; Hellenic. I. vii. ix.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. in Iliad. A. p. 84, lin. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. lin. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Scholia Græca Script. Anon. in  
Iliad. I. p. 128.

to say, wicked, because of this abduction, he transgresses probability, as Homer gives this name to the Lemnians.

This festival was termed *Βραυρώνια*, from the name of the town where it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed there<sup>4</sup>, and the rhapsodists chanted portions of the *Iliad*. This festival was celebrated every five years, and the Decemviri, called<sup>5</sup> *Ἰσπορωτοὶ*, presided at it. We are to understand by these five years, after the revolution of four, and in the beginning of the fifth [i. e. every four years<sup>6</sup>]. It is to this space of time, that the valet of Trygæus in Aristophanes<sup>7</sup> alludes. Trygæus having personified this festival, which he terms *Theoria*, from a name common to all the festivals, says, "There is that *Theoria*, which we formerly took to Brauron, and which we caressed when we were heated with wine." The valet answers, *ὅσην ἔχει τὴν πρωκροπερτερηρίδα*, "quantam culus iste quinto quoque anno voluptatem adfert!" Young girls consecrated to Diana<sup>8</sup> celebrated this festival in saffron-coloured garments. They could not be more than ten years old, nor less than five. Thus the women mentioned by Herodotus were in fact young girls, who had not attained a marriageable age.

This consecration was called<sup>9</sup> *Ἀρκτεία*, the young girls were named<sup>1</sup> *Ἀρκτοί*, 'bears;' and *Ἀρκτεύειν* signifies 'to be consecrated'<sup>2</sup> when mentioned with reference to these young girls. Suidas, at the word *Ἀρκτος*, assigns the reason for this.

181. *Ἀμα Θόαντι. Together with king Thoas.* The text of Herodotus is perfectly clear, and can signify nothing more than what is here expressed. The Scholiast of Euripides says the same thing<sup>3</sup>: *αἱ Λήμνιαι γυναῖκες τοὺς σὺν Θόαντι πάντας ἀπέκτειναν*. 'The women of Lemnos killed all the men, together with Thoas.' Writers subsequent to Herodotus have asserted, that the princess Hypsipyle spared her father Thoas. The poets have preferred this latter mode of telling the story, because it afforded some touching scenes. Amongst these, Metastasio, in his interesting piece called *Issipile*, has skilfully availed himself of the incident.

The women of Lemnos massacred their husbands for the following cause. The Lemnian<sup>4</sup> women annually celebrated a festival in honour of Venus; but having discontinued this custom, the goddess avenged herself for the slight by imparting to them a disagreeable odour, which prevented their husbands from approaching them. The women, conceiving themselves disdained by their husbands, slew them all. But, it may be said, if this were the reason of the aversion conceived by the Lemnians for their wives, how came the Argonauts to be captivated by

<sup>4</sup> Hesychius, voc. *Βραυρωνίους*, p. 761.

<sup>5</sup> Jul. Poll. *Onomast.* VIII. ix. § cvii. vol. II. p. 927.

<sup>6</sup> See the last paragraph of note 65, bk. I.

<sup>7</sup> Aristoph. *Pac.* 873, et s.

<sup>8</sup> Suidas, voc. *Ἀρκτος*.

<sup>9</sup> Hesych. voc. *Ἀρκτεία*, p. 538.

<sup>1</sup> Harpocrat. voc. *Ἀρκτεῦσαι*, p. 28; Suidas eadem voc.

<sup>2</sup> Harpocrat. et Suidas *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Eurip. ad *Hecub.* 887.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Euripid. ad *Hecub.* 887; Conf. Apollodor. I. ix. § xvii. p. 50.

them? This objection seems to me easily obviated, if we advert to the little delicacy observed at the present day by men returning from a long voyage. [And besides, consistency is not required in fables.]

CXXXIX. 182. Πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου. *At a considerable distance from Lemnos.* Such, I think, is the meaning of the words, which has not been expressed by any translator. The Pelasgi impose two conditions, which they deem it impossible to fulfil:—the first, that the Athenians should set sail with a north wind, because it was impossible to come from Attica to Lemnos with any other than a south wind;—the second, that they should perform the voyage in a single day, because the distance was considerable, and if a time had not been fixed, it would have been easy to comply with the condition.

CXL. 183. Ἡφαιστιέες. *The inhabitants of Hephæstia.* Charax<sup>5</sup>, in the 10th book of his Chronicles, relates, that Hermon, tyrant of Hephæstia, alarmed at the power of the Persians, said that to oblige the Athenians, who were his friends, he would ratify what was agreed to by the Pelasgi; and that thereupon he gave up the city without fighting.

Zenobius relates the same circumstance, and adds that the pretext made use of by Hermon afterwards became<sup>6</sup> a proverb, as applied to those who, being compelled to do any thing, yet profess to do it from a wish to oblige.

184. Οὕτω δὲ τὴν Λῆμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι. *In this way the Athenians got possession of Lemnos.* There is some difference in the account given by Cornelius Nepos, which I shall subjoin:

“When Miltiades<sup>7</sup> went to found a colony in the Chersonesus, he landed at Lemnos, and summoned the inhabitants to acknowledge the authority of the Athenians; the Lemnians jestingly answered, that they would submit, when he should come from his home to Lemnos by a north wind. The north wind is directly adverse for those who would go from Athens to this island. Miltiades, who had no time to stop, continued his voyage, and arrived in the Chersonesus . . . . . When<sup>8</sup> he was in tranquil possession of the Chersonesus, he returned to Lemnos, and summoned the inhabitants to deliver up the city, agreeably to their promise. They had in fact promised to surrender, if he came from his home to Lemnos by a north wind. He now lived in the Chersonesus, and Lemnos was inhabited by the Carians. Although this event had fallen out very contrary to their expectations, yet the power of the enemy had more effect on them than his arguments; they dared not make resistance, but evacuated the island.”

Cornelius Nepos is mistaken, however, in saying that Lemnos was

<sup>5</sup> Stephan. Byzant. voc. Ἡφαιστία.

<sup>6</sup> Zenobii Proverb. Cent III. 85. p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Corn. Nep. in Miltiade, I.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. II.

then inhabited by the Carians. Besides the passage of Herodotus, we have the testimony of Zenobius<sup>9</sup>, who informs us that Hermon then reigned there over the Pelasgians. Although this author is not very ancient, having written in the time of the Emperor Adrian, yet his authority is not without weight, as he could procure the greater part of the works which had appeared before his time.

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## POLYMNIA. BOOK VII.

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I. 1. Μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον. *Greatly irritated.* This expression is applied to animals who grind their teeth with rage. Hesychius explains the word Κεχαραγμένος by ὠργισμένος.

2. Πλοῖα. *Transport vessels.* Νέες or νῆες are vessels of war; πλοῖα vessels of burden, calculated for transporting provisions, or cavalry. According to Didymus<sup>1</sup>, in the 10th book of his Treatise on Rhetoric, πλοῖα are round vessels, and νῆες ships of war. This distinction is founded on a passage of Aristotle<sup>2</sup> on the rights of war. The Tarentines having about that time besought Alexander, king of Epirus, to assist them in the war they had to sustain against the barbarians, that prince set sail with fifteen ships of war, and a great number of vessels fit for conveying cavalry<sup>3</sup>. The former he describes by the term νῆες, and the latter by πλοῖα.

II. 3. Ἀρταβαζάνης. *Artabazanes, &c.* I believe this Artabazanes is no where else mentioned in history. I conjecture, however, that Mithridates, the celebrated king of Pontus, who resisted the Romans for forty years, and was beaten only by Pompey, was one of his descendants. Diodorus Siculus<sup>4</sup>, Polybius<sup>5</sup>, and other authors, trace the descent of this prince from one of the seven Persians who conspired against the Magus Smerdis, but without specifying which. Appian of Alexandria is somewhat more particular. He says<sup>6</sup>: Mithridates died. He was the sixteenth descendant from Darius, son of Hystaspes, and

<sup>9</sup> Zenobii Proverb. Cent. III. 85. p. 73.

<sup>1</sup> Ammonius de Diff. Vocab. voc. νῆες, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>3</sup> I here read, with M. Valckenaer,

φορηγικοῖς, instead of στρατηγικοῖς.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XIX. xl. vol. II. p. 348.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. Hist. V. xliii. p. 540.

<sup>6</sup> Appian. ad Bell. Mithrid. p. 411.

the sixth from Mithridates, who shook off the Macedonian yoke and founded the kingdom of Pontus." He does not indeed point out from which of the sons of Darius he was descended; but as Florus<sup>7</sup> calls this prince Artabazes, it is natural to conclude that he means the same with the Artabazanes of Herodotus, though, by an error not unusual with him, he supposes him to be the same with the founder of the kingdom of Pontus. This Artabazanes held probably the satrapy of Pontus, which was enjoyed by his descendants down to Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes, the founder, who threw off the Macedonian yoke, and became king of the country.

The sixteen generations give 533 years, Darius having been born about the year 4164 of the Julian period, 550 years before our era, and Mithridates having died in the year 4651 of the Julian period, 63 years before the Christian era, there is a difference of 46 years. I am therefore inclined to read in Appian, "he was the fifteenth from Darius, son of Hystaspes."

4. *Ἐρασίαζον.* *They rose in contention.* According to Plutarch, this happened differently. "Darius<sup>8</sup> being dead, some wished to place on the throne Ariamenes, because he was the eldest, and others Xerxes, because Atossa, his mother, was the daughter of Cyrus, and he had been born after the accession of Darius to the throne. Ariamenes came from Media, not as an enemy, but with the calmness of one who would maintain his cause before his judges. Xerxes, who was on the spot, was then exercising the functions of royalty. On the arrival of his brother, he laid down his diadem, together with the upright tiara worn by the kings, and went forth to meet and salute him. He also sent him presents, the bearers of which said, 'Your brother Xerxes sends you these presents out of respect. If the Persians decide in his favour and declare him king, you shall occupy the next rank to him.' Ariamenes answered, 'I gladly receive these presents from my brother. I think that the crown belongs to me. All my brothers shall retain their honours, and Xerxes be distinguished above all the rest.' As the day of the decision approached, the Persians unanimously appointed as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who trusted principally to his influence over the populace, protested against this appointment; but he was reproved by Atossa, his mother. 'Why do you refuse to be judged by your uncle, who is the most upright man in all Persia?' said she. 'It is a fine thing to be brother to a king. Why then fear the issue of a contest, where the second prize is so brilliant?' Xerxes was persuaded; and the two princes laid their claims before Artabanus. He decided in favour of Xerxes, and proclaimed him king. Ariamenes, hastily quitting his seat, prostrated himself before his brother, took him by the hand, and led him to the throne." I am apprehensive, however,

<sup>7</sup> Flori Epit. III. v. p. 467, edit. Duker.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Fraterno Amore, vol. II. p. 488, D, E, F.



that this account of Plutarch may be borrowed from Ctesias, who takes every possible opportunity of contradicting Herodotus. Perhaps, too, Plutarch may be mistaken as to the name of the prince who disputed the crown with Xerxes. The Emperor Julian<sup>9</sup> coincides with Plutarch. "After the death of Darius," says he, "there arose disputes on the subject of the succession to the throne; but the competitors preferred submitting their claims to the decision of justice, rather than to that of arms."

III. 5. Ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐς Σοῦσα. *Arrived at Susa.* Xerxes<sup>1</sup> gave the towns of Pergama, of Teuthrania, and of Halisarnia, to Demaratus, who had accompanied him in his expedition against Greece. Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus, possessed them so late as the first year of the 95th Olympiad, that is to say, seventy-eight years after, when they joined Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian.

6. Ἀτόσσα. *Atossa.* This princess<sup>2</sup> was daughter of Cyrus, and wife of his brother Cambyses. She afterwards married the Magus Smerdis, and, after his death, Darius, over whom she possessed considerable influence<sup>3</sup>. She was the first<sup>4</sup> woman, according to Hellanicus, who ever wrote letters. If we may believe Aspasius, her son Xerxes, in a fit of phrensy, tore her in pieces, and ate her<sup>5</sup>. *Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μανεῖς ἔφαγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα κρεουργήσας.*

IV. 7. Βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἑξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα. *Having reigned thirty-six years.* This prince died in the fourth year of the 73rd Olympiad, 485 years before our era. The battle of Marathon was fought in the third year of the 72nd Olympiad. Darius employed three years in preparations, in the fourth year Egypt revolted, and this prince died the year after, as we learn from Herodotus.

The Oxford Marbles fix the death of this prince in the archontate of Aristides, consequently in the year 4225 of the Julian period, 489 years before our era, which answers to the first six months of the third year of the 72nd Olympiad, and to the last six months of the fourth year of that Olympiad. The authority of these Marbles, no doubt, carries considerable weight; but that of Herodotus overbalances them, because he was almost contemporary with the events he narrates, whereas the author of these Marbles wrote 220 years after him.

St. Clement of Alexandria is mistaken<sup>6</sup> in assigning forty-six years to the reign of this prince; or it may be a fault of the copyists. Ctesias (xix.) gives him but thirty-one years; but the Canon of Ptolemy agrees with our historian.

8. Οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

<sup>9</sup> Juliani Imp. Opera, Orat. I. p. 33, B.

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hell. III. i. § iv. p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. III. lxviii. lxxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. cxxxiii. cxxxiv. et VII. iii.

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. xvi. p. 364, lin. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Aspas. ad Aristotelis Ethic. p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 395, lin. 15.

*Nor had he the satisfaction of punishing the revolt of the Egyptians.* This is a positive assertion; but Aristotle advances the direct contrary. "Darius," he says<sup>7</sup>, "did not advance into Greece till after he had taken Egypt; as soon as that country was in his power, he turned his arms against the Greeks." This says clearly enough, that he attacked and reduced Egypt, and then proceeded to Greece. The authority of Herodotus, nearly a contemporary, is preferable even to that of Aristotle, who lived at a period quite remote from those times. This also may be an error of the copyists.

V. 9. Τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα. *His son Xerxes.* Plutarch<sup>8</sup> says that Arimenes, or Ariamenes, as he calls him in another<sup>1</sup> place, disputed the crown with his brother; but that Xerxes having been declared king, Ariamenes rendered him homage, and served him with so much zeal and cordiality, that he died in the battle of Salamis<sup>2</sup>. Herodotus, who names a great many children of Darius, does not mention Ariamenes, and calls the prince who disputed the crown with Xerxes, Artabazanes. Moreover, it was Ariabignes, brother of Xerxes, who fell<sup>3</sup> on the day of Salamis; but besides that this name is wholly different from Arimenes or Ariamenes, it does not appear that he ever disputed the crown with Xerxes. It is possible that the Ariamenes of Plutarch and the Ariabignes of Herodotus may be the same, and that Plutarch attributes to Ariamenes the actions of both Ariabignes and Artabazanes.

10. Δέσποτα. *My lord.* This term signifies master, and expresses his relationship to his slave. The kings of the East were despots, and all their subjects slaves. The Greeks, who held in abhorrence every thing bordering on slavery, considered their kings only as magistrates who watched over the public safety, and procured for the nation all possible advantages. They therefore called them ἄνακτες, a term which expresses the care they took of their people. That generous nation acknowledged the gods alone for masters, and would suffer no man to assume that name. Euripides<sup>4</sup> makes the servant of Hippolytus say, Ἄναξ· θεοὺς γὰρ δεσπότας καλεῖν χρεών. Father Brumoy has rendered this verse<sup>5</sup>: 'Prince, the equal of the gods, for such is the name which is due to our masters.' This writer, accustomed to the servile language of modern times, has imagined that the word δεσπότης applied to princes, and that the servant of Hippolytus considered his masters as gods. But the Greeks were at that time too proud to acknowledge their fellow men for their masters, and too religious to give to a mortal the appellation of a god. This verse, therefore, ought to be rendered,

<sup>7</sup> Aristot. Rhetor. II. xx. p. 569, E; 570, A; vel II. xvi. § ii. p. 120. ex ed. Oxon. 1759. 8vo.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. Apophth. vol. II. p. 173, B.

<sup>1</sup> Id. de Fraternali Amore, vol. II. p. 488, D.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. F.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. VIII. lxxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. Hippol. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Théâtre des Grecs, vol. II. p. 175. edit. 1749. 12mo.

‘King, for the name of master is due only to the gods.’ The scholiast of Euripides has so taken it. Τὸ μὲν Ἄναξ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱππολύτου, τὸ δὲ Δεσπότης ἐπὶ θεῶν: ‘the word Ἄναξ is said of Hippolytus, and that of Δεσπότης is to be understood of the gods.’

Xenophon, speaking to the Greeks who had followed the standards of the young Cyrus, has made use of the following maxim, which ought to be engraven deeply on the hearts of men: “Adore the gods, and never acknowledge a mortal for your master<sup>6</sup>.”

VI. 11. Τῶν Ἀλεuadaίων. *Of the Aleuadae.* The family of the Aleuadae reigned at Larissa, as we learn from Aristotle<sup>7</sup>. Hence, the epithet of ‘Larissæus,’ which Ovid<sup>8</sup> gives to Aleuas. They descended from Aleuas, whom the oracle of Delphi declared king of Thessaly, in the manner which, on the authority of Plutarch<sup>9</sup>, I shall relate. His pride and haughtiness had rendered him obnoxious to his father, who wished to humble him; but his uncle received and favoured him. The Thessalians having sent to Delphi tickets on which were inscribed the names of those whom they were willing to have for king, this uncle sent one for Aleuas, without the knowledge of his father. The pytho-ness having declared him king, his father affirmed that he had sent no ticket on his behalf, and every one thought there must have been some error in transcribing the names. The god being again interrogated, the pytho-ness answered, in confirmation of her first decision: ‘I name the red-haired man brought forth by Archedice.’

“Thus was Aleuas declared king by the authority of the god, and the address of his uncle. He distinguished himself above all his predecessors, acquired renown for his country, and greatly augmented its power.”

These Aleuadae were three in number, Thorax, Thrasydeius, and Eurypylus<sup>1</sup>. They compelled<sup>2</sup> the Thessalians to side with Xerxes; but the latter being afterwards irritated against the Phocidians, voluntarily followed the standard of that prince<sup>3</sup>.

12. Διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. *Who made a trade of the oracles of Musæus.* This Onomacritus had under his custody the books of Musæus, occasionally consulted them, and undertook to interpret them. But Herodotus says something more. Διαθέτης signifies a man who sells, or carries on a trade. Thomas Magister interprets it, ὁ καθιστῶν καὶ οἰκονομῶν, and M. Wesseling is of his opinion. We find also in our author διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον<sup>4</sup>, ‘to sell his cargo,’ as well as in Xenophon and in a thousand other authors. Ulpian<sup>5</sup>, on the second Olynthiac of Demosthenes, explains διαθέσθαι by πωλῆσαι.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. III. ii. § viii. p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> Aristot. Polit. V. vi. p. 394, E.

<sup>8</sup> Ovid. Ibis, 323.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. de Fraternali Amore, vol. II. p. 492, A, B.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. IX. lvii.

<sup>2</sup> Id. VII. lxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Philostr. Heroic. XIX. xv. p. 743.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. I. i.

<sup>5</sup> Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 2. pp. 14. 23. ex edit. Morel.

13. Λάσων. *Lasus*. Lasus was a poet and musician, and<sup>6</sup>, according to some, one of the seven wise men of Greece. It is said that he was the son of Charmantides, or of Sisymbrinus, or, according to Aristoxenus, of Chabrinus<sup>7</sup>. He was born at Hermione, a town of Argolis<sup>8</sup>; which town is properly placed by Suidas (under the word Λάσος), in Achaia, for Argolis formerly bore this name. He flourished in the 68th Olympiad, and was contemporary with Darius<sup>9</sup>, the son of Hystaspes. He instituted the Cyclic chorus<sup>1</sup>, and invented the Dithyrambus<sup>2</sup>. Ælian<sup>3</sup> has preserved to us the following passage, which is, I believe, the only one of Lasus that remains: Σκύμνος εἰρημένον τὸ βρέφος τὸ τῆς λυγγός. 'The young of the lynx is called scymnus.'

An ode upon the Centaurs<sup>4</sup>, in which no use is made of the sigma, has also been attributed to him, but not by universal consent. That composed on Ceres, surnamed Hermione, according to Heraclides of Pontus, is certainly from his pen, and not a single sigma occurs in it.

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοιο ἄλοχον.

'I sing Ceres and Proserpine the wife of Pluto.'

VII. 14. Ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει. *He appointed Achæmenes their governor*. This prince, who was son of Darius, and a younger brother of Xerxes, was named governor or satrap of Egypt, in the year 4230 of the Julian period, 484 years before our era. In the year 4234 of the Julian period, 480 years B.C., he commanded the Egyptian troops<sup>5</sup>, forming part of the army with which Xerxes attacked Greece. Egypt having revolted under Artaxerxes, in the year 4251 of the Julian period, 463 years B.C., the king sent against them Achæmenes, who in the year following<sup>6</sup> was killed by Inaros, the leader of the revolt.

VIII. 15. Ἐλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. *Xerxes spoke as follows*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>7</sup> has translated this speech of Xerxes into the Attic dialect. The reader will do well to consult it, together with the notes of Valckenaer and Wesseling.

16. Οὐδαμᾶ κω ἡτρεμήσαμεν. *Never remained inactive*. Ἀτρεμέω signifies, 'I remain inactive.' We have seen, I. cxc. ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐπὶ πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα: 'As they had long known that Cyrus could not remain inactive.' Herodotus has in the same sense said ἀτρέμας ἔχειν, VIII. xiv. and xvi.; IX. lii. and liii. The Latin translator of Dionysius of Halicarnassus has therefore been guilty of a

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laert. in Thalete, I. xlii. p. 25. Confer Suid. voc. Λάσος.

<sup>7</sup> Diog. Laert. ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Suidas, voc. Λάσος. See my Chronological Canon, year 4206.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, voc. Κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 365, lin. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ælian. de Nat. An. VII. xlvii. p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> Athen. Deipnos. X. xxi. p. 455, c, d; XIV. v. p. 624, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. VII. xcvi.

<sup>6</sup> Id. III. xii.

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. de admirandâ vi dicendi in Demosthene, xli. vol. II. pp. 307, 308.

misconstruction, in rendering οὐδένα χρόνον ἡτρεμήσαμεν<sup>6</sup>, 'nunquam timore vacavimus.' We should have translated 'nunquam conquievimus.' This word is frequently used in this sense by Hippocrates<sup>7</sup>.

17. Ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. *I may communicate to you.* Herodotus always uses ὑπερτιθέναι, and ὑπερτίθεσθαι τι τινὶ, on occasions where the other Greeks employ ἀνακοινῶσαι and ἀνακοινῶσασθαι. It is in vain that Thomas Gale, on the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, would persuade us to read here ὑποθέωμαι. In all the editions of that author, it is true, we find ὑποθῶ ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup>. But in an excellent MS. of the Royal Library, marked 1745, we read ὑπερθῶ ὑμῖν, which is the true reading of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

18. Τουτέων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι. *This is what animates me.* Such is the explanation given to this word by the ordinary lexicons, though Stephens does not appear to approve of it. But what sets it beyond a doubt is, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his translation of this oration, explains it by ἀνώρμημαι.

19. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ ὑμῖν δοκέω. *But that I may not appear, &c.* The close of this answer, as given by Valerius Maximus, is much more haughty. "Ne viderer<sup>2</sup> meo tantum modo usus consilio, vos contraxi. Cæterum mementote parendum magis vobis esse quam suadendum."

X. 20. Ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν. *After we shall have rubbed.* In the Greek παρατρίψωμεν. It is not by rubbing one piece of gold against another that we can tell which is the best. And I therefore should not hesitate to adopt the reading of Sancroft's MS. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐτέρῳ συγκρίνηται, which indicates the only method of proving pure gold, that was known before the discovery of the touchstone.

21. Σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἀπικέσθαι. *Do not expose yourself, I entreat you.* Μὴ βουλεύεο cannot be allowed to remain. People do not deliberate whether they shall expose themselves to a manifest danger, when urged by no sort of necessity. M. Wesseling changes this word to μὴ βουλέο, which I adopt the more willingly, as we find in the MSS. B and D of the Royal Library, μὴ βούλεν.

22. Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ φαντάζεσθαι. *Causes them to disappear.* Thomas Magister says<sup>3</sup>, φαντάζομαι, τὸ ἀπλῶς φαίνομαι. And he cites this verse as being from the Orestes of Euripides; but it is certainly from the Phœnissæ, as has been remarked by the commentators:

Μὴ τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται<sup>4</sup>.

'For fear that one of our citizens should appear in the road.' The Scholiast has well explained it, μή τις ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν φαίνεται ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. p. 307, lin. 22.

<sup>7</sup> See Foësius Œconomia Hippocratis, at the word Ἀτρεμίας, p. 107.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. de admirandâ vi dicendi

in Demosthene, xli. vol. II. p. 307, lin. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Valer. Maxim. IX. v. Extern. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Under the word φάσματα.

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. Phœniss. 93.

The term, it is true, occurs in the *Orestes* of Euripides, and that has given rise to the mistake of Thomas Magister.

“Οδε τις ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται<sup>5</sup>.

‘Some one appears on the road.’

Hesychius explains φαντάζου δόμῳ by φαίνου. It is easy to perceive that we should read δόμων, and that this author had in view the following verse of the *Andromache* of Euripides :

‘Αλλ’ εἴσιθ’ εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων  
Πάροιθε τῶνδε<sup>6</sup>.

‘Enter and appear no more before this palace.’

Constantine has not been deceived. He explains φαντάζεσθαι in his Lexicon, ‘conspicuum esse, cerni, in conspectu versari,’ and he cites this passage of Herodotus. Scapula gives to this same passage an energy which does not belong to it, and which is even contrary to the meaning of our historian. He has only copied Stephens, who says the same thing in his Thesaurus, at the word φαντασία.

23. Δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα. *The tallest trees.* Δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα, trees of this sort, ‘arbores ejusmodi.’ That is to say, the largest, as he has just spoken of the largest edifices. Τὰ τοιαῦτα must not be made to relate to βέλεα, as has been done by all the translators.

24. Βροντήν. *Blindness.* I here take βροντήν for a spirit of infatuation and blindness, ἐμβροντησία.

[25. Βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω. *Let the king himself remain in the cities of the Persians.* The use of the word ἡθεα to signify fixed abodes is peculiar to the Ionian writers.]

26. Ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλῆα στρατεύεσθαι. *You incite the king to march in person.* The Greeks more frequently prefix ὥστε to the infinitive :

Οὔτοι μ’ ἐπαίρεις ὥστε θυμῶσαι φρένας  
Τοῖς σοῖσι κόμπους<sup>7</sup>.

‘The haughtiness of your discourse shall not make me angry.’

Κύπρις γὰρ ἤθελ’ ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τάδε<sup>8</sup>.

‘For Venus wished that these things might happen.’

On the word ἐπαίρεις, see the notes of Kuster on the 42nd verse of the *Nubes* of Aristophanes. The gloss quoted by Brunck, on this verse, explains ἐπῆρε, by παρεκίνησε, κατέπεισε.

XI. 27. Γεγονώς. *Sprung from.* “The Achæmenides were a family or tribe (φρήτρη according to Herodotus, μοῖρα according to Stephanus the geographer, φύλον according to Strabo,) in the country of the Pasargadæ. They were descended and took their name from Achæ-

<sup>5</sup> Id. *Orest.* 1270.

<sup>6</sup> Euripid. *Androm.* 876.

<sup>7</sup> Euripid. *Supplic.* 581.

<sup>8</sup> Hippolyt. 1327.

menes, father of Cambyses and grandfather of Cyrus. Achæmenes is called Perseïs, because he was descended from Perseus; and it is for this reason that the kings his successors, and their descendants, are called Perseïdes<sup>9</sup>.

“Danaus and Lynceus of Chemmis, a city of Egypt, had established themselves in Hellas<sup>1</sup> (Greece). Perseus was the son of Danaë<sup>2</sup>; and Danaë was descended from Lynceus, for Lynceus had a son named Abas; Abas had Acrisius and Proetus, and Acrisius was the father of Danaë, according to Apollodorus<sup>3</sup>; from Danaë sprung Perseus, according to Herodotus<sup>4</sup>. Thus Perseus was descended from Lynceus, and his family was originally from Chemmis.

“Perseus married Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, son of Belus, and had by her a son named Perses. The Persians were then called ‘Artæi’ by the neighbouring people, but by the Greeks ‘Cephenes,’ from the name of Cepheus<sup>5</sup>. Perseus left his son Perses with Cepheus, who had no male children; the Persians took from this Perses a new name, viz. that of ‘Persæ;’ and their kings, who were descended from him by Achæmenes, took the surname of Perseides.

“Achæmenes was descended from this Perses, but not immediately: for the geographer Stephanus, under the word ‘Achæmenia,’ says, that he was the son of Ægeus.

“As the genealogy of the kings of Persia was traced from Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danaë, they were exceedingly proud of it. Achæmenes, Cyrus, and Cambyses, might justly be so, because they were descended directly from Perseus, by the male line. But Xerxes was descended only by the female line; for he was the son of Darius, Darius was the son of Hystaspes, Hystaspes the son of Arsames, Arsames of Ariamnes, and Ariamnes of Teispeus<sup>6</sup>. Teispeus (adds Herodotus, according to the usual reading) was the ‘son of Cyrus;’ Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, and Cambyses was the son of Achæmenes (another reading has, Cambyses was son of Teispeus, and Teispeus was son of Achæmenes). It is thus that Xerxes traces his genealogy; he has not carried it back further than Achæmenes, ‘the grandfather’ (or, according to another reading, which places Teispeus between Cambyses and Achæmenes, ‘great-grandfather’) of Cyrus. It does not appear that Darius, son of Hystaspes and father of Xerxes, descended from the family of this Achæmenes in a direct line by the male side. But we know that the maternal grandfather of Xerxes was Cyrus, and that he reckoned Achæmenes amongst his maternal ancestors; for he was the son of Darius and of the daughter of Cyrus, who was sister to Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. We do not, therefore, see how he was de-

<sup>9</sup> Herod. I. cxxv.

<sup>1</sup> Id. VII. xci.

<sup>2</sup> Id. VI. liii. liv.; VII. lxi.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. Biblioth. II. ii. § i. ii. p. 77. Galis ed.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. II. xci.; Apollod. II. iv. § i. p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. VII. lxi. See also Apollod.

Biblioth. II. xiv. § v.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VII. ii.



scended by so many degrees in a direct line on the male side from Achæmenes. Observe, that in the Greek of Herodotus we have Τείσπεος, a genitive which may come either from the nominative Τείσπευς (as βασιλεὺς in the third declension contracted), or from the nominative Τείσπης, as Δημοσθένης of the first declension contracted.

“Darius, son of Hystaspes, and father of Xerxes, succeeded Cambyses, son of Cyrus, after the extermination of the Magi. Xerxes was the son of Darius and of the daughter of Cyrus, who was the sister of Cambyses, as I have before said: Cyrus was, therefore, his maternal grandfather: thus much is clear and evident from Herodotus. The genealogy, therefore, which Xerxes gives of himself (VII. xi.) is false. For, according to this genealogy, Cyrus is the fifth ancestor of Xerxes; whereas he was, in fact, only his maternal grandfather. Cyrus, I say, would be his fifth ancestor according to this genealogy, since Teispeus, who is the third ancestor of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and father of Xerxes, is there set down as the son of Cyrus. Now it is impossible that Teispeus should be at the same time the son of Cyrus, and great-great-grandfather of Darius, son of Hystaspes: for this Darius married the daughter of Cyrus, who would thus be the sister of Teispeus; and we can scarcely imagine a man to marry the sister of his great-great-grandfather, and have children by her: yet it is certain that Darius married the daughter of Cyrus, and by her had Xerxes. Neither does it appear that Teispeus was the son of Cyrus; no ancient author asserts it; indeed all history contradicts it, for it informs us that Cyrus had but two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis. This passage of Herodotus (VII. ii.) is therefore corrupt, and the negation *μηδὲ* is wanting before the words τοῦ Κύρου, as was observed by Salmasius<sup>7</sup>.

“Xerxes, in this genealogy, speaks first of his paternal ancestors, of Darius his father, Hystaspes his grandfather, Arsames his great-grandfather, Ariamnes his great-great-grandfather, and Teispeus his fourth ancestor. He speaks first of those from whom he was descended in a direct line by the male side; and afterwards of his maternal ancestors, of Cyrus his maternal grandfather, of Cambyses his great-grandfather, the father of Cyrus, and of Achæmenes his great-great-grandfather, or his fourth ancestor, if we put a Teispeus between Cambyses and Achæmenes. He does not speak of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, king of Persia, and his maternal uncle, as he was not one of his ancestors. Cambyses (that is, the ancient, the father of the great Cyrus, who transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians) is, in this genealogy of Xerxes, the son of Achæmenes, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος, whereas in I. cxi. Herodotus says that the father of this same ancient Cambyses, the husband of Mandane, and father of Cyrus, was not Achæmenes, but another Cyrus, ὥς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἶη παῖς τῆς

<sup>7</sup> Exercit. Plin. p. 1183.

*Ἀστυάγεω θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου* : so that the ancient Cambyses was not the immediate descendant of Achæmenes, not his son, but the son of a Cyrus, and merely one of the descendants of Achæmenes in a direct line by the male side. We know not, however, by how many descents, for we do not find in the ancient authors whose son this Cyrus (the father of the ancient Cambyses) was, though we learn from Stephanus the geographer that Achæmenes was the son of Ægeus.

“How many difficulties does this genealogy offer? But may we not conclude that Xerxes, after having named his paternal ancestors regularly from father to son (or rather from son to father), passes suddenly to his maternal ancestors, and makes an abridged enumeration of them so as to trace back to Achæmenes; and that in this enumeration he omits the least illustrious, in his impatience to name Achæmenes; that *τοῦ Κύρου* does not signify ‘the son of Cyrus,’ but only ‘one of the descendants of Cyrus’ (for in fact Xerxes was not the son of Cyrus, but only son of the daughter of Cyrus), and likewise that *τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος* does not signify that Cambyses the ancient was the ‘son’ of Achæmenes, but only ‘one of the descendants’ of Achæmenes.

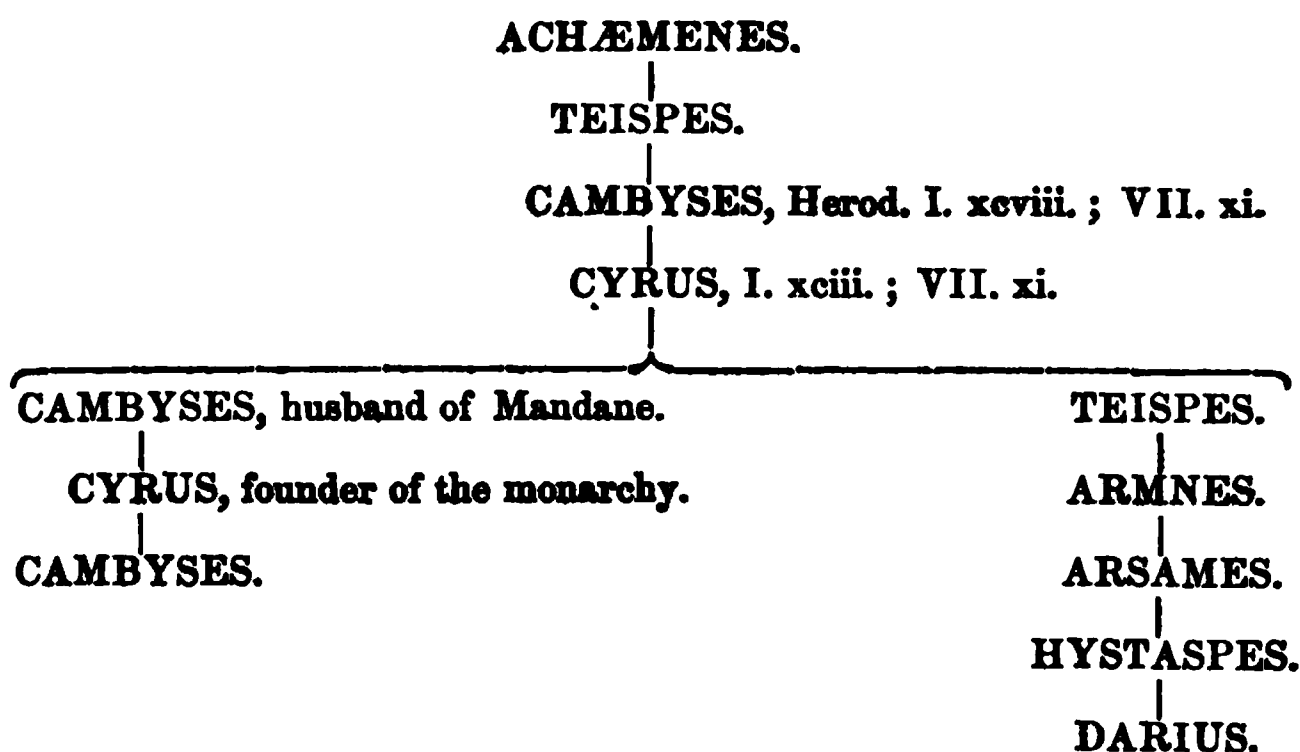
“Cyrus the great, on account of his conquests, Cambyses the ancient, from having married Mandane the daughter of Astyages and mother of Cyrus, who transferred the empire of the Medes to the Persians, and Achæmenes, as having given the name of Achæmenides to a tribe or family which became the most illustrious amongst the Persians, deserved to be named in the maternal genealogy of Cyrus. Neither the mother of Xerxes, though daughter of the great Cyrus, nor the father of Cambyses the ancient, is named, because there was no circumstance which distinguished them; and for this reason, Xerxes passes at once to Cyrus his maternal grandfather, without naming his mother, and from Cambyses the ancient to Achæmenes, without mentioning the father of this Cambyses.

“Darius was the son of Hystaspes; he was the eldest son, and about twenty years old when Cyrus made war on the Massagetæ: Herodotus remarks, that he was left in Persia, because (although twenty years of age) he was not considered old enough to go to the war: Hystaspes was the son of Arsames, and was a prince of the family of the Achæmenides.”—BELLANGER.

28. *Τοῦ Κύρου. Cyrus.* M. Bellanger, in the preceding note, has endeavoured to prove that Darius was descended from Achæmenes only by the female side, and that consequently we should read *μηδὲ* before *τοῦ Κύρου*. Salmasius\* was also of this opinion. But Arsames, the grandfather of Darius, was undoubtedly of the family of the Achæmenides. Herodotus (I. ccix.) positively says so. The mistake into which these two critics have fallen, has originated in their taking the Cyrus here mentioned for the founder of the Persian empire, whereas

\* Exerc. Plin. ad Solini Polyhist. p. 833.

he was in fact his grandfather. The following is, in my opinion, the genealogy of this family; and I so find it, or very nearly, in Paulmier de Grentemesnil<sup>9</sup>, and in Thomas Gale<sup>1</sup>.



Æschylus<sup>2</sup>, in his tragedy entitled 'Persæ,' gives a very different genealogy. According to this poet, a Mede first governed the Persians, and his son succeeded him. After him came Cyrus. A son of Cyrus was the fourth. Merdis was the fifth. Artaphernes killed him. Maraphis was the sixth, and Artaphernes the seventh. At length, fortune favouring Darius, he was the eighth.

Stanley thinks that the two Median princes were Cyaxares and Astyages. It may be so. But according to this hypothesis, Æschylus should have named three, as it was Phraortes, the son of Deioces<sup>3</sup>, who conquered Persia. Neither can I agree with this writer in thinking, that Darius the Mede of the Scriptures, is Astyages, maternal grandfather of Cyrus. Darius the Mede reigned only over the Babylonians, and Astyages was only king of the Medes. Stanley recognises the Magus Smerdis, in Merdis. As to Artaphernes and Maraphis, this writer conjectures, that these two conspirators occupied the throne immediately after the assassination of the Pseudo-Smerdis; and that Darius, having put them to death, himself ascended the throne. For my own part, I prefer the conjecture of M. Schütz<sup>4</sup>, that some scholiast, wishing to explain the words οἷς τὸδ' ἦν χρέος, in the 774th verse, had added the names of the seven conspirators in three additional verses; that of these, two being lost, the third

Ἐκτος δὲ Μάραφης ἑβδομος δ' Ἀρταφρένης,

had remained, and from the margin got into the text. This appears to me the only way of justifying Æschylus.

29. Πέλοψ. *Pelops*. Pelops and his father Tantalus were originally of Sipylus, a little town on the frontiers of Phrygia and Lydia. Such

<sup>9</sup> Exercitat. in Opt. Auct. Græc. p. 30.

<sup>1</sup> In notis ad Herodot. I. ccix. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Æschyl. Pers. 762.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. I. cii.

<sup>4</sup> Æschyli Trag. vol. II. in excursu 2 ad Persas, p. 123. [See note 182, bk. I.]

is the opinion expressed by Euripides<sup>5</sup>. Apollodorus<sup>6</sup> says that Niobe, having quitted the city of Thebes, came to seek her father Tantalus at Sipylus.

In the time of Pelops, Phrygia was under the dominion neither of the Persians nor the Medes. It was<sup>7</sup> subject to Assyria. The Medes subdued the Assyrians, and were succeeded in their empire by the Persians. The Median and the Persian kings considered the ancient kings of Assyria not merely as predecessors, but as ancestors.

XVI. 30. Οὐ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματος πειθόμενος. *Did not comply with his first invitation.* Because, in Persia, it was a capital crime to sit on the king's throne. "Illis enim (Persis) in sellâ Regis consedissee capitale foret<sup>8</sup>."

31. Ἴσον ἐκείνο, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκριται. *That is as commendable, in my opinion.* "Sæpe<sup>9</sup> ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit: secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat."

"Sapientissimum<sup>1</sup> esse dicunt eum, cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem: proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet."

XX. 32. Τέσσερα ἔτια πλήρεια. *Four entire years.* Darius was employed three years<sup>2</sup> in making the necessary preparations for the war against Greece; in the fourth year, Egypt revolted<sup>3</sup>, and this prince died in the year following, which was the fifth after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes occupied four years in preparations, and in the course of the fifth put his army in motion. At length, after a very long march, he arrived at Sardis, where he wintered<sup>4</sup>. At the commencement of the spring, he advanced to Abydos<sup>5</sup>, and thence into Greece. It follows from this account, that Xerxes did not pass into Greece till the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon. This agrees very well with the statement of Thucydides<sup>6</sup>, who says, that this prince undertook his expedition in the tenth year after that battle.—WESSELYNG.

M. Bellanger thought that Diodorus Siculus<sup>7</sup> and Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>8</sup> were mistaken in placing the expedition of Xerxes in the archontate of Calliades, and in the first year of the 75th Olympiad. But those authors are perfectly right. We have but to remember that the Athenian year commenced with the Olympiads at the summer sol-

<sup>5</sup> Iphig. in Aul. 953.

<sup>6</sup> Apollodori Bibl. III. v. § vi. p. 168.

<sup>7</sup> The Persians were the successors of the Medes, and the Medes of the Assyrians. The latter possessed the empire of all Asia, and Troy was, according to Plato, (de Legibus, III. vol. II. p. 685, D.) under their dominion. We know little of Assyria but what we learn from Herodotus. Now, according to this historian, so far from Troy having been subject to the Assyrians, Lydia never became so even to the Medes, and Cyrus

appears to have been the first prince who subjugated Asia Minor.

<sup>8</sup> Quint. Curtius, VIII. iv. § xvii. vol. II. p. 587.

<sup>9</sup> Tit. Liv. XXII. xxix.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. pro Cluentio, xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. VII. i.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. xxxii.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. I. xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. i. vol. I. p. 403.

<sup>8</sup> Dion. Hal. IX. i. p. 536.

stics, only a little before the Peloponnesian war, according to the alteration of the calendar by Meton, and that the archons entered on their office at the commencement of the civil year, which began six months earlier. Thus Xerxes may have commenced his march at the beginning of the archontate of Calliades, or a little before it, and have arrived in Greece in the same archontate. The six first months of the office of this magistrate answer to the last six months of the fourth year of the 74th Olympiad, and the last six months of his archontate to the first six months of the first year of the 75th Olympiad.

With regard to the consuls whom these historians make to enter on their office at the same time with Calliades, we may remark that Diodorus Siculus follows the *Fasti Consulares* of Fabius Pictor, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus those of Cato, which differ from the preceding. It is therefore not surprising that the names of the consuls given by these two historians should not be the same.

33. Πέμπτῃ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῃ. *At the end of the fifth year.* M. Reiske<sup>9</sup> thinks that this should be rendered, 'quinto autem anno ex-eunte,' but he gives no reason for it. Νῦξ ἀντρά in Homer is interpreted by Eustathius<sup>1</sup>, τελειοῦται.

This expedition of Xerxes was predicted about eighty years before by the prophet Daniel, in the following words<sup>2</sup>: "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Græcia."

XXL 34. Ὑπὸ μαστίγων. *With whips.* Such was the military discipline of the Persians, many examples of which are to be found in Herodotus and Xenophon. A soldier thus treated, must have been insensible to honour.

XXIV. 35. Ἀντὰ ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. *He gave the order to dig through it.* If we may believe Plutarch<sup>3</sup>, Xerxes wrote to Mount Athos the following absurd letter: "Divine Athos, who liftest thy summit to the skies, do not oppose to my workmen hard stones difficult to cut through; or I will have thee cut down, and precipitated into the sea."

The canal was begun a little above Sana, that town being thus enclosed in the island, which, before the works undertaken at the orders of Xerxes, was a peninsula. Thucydides<sup>4</sup> positively asserts this.

XXV. 36. Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν. *Leuce Acte.* White coast. The southern promontory of Eubœa, 300 stadia distant from Sunium, was called Leuce Acte<sup>5</sup>. But the place which Herodotus now speaks of was on

<sup>9</sup> Miscell. Lips. Nova, vol. VIII. p. 461.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. X. 251. p. 892.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel xi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. de Ira cohibenda, p. 455, D.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. IV. cix.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 612, B.

the coast of the Propontis, and is mentioned by Lysias in one of his orations against Alcibiades<sup>6</sup>. Demetrius of Magnesia says, on the authority of Harpocration<sup>7</sup>, that there being several Whitecoasts, Lysias, in this passage, means that of the Propontis.

XXVI. 37. Τῆς ἀγορῆς. *The public square.* Salmasius<sup>8</sup> reads ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκρῆς, 'from the citadel itself;' and he founds this upon the assertion of Xenophon, who says<sup>9</sup>, that the sources of this river were below the citadel. But the public square might be on that very spot.

38. Σιληνοῦ Μαρσύεω. *Of the satyr Marsyas.* Hyagnis, a Phrygian<sup>1</sup>, invented the flute at Celænæ. He flourished at the same time with Erichthonius, king of Athens, in the year 1506 before our era. Marsyas, his son<sup>2</sup>, succeeded him in the art of playing on this instrument: after much practice<sup>3</sup> he became proud of his proficiency, and ventured on a contest with Apollo, but was defeated. The god flayed him alive. Hyginus<sup>4</sup> relates, that Apollo delivered him to a Scythian to flay. "Apollo victum Marsyam ad arborem religatum Scythæ tradidit, qui cutem ei membratim separavit;"—according to the correction of Scheffer.

Scythians, executioners of public justice, were at a late period employed at Athens. I think that Hyginus here used a prolepsis, and that 'Scythæ,' in this sentence, merely signifies an executioner.

The punishment of Marsyas, according to Fortunio Liceti, is nothing more than an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre<sup>5</sup> the flute was esteemed the most delightful of instruments; but after the introduction of the lyre, the flute went out of fashion, and no longer made the fortune of the player. In those remote times, pieces of leather were circulated as money; and the flute-players then gaining very little, the poets feigned that Apollo, who played the lyre, had skinned Marsyas, the flute-player.

XXVII. 39. Ἀνὴρ Λυδός. *A Lydian by nation.* Pliny<sup>6</sup> says that he was a Bithynian, but he is mistaken. Plutarch<sup>7</sup> does not name this rich nobleman Πύθιος, with Herodotus, but Πύθης, gen. Πύθεω, acc. Πύθην. "They relate that the wife of Pythes, who lived at the time of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, was celebrated for her wisdom and good nature. Pythes had discovered some gold mines, and the riches which he drew from them were the objects almost of his adoration. His whole attention was absorbed by these mines, and he had no

<sup>6</sup> Lysias contra Alcibiad. p. 142, lin. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Harpocrat. Lex. voc. Λευκὴ Ἀκρὴ.

<sup>8</sup> Exerc. Plin. ad Solin. Polyhist. p. 580.

<sup>9</sup> Cyri Exp. I. p. 11. Ed. Hutchins. Oxon. 1735. 4to.

<sup>1</sup> Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Musica, vol. II. p. 1132, p. 1133, n.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. III. lix. vol. I. pp. 227, 228.

<sup>4</sup> Hygini Fabulæ, Fab. 165. p. 279.

<sup>5</sup> Hieroglyph. cxix.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXIII. x. vol. II. p. 628, lin. 16.

<sup>7</sup> De Virtutibus Mulierum, pp. 262, 263.



other care than that of turning their produce to account: he sent to them all the citizens of the city which he governed, and obliged them, without any distinction, to dig, carry, and purify the gold, leaving them not a moment's leisure to attend to their own concerns; so that many of them died, and the rest, worn down by fatigue, despaired of being able to bear up against it any longer. Their wives at length bethought them of entreating the wife of Pythes in their behalf. They went to her palace with branches in their hands, which they laid down before her door. The princess appeared, listened to their complaints, and gave them hopes of a change for the better. In the mean time, she sent for certain goldsmiths, in whom she had confidence, shut them up in an apartment of the palace, and ordered them to make loaves, cakes, fruits, and all those things which she knew that Pythes liked best, in gold. All being completed by the return of Pythes, who had gone on a journey, he asked for his supper. His wife led him to a table covered with all kinds of meats and provisions manufactured in gold; but there was nothing fit to eat or drink; all was gold. At first he surveyed with pleasure these artificial provisions; but his eyes were soon satiated with the glittering spectacle, whilst his stomach was yet craving. A second time he demanded something to eat; and his wife set before him all that he asked for, but still in gold. He became at length impatient, and cried out that he was dying with hunger. 'What do you complain of?' asked his wife; 'I give you such as I have. You have gold in large quantities brought, and nothing else; nobody here thinks of any thing but gold; their labour is employed only in amassing it: no one either sows, or plants, or reaps. No one cultivates the earth, no one endeavours to make that common mother produce the nourishment fit for man: we only ransack her bowels for useless riches: we destroy ourselves by this oppressive labour, and the strength of the citizens is exhausted.' This discourse made an impression on Pythes. He did not, however, renounce the immense treasures which his mines produced, nor did he cease to work them; but for the future he employed only a fifth part of the citizens, and commanded the rest to apply themselves to agriculture and the arts. When Xerxes approached the sea to pass into Europe, and make war on the people of Greece, Pythes, having given him a most magnificent reception, and made presents to all the army, entreated a boon of the king. 'Sire,' said he, 'I have several children; dispense with the attendance of one of them on this expedition, and permit him to remain with me to sustain my old age.' Xerxes was so irritated at this request, that he ordered the son in whose behalf Pythes had petitioned to be immediately put to death, his body to be cut in two parts, and placed on each side of the road by which the army was to pass. The other sons of Pythes he took with him, and they perished in various actions. So barbarous a treatment plunged Pythes into an abyss of sorrow; he became insupportable to himself, and, as happens to those who have neither courage nor strength of



mind, he was afraid to brave death, though he hated life. There was in the city a large bank or mound of earth, through which flowed a river called Pythopolites. He built a tomb on this bank, and turned the course of the river, so that it passed by the bank and washed the side of the tomb. The place of burial being thus prepared, he descended into it; and committing to his wife's care his city and his little territory, he forbade her ever to approach the tomb, but enjoined her to place his dinner every day in a small vessel, and let it descend with the stream; and to continue this till she should see the vessel pass the tomb with the victuals untouched, when she might be sure that he was dead. Thus did Pythes pass the remainder of his days."

40. Τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσείῃ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. *The golden plane-tree and the vine.* This vine<sup>9</sup> was afterwards carried away from the citadel of Susa by Antigonos, in the first year of the 116th Olympiad, 316 years before our era, and about 165 years after the interview of Xerxes with Pythius. As to the golden plane-tree, it was not so wonderful. It was so small<sup>9</sup>, according to Antiochus, that it could scarcely afford shade to a grasshopper. It should be remarked, however, that this Antiochus was deputed by the Arcadians to the great king, and that, piqued at the little esteem in which that prince appeared to hold his nation, he endeavours to depreciate him as much as possible; and for this reason is not to be confided in.

The Persians having set fire to the citadel of Athens, the olive-tree placed in the temple of Minerva, in testimony of the contest which had taken place between that goddess and Neptune with respect to that country, was consumed<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Xerxes made very favourable proposals to the Athenians, if they would treat with him<sup>2</sup>. Himerius, a declaimer of the fourth century, lays hold of these two circumstances, and says<sup>3</sup>: "I will require of Xerxes the plane-tree for the branch of Minerva, that the citadel may contain two trophies of that goddess; the one, which she obtained from Neptune, the olive-tree; the other, which she gained from the barbarians, the plane-tree." It is evident that Himerius alludes to this golden plane, which he desires should be required from Xerxes, because the sacred olive-tree of Minerva had been consumed. Theophilus, the son of Michael the stammerer, and emperor of the east, who was addicted to luxury, had improved upon this plane-tree of Pythius. He caused to be made<sup>4</sup> a tree of gold, on which were perched little birds, which, by means of tubes skilfully arranged, sang melodiously.

XXVIII. 41. Ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, χρυσοῦ δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεϊκῶν ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. *Two*

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. XIX. xlviii. vol. II. p. 355.

<sup>9</sup> Xen. Hellen. VII. i. xxvi. vol. III. p. 454.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VIII. lv.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ibid. cxl.

<sup>3</sup> Himerii Declamat. p. 43, lin. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Symeonis Magistri Annal. p. 416, c.

*thousand talents in silver and in gold, and four millions, wanting seven thousand, of Daric stateræ.* The talent is worth 225*l.* The 2000 talents are consequently worth 450,000*l.* The four millions of stateræ of gold are worth 14,000 talents of silver, that is to say, 3,150,000*l.* Thus the total of the riches of Pythius amounted to 3,600,000*l.*

XXXI. 42. Μίλι. *Honey.* M. de Méziriac<sup>5</sup> thinks that Herodotus means natural honey collected from shrubs. That is not his meaning. Δημοιοργοὶ were confectioners, who had the art of extracting honey from tamarinds and from corn. The term δημοιοργός is employed in this sense by Athenæus<sup>6</sup>; ἀνθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰ πέμματα δημιουργίαι. ‘Confectioners excel in that which regards pastry and sweetmeats.’ We find it also in the Apophthegms of Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρῶν βασιλίσσης Ἀδας ὄψα καὶ πέμματα παρασκευασμένα περιττῶς διὰ δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων φιλοτιμουμένης αἰεὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτόν . . . . ‘Ada, queen of Caria, wishing to give him proofs of her zeal, sent him all sorts of viands and pastry, prepared in a superior manner by the most excellent cooks and confectioners.’

The more I examine this passage of Herodotus, the less am I inclined to think that this honey was natural; on the contrary, it appears to me to have been a sort of artificial honey, a composition.

43. Κόσμος. *Ornamental attire.* Κόσμος signifies the ornaments peculiar to women; and Ælian<sup>8</sup>, paraphrasing this passage, says, necklaces and bracelets.

44. Ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρί. *To an immortal.* As we might say, to a guardsman. The immortals were a chosen troop of horse. Herodotus speaks of them more fully lower down. (lxxxiii.)

XXXIII. 45. Πρὸς σανίδα προσδιασσήλευσαν. *They crucified him.* I have decided in favour of this interpretation, on the authority of Hesychius, who says, speaking of σανίς: ἐπιτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. “The word σανίς is also used for the cross.” This arises undoubtedly from the little board which was placed above the cross, on which were inscribed the crimes of the sufferer, or sometimes only his name. The passage of Hesychius may also be explained, “They also place the σανίς or little board above the cross.”

XXXV. 46. Πελέων ζεύγος. *A pair of fetters.* Diogenes Laërtius<sup>9</sup> affirms that those who have written on the Magi, condemn Herodotus for saying that Xerxes ordered fetters to be thrown into the sea, since the Magi regarded the sea as a divinity. But Kühn very justly remarks, in his note on this passage, that the ancients, when they con-

<sup>5</sup> Mém. de l’Acad. des B. L. tom. IX. p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Daipnos. I. xiv. p. 18, D.

<sup>7</sup> Plut. Apophth. p. 280, A.

<sup>8</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. II. xiv. p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. Laërt. Proœm. ix. p. 7.

sidered themselves as having ground of complaint against their divinities, used them very roughly.

47. Στιζοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. *Branding the waters of the Hellespont.* As they used to brand a criminal. The actions which the Greeks impute to Xerxes appear greatly exaggerated; but this, I am persuaded, is to be traced to the hatred which his expedition against them had inspired. We know, too, the proverb of Juvenal, '*Græcia mendax.*' Had we the history of Persia written by the Persians themselves, we might be able to trace out the truth, even through the disguises in which they would probably have enveloped it.

We may remark that Herodotus does not affirm the circumstance here alluded to. Juvenal<sup>1</sup> has been equally reserved [or rather he contradicts the tale;]

Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit, Salaminæ relictâ  
In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis  
Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,  
Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum?  
Mitius id sane, quod *non et stigmat*e dignum  
Credidit.

48. Δολερῷ ποταμῷ. *Deceitful river.* It appears strange that Herodotus should give to the Hellespont the name of river. But the learned and ingenious author of the Journey to Palmyra, Mr. Wood, offers an excellent reason for this in his work, entitled "a Description of the Troad<sup>2</sup>."

"There is something remarkable in the epithet 'broad,' which is more than once given by Homer to the Hellespont: for it seems to be improperly applied to a sea, which is narrower than many rivers. And yet this poet is not singular in representing it in this light, for Orpheus speaks of the broad Hellespont. Eustathius and other commentators have endeavoured to explain this term, but in a manner, I think, not satisfactory. I shall therefore beg leave to offer a conjecture upon this head, which occurred to me upon the spot. When I was sailing upwards from the Ægean sea into the Hellespont, we were obliged to make our way against a constant smart current, which, without the assistance of a north wind, generally runs about three knots in an hour. At the same time we were land-locked on all sides; and nothing appeared in view but rural scenery: and every object conveyed the idea of a fine river, running through an inland country. In this situation I could hardly persuade myself that I was at sea; and it was as natural to talk of its comparative great breadth, as to mention its embouchure, its pleasant stream, its woody banks, and all those circumstances which belong to rivers only. The epithet 'swift-flowing,' or 'rapid,' which the poet applies to it (but never to any other sea),

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal. Sat. x. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Description of the Troad, pp. 320, 321.

shows that he considered it merely as a running stream ; and Herodotus, who visited the Hellespont with the curiosity of a traveller, actually calls it a river."

Mr. Chandler<sup>3</sup> is also of the same opinion.

XXXVI. 49. *Συνθέρτες*. *They fastened together*. "There were two bridges," says M. Wesseling in a note, "the first composed of 360 vessels, which presented their sides to the Euxine sea ; the second of 314, the heads of which were turned towards the Hellespont. The vessels of the first bridge were ranged side by side, and those of the second, end to end. The first bridge therefore must have consisted of a much larger number of vessels than the second."

Thus concludes M. Wesseling. It seems to me, however, that the direct contrary is to be inferred ; for if the vessels were, for example, sixty feet long and twelve wide, the second bridge, which presented only the heads of the vessels, must have had five times as many as the first, which was not the case.

But this is not the greatest difficulty. The vessels of the first bridge presenting their sides to the Euxine sea, and, thus placed, being incapable of resisting the currents of that sea, especially with a north wind, must necessarily have been driven out of their line, which consequently would have prevented the completion of the bridge.

"Since the Hellespont in the neighbourhood of Abydos," says Major Rennell<sup>4</sup>, "has a very considerable bend in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the eastward ; may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the angle just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their heads to the Euxine, in the other their sides, although the heads of both were presented to the current ? "

I cannot conceive how the vessels of the first bridge, which presented their sides to the Euxine sea, could at the same time present their heads to this sea, even if arranged transversely. Major Rennell seems also to be mistaken as to the placing of these vessels, as he says those of the second bridge presented their fronts to the Euxine sea, whereas Herodotus positively asserts that it was to the Egean sea.

I understand the matter thus : 1. The first bridge was constructed in a wider channel, as this bridge had the larger number of vessels, which presented their sides to the Propontis. The second must have been on a much shorter line, as it had forty-six vessels fewer ; and moreover these vessels presenting their heads to the Egean sea must have occupied a much smaller space.

2. At that season of the year, when these bridges were constructed,

<sup>3</sup> Travels in Asia Minor, III. pp. 10, 11.

<sup>4</sup> The Geogr. Syst. of Herodotus, p. 125.

the north winds did not prevail. It was not therefore necessary to oppose a very powerful resistance to the waves of the Propontis. For this reason, the vessels of the first bridge were arranged with their sides to the current. But as, at the same season, the south and south-east winds blew constantly, and it was necessary to guard against the waves of the Egean sea, the vessels of the second bridge were disposed so as to present their heads to that sea. By this arrangement, the waves of the Egean sea, in some degree weakened by having traversed a part of the Hellespont before reaching the line of vessels, were broken by the heads of the ships, which were the less likely to be driven away, as they were firmly anchored.

Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

50. Διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριχοῦ. *They left a free passage for the galleys in three places.* Ὑπόφασις signifies an opening which affords entrance to light; διέκπλοος ὑπόφασις, a passage which permits vessels to pass and repass.

Three passages were left in this bridge, for two reasons. The first, that the navigation of the small craft to and from the Euxine sea might not be interrupted; and the second, that the force of the current might be thereby diminished. Herodotus mentions only the former reason; the latter appears to me equally cogent: the more numerous these passages were, the less was commerce impeded; and the greater the number of outlets for the waves, the smaller would be their force.

XXXVII. 51. Ἐκλιπών. *Disappearing.* There was no eclipse at Sardis in this year; but there was a very remarkable one in the year preceding, 481 years before our era, on the 19th of April, as I have been informed by the late M. Pingré, of the Academy of Sciences. It therefore happened about the time of the departure of Xerxes from Susa. Herodotus, who had heard say that there was an eclipse at the time of the departure of Xerxes, imagined that it was on his departure from Sardis, which was a year later than that from Susa. Though Pythius might be alarmed, it does not follow that this eclipse did not happen till the moment of the departure from Sardis. And there is every reason to believe, that it was this terror that induced him, contrary to his natural disposition, which was avaricious, to make such magnificent presents to Xerxes, for the purpose of conciliating his favour, and disposing him to accede to his request.

XXXVIII. 52. Πρήξας τὰ νηέεις, νοστήσειας ὀπίσω. *May you come back successful in your undertakings.* This is an imitation of the 18th and 19th verses of the 1st book of the Iliad.

Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,  
Ἐκέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

' May the gods, who inhabit Olympus, by your hands overthrow the city of Priam, and happily bring you back again to your country ! '

XXXIX. 53. Τὸν χρῆν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι. *Who ought to follow me with all your family, and even your wife.* Πανοικίῃ, though really a dative, is here taken adverbially, in the same manner as σιγῇ, which we find every where, and πανστρατιῇ, which is employed by Herodotus, l. lxii.

54. Ἀξίην. *The rewards.* With ἀξίην and ἐλάσσω we must understand τιμὴν, or some other equivalent substantive. Τιμὴ is taken either in a good or a bad sense, according to the occasion. All the authors abound in this mode of expression. One example will suffice. Lucian says<sup>5</sup>, ὥς ὑπόσχη τὴν ἀξίαν ὧν δέδρακε. 'That he may undergo a punishment proportioned to his actions, and that he may receive the reward of his crimes [his desert].'

55. Μέσον διαταμεῖν. *To cut him in two.* "At<sup>6</sup> quanto Xerxes facilius? qui Pythio, quinque filiorum patri, unius vacationem petenti, quem vellet, eligere permisit: deinde quem elegerat, in partes duas distractum ab utroque viæ latere posuit, et hanc victimâ lustravit exercitum.

XL. 56. Ἀναμιξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι. *Pell-mell, without distinction.* Herodotus does not mean to say that these troops were wholly without order, but that the soldiers were not classed according to their respective nations. It was nearly the same as in our regiments, in each of which we find soldiers from all provinces. Our historian makes this remark, because in the Greek armies each distinct people formed a separate corps, which was subdivided into smaller bodies, according to the number of tribes it comprised.

57. Πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον. *The great plain of Media called the Nisean plain.* In this plain were superb studs of horses, to the number of 150,000. Alexander<sup>7</sup>, on his return from India, had the curiosity to go to see them. There were then but 50,000, the rest having been carried off by robbers.

XLI. 58. Κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες. *Holding the point upwards.* This is what Herodotus means by the words, "according to custom." He here opposes this thousand men to the thousand mentioned in the preceding paragraph, who carried the points of their pikes downwards.

59. Ποιὰς χρυσέας. *Pomegranates of gold.* In the Greek there is καὶ μῆλα; but it is necessary to repeat χρυσέα, which occurs before. Had there been any difficulty in this, Athenæus would have removed it<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian. Piscator, XIV. vol. I. p. 586.

<sup>7</sup> Arriani Exped. Alex. VII. xiii. p. 505.

<sup>6</sup> Seneca de Ira, III. xvii. vol. I. p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. ii. p. 514, B.

Ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἔχοντες. 'They have apples of gold at the lower extremity of their pikes.'

XLIII. 60. Τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον. *The Pergamum of Priam.* Pergamum was the name of the citadel of Troy. Herodotus adds 'of Priam,' to distinguish it from the city of Pergamum in Mysia, which was afterwards the capital of a kingdom, and from Pergamum, a city of the Pierians.

[Homer writes ἡ Πέργαμος: the adoption of the neuter Πέργαμον belongs to a later age. Pergamus was the acropolis of Troy.]

61. Τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι. *Minerva of Ilium.* Minerva Ilias, in the Greek. She had a temple in the citadel, as we learn from Homer<sup>9</sup>. She was held in great veneration throughout the country. Alexander the Great, on his visit to Troy, offered up sacrifices to her<sup>1</sup>.

We here perceive a palpable difference between the honours rendered by the Magi to Minerva, whom they considered as a divinity, and those which they paid to heroes who had been only men. To the former they offered sacrifices; to the latter they only poured libations.

An objection may be here taken against Herodotus. This historian has elsewhere observed (I. cxxxii.), that the Persians in their sacrifices poured no libations in honour of the gods. On this occasion, however, they do so in honour of heroes. It is easy, I think, to clear him from the charge of self contradiction. In I. cxxxii. he speaks of the religion of the Persians, and of the rites which they observed. But here the Persians being in a foreign country, and feeling the necessity of conciliating the favour of the gods of the Greeks, they considered themselves bound to imitate that people in their form of worship. Perhaps, too, they thought by this compliance to attach to them more strongly those Greeks who were fighting under their banners. What is in my opinion a sufficient proof that they practised the Grecian rites with no other view, is, that Mardonius<sup>2</sup> employed Hegesistratus to sacrifice in the Greek method, that he might know whether he should give battle. But vexed that the entrails of the victims did not promise him success in case he commenced the attack, and being resolved at all events to force the enemy to action, he turned his back upon the Greek auspices, and followed the customs of his country<sup>3</sup>.

XLIV. 62. Προξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ. *A tribunal of white marble.* On this mound or hill were placed seats for the nobles who were to accompany Xerxes, and another much more elevated, of white marble, for the king. This is what is meant by προξέδρη.

XLV. 63. Ἐδάκρυσεν. *He shed tears.* The reflection made by Xerxes on the sad end of so many thousands of men, revive in his

<sup>9</sup> Homeri Iliad. VI. 88.

<sup>1</sup> Arriani Exped. Alex. I. xi. p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. IX. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. xl.



breast some sentiments of humanity ; but ambition soon re-asserts its supremacy, and overpowers those better feelings. I greatly doubt whether Valerius Maximus has guessed the real source of the tears of Xerxes, and I think there is a dash of malice in what he says of them<sup>4</sup> : “ Qui mihi specie alienam, revera suam conditionem deplorassee videtur ; opum magnitudine, quam altiore animi sensu felicior.” I am much better pleased with what Pliny the younger writes in his letter to Caninius<sup>5</sup> : “ Tam angustis terminis tantæ multitudinis vivacitas ipsa concluditur, ut mihi non veniâ solum dignæ, verum etiam laude, videantur illæ regiæ lacrymæ. Nam ferunt Xerxem, cum immensum exercitum oculis obiisset, illacrymasse, quod tot millibus tam brevis immineret occasus.” M. Wesseling thinks differently.

XLVI. 64. Γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα. *Letting us taste the sweets of existence.* Γεύσας is he who offers any thing to the taste, γευσάμενος, he who tastes. For want of attention to this distinction, many have mistaken the sense of this passage. Valla has erroneously translated ‘ dulce gustans sæculum.’ This is absurd ; for the divinity manifests no jealousy by being happy, but by reserving this happiness to himself, and communicating to mankind but a slender portion of it, with which he seasons the numerous ills that mankind experience. The ancients for the most part believed that the gods, in their jealousy of man, reserved to themselves unmixed happiness.

XLIX. 65. Αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι. *Men are swayed by accidents.* This thought probably occasioned Sallust to say : “ Neque<sup>6</sup> regerentur magis quam regerent casus.”

66. Τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος. *Always led on by delusion.* Κλέπτεσθαι is to deceive one’s self without perceiving it. But τὸ πρόσω determines the kind of deception here meant.

67. Εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν, ἀρρώδεοι. *If he were to keep his fears for his deliberations.* “ Priusquam incipias, consulto : et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est’.”

68. LV. Ὁ σύμμικτος στρατός. *The main body.* This division was no doubt less numerous than Cornelius de Pauw apprehends, and may very well have passed in a single day and night. This is the body mentioned by Herodotus in xl., and very different from that which is spoken of at the close of xli. as having marched pell-mell.

LVI. 69. Ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον. *An inhabitant of the Hellespont,* “ When<sup>8</sup> with this Hellespontian you consider Xerxes happy, at the

<sup>4</sup> Valer. Max. IX. xiii. Ext. I. p. 860.

<sup>5</sup> Plinii Jun. III. Epist. VII. p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. I.

<sup>7</sup> Sallust, Catilin. I.

<sup>8</sup> Plut. de Animi Tranquill. p. 470, κ.

time when he is crossing the sea on a bridge of vessels, cast your eyes on those who are employed in cutting the canal through Mount Athos under the lash of the whip, and on those whose noses and ears were cut off, because a tempest destroyed this bridge of vessels; and consider that it is your life, your condition, that these people would find most happy."

70. [Ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους. *Conducting men of every race.* Such is the force of the expression πάντας ἀνθρώπους: it signifies not all mankind; but every kind of man.]

LVII. 71. Περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. *Running round himself.* This is an imitation of Homer, on which the reader may consult Eustathius<sup>9</sup>, and the Ionian Lexicon of Æmiliius Portus, under the word τρέχειν περὶ ἑωυτοῦ.

LVIII. 72. Τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσων. *Taking an opposite route.* The fleet, in order to sail out of the Hellespont, must necessarily turn its back upon the army, which was advancing towards the commencement of the isthmus and the city of Cardia.

73. Ἡλίου ἀνατολάς. *The rising of the sun.* The summer rising, as Paulmier de Grontemesnil has judiciously remarked.

LIX. 74. Τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες. *When they had drawn their vessels on shore.* As the vessels of those times were not so large as ours, they were drawn on shore, when it was deemed necessary to remain any time in one place. This practice, which had been in use from the time of the siege of Troy, as we find in Homer, continued during the most flourishing periods of Grecian history. We often find it mentioned in the Hellenica of Xenophon<sup>1</sup>. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ναῦς, οὖσας ἐννενήκοντα, ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. We may remark that this phrase is nearly parallel with that of our historian. The replacing of the vessels on the sea was expressed by the term κατέλκειν, or καθελκύσαι τὰς ναῦς. The same Xenophon, in the next paragraph of the same chapter, says, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας, and two lines lower down, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις, &c. Thucydides<sup>2</sup> and other historians likewise speak of this practice.

LX. 75. Ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. *One million seven hundred thousand men.* Though this prodigious number of troops may astonish us, it is by no means incredible. All the people under the

<sup>9</sup> Comment. in Hom. vol. II. p. 1264, lin. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. Hellen. I. v. vi. vol. III. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. VIII. xi. p. 513.

dominion of Persia were slaves, and were obliged to march without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or age were perhaps the only excuses admitted. Xerxes even says to Pythius, (xxxviii.) "Thou shouldst have followed me with thy wife and thy whole house." This Pythius was a very aged Lydian nobleman, who had five sons in the service of the prince, and who entreated him to leave behind the eldest to take care of him in his old age. Voltaire, therefore, was not justified in considering this account as a fable<sup>3</sup>, or in supposing that Xerxes must have had a hundred million of subjects, because he had an army of two million men. Our customs must not be the standard by which we judge of those of the ancients. The most reasonable objection that can be made to the account of Herodotus is, how so enormous an army could be provisioned? But this objection is anticipated by Herodotus. "We have with us," says Xerxes, "plenty of provisions; and as the nations against which we are marching, instead of being wandering hordes, cultivate the earth, we shall find in their fields corn, which we can appropriate to our own use." In other places Herodotus has entered into further details.

Authors differ greatly as to the number of the troops of Xerxes. Ctesias<sup>4</sup> assigns him 800,000 men, without reckoning the chariots; Diodorus Siculus<sup>5</sup> the same number; but he copies Ctesias. Ælian<sup>6</sup> reckons 700,000; Pliny<sup>7</sup> 788,000; Justin<sup>8</sup> 1,000,000, &c.

When we recollect that Herodotus was in a manner a contemporary, and that he read his history to the Greeks assembled at Olympia, among whom there must have been many who had been in the battles of Salamis and Plataea, we must regard him as more worthy of credit than later historians.

76. Αἰμασίην. *With a wall.* Αἰμασίη is strictly a wall built with unhewn stone, and without mortar or other cement.

LXI. 77. Πίλους ἀπαγέας. *They had caps not stiffened.* The Persians inhabited mountains, of which the climate was colder than the other countries of Asia which they had conquered; and moreover, had their caps been of wool, not worked into felt, they would have afforded them, throughout the campaign, but slender protection against the heat of the sun, and none at all against the rain. I therefore conclude that the text must be corrupt. We find in Xenophon<sup>9</sup> the term εὐπαγεῖς, which signifies 'compact;' but as this is an Attic word, I change it to εὐπηγέας, which we find in Hippocrates<sup>1</sup>, who wrote in the Ionian dialect, οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἔξεισι τὰ ἔμβρυα σαπέντα, ἦν μὴ ἰσχυραὶ αἱ μήτραι ἔωσι, καὶ εὐπηγέες. Thus πίλους εὐπηγέας are caps of felt

<sup>3</sup> Questions sur l'Encycl. tom. I. p. 94. p. 628, lin. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Ctesias in Persicis, xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. iii. vol. I. p. 416.

<sup>6</sup> Ælian. H.V. XIII. iii. vol. II. p. 856.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. H. N. XXXIII. x. vol. II. p. 174, lin. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Justin. Histor. II. x. p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> Xenoph. de Venatione, II. viii.

<sup>1</sup> Hippocr. de Mulierum morbis, I.

closely worked ; which will at once serve as a defence against rain, and the heat of the sun.

The scholia upon Plato, collected by M. Ruhnken, and published<sup>2</sup> since his death, explain Πιλήσεως τῆς διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐρίων πυκνώσεως γινομένης ἐσθῆτος.

[That the Persian cap was ἀπαγῆς, not stiffened, is rendered certain by the following words of the scholiast on Aristophanes (Av. 487): Πᾶσι Πέρσαις ἐξῆν τὴν τιάραν φορεῖν ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀρθήν· μόνον δὲ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρῶντο—τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθος καὶ ἐπτυγμένην καὶ προβάλλουσαν ἐς τὸ μέτωπον ἔχειν. 'All Persians were allowed to wear the tiara, but not erect. The king of the Persians alone had an upright tiara. The rest wore it bent and projecting over the forehead.' The costume of the ancient Persians, as represented on the monuments of Persepolis and those of Egypt, corresponds exactly in all points with the description of Herodotus.]

78. Ἀναξυρίδας. *Long trousers.* In Greek, ἀναξυρίδες. Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup>, speaking of the Gauls, says, "Their dress is magnificent. They wear tunics of various colours, and long hose, which they call breeches." Thus it seems that the Persians were not the only people who wore such clothing. The Gauls wore them, as we have just seen, and also the Scythians, if we may believe Ovid<sup>4</sup>:

Pellibus et laxis arcent male frigora braccis.

Xenophon<sup>5</sup>, describing the dress of Cyrus, represents him with trousers of a purple colour<sup>6</sup>.

79. Γέρρα. *Gerrha.* A kind of wicker shield, of the form of a rhombus.

80. Ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες. *The quivers beneath it.* Herodotus says that the Persians carried their quiver beneath their shield, because on a march it was the custom to carry the shield across their shoulders.

81. Καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, Ἀρταῖοι. *Their neighbours called them Artæi.* The Greeks anciently called the Persians 'Cephenes,' and the people who lived near the Persians called them 'Artæi.' This name applied to the whole nation, and not to a particular part of it. Had Major Rennell<sup>7</sup> attended to this, he would not have said that the Artacene of Ptolemy and the Ardistan of modern geography were the same with the country of the Persians.

82. [Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτέων καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, Ἀρταῖοι. *They were anciently called by the Greeks Cephenes, but by themselves and their neighbours, Artæi.* Herodotus goes on to say, that "After Perseus, the son of Jupiter

<sup>2</sup> Scholia in Platonem, Lugd. Bat. 1700, 8vo. p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. V. xxx. p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid. Trist. V. Eleg. vii. 49.

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. VIII. iii. xiii.

<sup>6</sup> See Perizonius ad Æliani Var. Hist. XII. xxxii. p. 772, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> The Geographical System, &c. p. 286.

and Danae, came to Cepheus, the son of Belus, and had his daughter Andromeda, a son was born to him, who was named Perses. Him Perseus left there, for Cepheus happened to have no male offspring. And from him (Perses) the Persians took their name."

The name Cephene is supposed by Von Hammer-Purgstall<sup>6</sup> to be derived from that of the hero Kiv, who is celebrated in the Shahnameh. This opinion is weakened, however, by the fluctuation of its author's views<sup>7</sup>. It is perhaps more to the purpose to remark that Cophen (from kufa, a hill,) was a very ancient name in Persia. If we suppose that the Cephene of the Greeks was a corruption of a derivative from Cophen, the name would then signify 'mountaineers' or 'hill-people.'

The national name Artæi admits of a more satisfactory explanation. The word 'arta,' as our historian elsewhere informs us, signified 'great'. It is manifestly, therefore, the Afghan word 'artah,' 'big,' or 'large'.

The etymology of the word Persia cannot be traced with any certainty. It is probable that the Greeks in referring it to the hero Perses, son of Perseus, erred in the same way, as if one were now to ascribe a common origin to the names Persia and Parsee. The hero Perseus was certainly connected by tradition (founded perhaps on mere resemblance of sounds) with the religion of Persia. Thus Statius says,

....Seu Persei sub rupibus antri  
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mitram.  
(Theb. I. 719.)

Cedrenus states<sup>8</sup> distinctly, that Perseus was the founder of the fire worship, 'ignis colendi ritum docuit.' This, therefore, justifies the opinion of Von Hammer-Purgstall, that Perseus is the hero called in the Shahnameh, Bersin, the author of fire worship, and consequently that his name is not etymologically connected with that of Persia.

To those who hold that the name Persia or Fars was derived from feras, 'a horse,' it may be objected that this word is not Persian, but Semitic. It would be natural enough for the Egyptians<sup>4</sup>, who were in immediate contact with Semitic nations, and for the Greeks, who derived so much of their early civilization from the Phoenicians, to call the equestrian nations of the east by a Semitic name; but we can hardly suppose a victorious nation to adopt a foreign name, and yet we find Pârs, Persia, and Pârsa, the Persians, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius<sup>5</sup>.]

LXII. 83. [Ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἀριοί. *Anciently all called them Arii.* The Medes, we are told, were called Arii till visited

<sup>6</sup> Wiener Jahrbücher, IX. p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. LIII. p. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VII. cl.

<sup>2</sup> Klaproth, Mém. Rel. à l'Asie, III. 159.  
p. 460.

<sup>3</sup> Cedrenus, I. p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Champollion, Gramm. Eg. I. p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Lassen, Altpers. Keil-inschr. pp. 150.

by Medea, who gave them her name. This, as well as the connexion between Perseus and the Persians, is evidently a Greek fable. The name of the Arii appears to have extended originally over all Bactria, but to have been confined in the time of Herodotus to the district of Herât and its neighbourhood. The Cissii, Κίσσιοι, named by our author a little lower down, were probably the inhabitants of Chusistan. The Hyrcanians occupied the mountainous country (now called Goorgan) on the south-east shore of the Caspian sea.]

LXIII. 84. Λινέους θώρηκας. *Cuirasses of linen.* Linen will resist the edge of iron or steel: "hi<sup>6</sup> casses (nempe e lino) vel ferri aciem vincunt." But how did they acquire this power? The linen was steeped in sour wine mixed with a certain quantity of salt. As many as eighteen thicknesses of this were laid on each other and worked together, as they make felt. No arrow could pierce a cuirass made in this manner. Such was that of Conrad, described by<sup>7</sup> Nicetas Achominates. These cuirasses being proof against steel, they were introduced into many countries instead of iron ones. "Mutavit<sup>8</sup> genus loricarum, et pro sertis atque æneis lineas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit."

[Armour of wadded linen was probably an Egyptian invention. It was used by the wild tribes on the Nile in the country now called Upper Nubia. They called these linen cuirasses, κάσαι<sup>9</sup>, which name probably suggested the 'casses' of Pliny. The same kind of defensive armour is still used in that part of Africa by the tribes which are removed a little from the ordinary course of change and innovation<sup>1</sup>.]

85. Οὔτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι. *The Greeks give them the name of Syrians, and the Barbarians that of Assyrians.* "When those<sup>2</sup> who write the history of the empire of the Syrians, say that the Medes were destroyed by the Persians, and the Syrians by the Medes, they understand only the Syrians of Babylonia, who constituted the empire of Ninus."

[LXIV. 86. Βάκτριοι δέ. *The Bactrians.* It hardly needs to be here stated, that the site of the ancient Bactria is marked by that of the modern Balkh. A little further on Herodotus names a Scythian tribe, Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους, and Von Hammer proposes<sup>3</sup> changing this latter name into Τουργίους, the Turks. But perhaps it would be better to consider the Amyrgii as the occupants of the valley of the Moorg-ab.]

87. Καλάμινα. *Cane.* It is a kind of reed, of which we make

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. i. vol. ii. p. 155, lin. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Nicetæ Choniastæ Imperium Isaaci Angeli, I. p. 247, A.

<sup>8</sup> Corn. Nepos, in Iphicrate, I. iv. p. 295.

<sup>9</sup> Agatharchides de Mari Rubro, in Hudson, I. p. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Rüppell, Reise in Nubien, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, XVI. p. 1071, B.

<sup>3</sup> Osman. Gesch. vol. I. p. 564.

walking-sticks. It is called bamboo. The Indians make bows and arrows of it to this day.

88. Κυρβασίας ἐς ὃξὺ ἀπιγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας. *They had felted caps terminating in a point.* The term πεπηγυίας indicates that the caps were of felt. Πιληθεὶς is used in the same sense; we find it in an inscription of Theodorus, a small fragment of which is given in Suidas, under the word σφαῖρα, and the whole of which is in the Anthologia published by M. Reiske, p. 44, and still more correctly by M. Toup<sup>4</sup>. M. Brunck, however, does not approve<sup>5</sup> of the correction of Toup. The first two verses of this inscription are as follows:

Σοὶ τὸν πιληθέντα δι' εὐξάντου τριχὸς ἄμνου,  
'Ερμᾶ, Καλλιτέλης ἐκρέμασεν πέτασον.

'Calliteles has hung up in honour of you, O Mercury, this winged hat, of lambs' wool well carded and fulled.'

89. Σάγαρις. *Sagaris.* A kind of hatchet peculiar to the Amazons<sup>6</sup>, which cut on one side only. The term Sakr signifies a hatchet in the language of the Armenians<sup>7</sup>.

LXV. 90. Εἴματα ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα. *Of cotton.* The Indians to this day wear garments of cotton, which their country produces in great quantities. It is found, likewise, in other places. "Superior<sup>8</sup> pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem aliqui gossipion vocant, plures Xylon, et ideo lina inde facta Xylina."

LXVI. 91. Πάρθοι δὲ, καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι. *Parthians, and Chorasmians, and Sogdians, and Gandarians, and Dadics.* Major Rennell places the Gandarians in Margiana<sup>9</sup>, because, in Isidorus, he finds the towns of Gadar<sup>1</sup> and Apabartica<sup>2</sup> between Nisæa and Antiochia of Margiana. Hence he concludes that the Gandarians occupied the country of Gadar, and the Aparytes Apabarticensa, and the rather because Herodotus (VII. lxvi.) gives the name of Gardarians to those whom he had elsewhere called Gandarians.

To this I answer, 1. That we must not pronounce on the identity of one people with another, merely from a conformity of name; for by so doing we should perplex geography with an infinity of errors. This proposition appears to me so evident, that I shall not proceed to prove it.

<sup>4</sup> Emendat. in Suidam, vol. III. p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. III. in notis, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph. Cyri Exp. IV. iv. x. vol. II. p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> See the Whistons, in the preface to Moses Chorenensis, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XIX. i. vol. II.

p. 156, lin. 7.

<sup>9</sup> The Geographical System, &c. p. 295.

<sup>1</sup> Isidorus Characenus, p. 7. inter Geogr. Vet. Script. min. vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Apabartica in Isidorus is an adjective which agrees with πόλις.



2. We find throughout Herodotus, the Gandarians, and never the Gardarians. All the editions of this author, the MSS. in the Royal Library, which I have myself consulted, those inspected by M. Wesseling, or by persons employed by him, have all Gandarians. What then becomes of Major Rennell's assertion?

3. If the Gandarians were a people of Margiana, as Major Rennell asserts, how shall we reconcile this with Strabo, who places them east of the Indus, or with Hecataeus, who places them on the western bank of that river?

[In early times the Gandaridæ occupied the country from Peshawer to the Indus, but the name of Gandara is given by later oriental writers to Candahar. The Dadicæ were probably the Tadjiks, a people of ancient Persian race, who are now widely scattered throughout the countries east of Persia. Von Hammer considers<sup>3</sup> them as the ancestors of the Germans or Deutsche, i. e. Tadschik. The Parthians occupied the north-eastern part of modern Persia, the Chorasmians Khawarism, which includes the modern Khivah; and still further east the Sogdians inhabited Sogd or Samarcand. Elsewhere (III. xci.) our historian tells us that the Sattagydæ, Gandarii, Dadicæ, and Aparytæ were united to form one satrapy. Major Rawlinson, it appears, has read the name Thatagush in the cuneiform inscriptions. This, which he considers as the Σατταγύδαι of Herodotus, he ingeniously traces through the various forms Αἰτύμανδροι (Ptolemy), Haetumat (Zendavesta), Ito-mand (Bundehesh), Hindmond (of the Arabs), and Hirmand or Hel-mund. He adds, that the modern Zhats of Candahar are probably the representatives of the Sattas, Thattas, or Hattas. The Aparytæ we are unable to identify, but feel justified in concluding that they occupied a part of the modern Afghanistan.]

LXVII. 92. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες. *The Caspians were clothed in a cloak of goats' skin.* The σισύρα or σισύρνα is a goat's skin with the hair on<sup>4</sup>.

[93. Σαράγγαι δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἔχοντες . . . . Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι τε ἔσαν. *The Sarangæ had garments of dyed cloths . . . The Pactyes wore cloaks of skins sewed together.* The Sarangæ are properly placed in Seistan. They have their name<sup>5</sup> from lake Zarah (Sanskrit, Hara), on the borders of which formerly stood the city of Zaranj or Zarang. Sharistan, a ruined city in the same country, owed its name perhaps to the tribe of the Sagartii mentioned by Herodotus. The Pactyes have given the commentators much trouble. Malte Brun places<sup>6</sup> Pactyica in Armenia; Rennell<sup>7</sup> in the heart of Persia; while Billerbeck sets it<sup>8</sup> at one time on the Indus, at another on the Oxus.

<sup>3</sup> Wien. Jahrb. LIII. p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See Ruhnken's Lex. Timæi ad Plat. p. 165; and Valckenaer, Animadv. in Ammonium, p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Burnouf. Le Yagua. app. p. 445.

<sup>6</sup> Ann. d. Voy. IX. p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> Geogr. Syst. p. 504.

<sup>8</sup> Diffic. Geogr. Herod. pp. 13, 14.

Perhaps the name Pactyes may be derived from pasht or pusht, 'a hill' (whence Pushtauneh or Pukhtauneh, the name which the Afghans give themselves), and so signify 'the hill people'. We suppose them to have occupied the hills north of the river of Cabul, and to have extended eastwards towards Kashmir.]

LXIX. 94. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ζειράς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἔσαν. *The Arabs wore garments which were full and spacious.* The Ζειραὶ were very full and loose garments, as we learn from Timæus, in his lexicon of the words of Plato. Χιτῶνες ἀνακεκολπόμενοι, according to the correction of the learned M. Ruhnken. Harpocraton also tells us that the Zeira or Seira was worn over the tunic.

These Arabs were probably Idumeans and Nabatheans. Those of Arabia Felix were never under the dominion of the Persians. The former extended from the confines of Judæa to the Heroopolitic and Elanitic gulfs. The latter, contiguous to the Idumeans, stretched out further to the east.

95. Τόξα δὲ παλίντονα. *Bows bent backwards.* The author no doubt means to point out some peculiarity in the bows of the Arabs. "This term in Herodotus (παλίντονα)," says Eustathius<sup>1</sup>, "means bent backwards. When he says that the Arabs had bows παλίντονα, 'bent,' he does not mean simply bent, as for ordinary use, but bent backwards, such as are now often seen amongst barbarous nations."

96. Λίθος ὁξὺς πεποιημένος. *A sharpened stone.* This stone is the 'smiris' of Dioscorides<sup>2</sup>. Σμίρις λίθος ἐστίν, ἥ τὰς ψήφους οἱ δακτυλιογλύφοι σμήχουσι. "The smiris is a stone used by the jewellers to polish precious stones." It is our emery, a sort of metallic stone used by armourers, cutlers, locksmiths, lapidaries, statuaries, &c. for the purpose of cleaning and polishing metal, or to assist in cutting glass, marble, and precious stones.

97. Εἰκὼ χρυσέην. *A statue in gold.* But we must read, εἰκοῦν χρυσέην, according to the following rule of Gregory of Corinth: τὰ εἰς ω λήγοντα, θηλυκὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς εἰς οὖν περατοῦσι. 'Nouns feminine ending in ω, make the accusative in οὖν.'

LXX. 98. Προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων. *The skins of horses' heads.* Προμετωπίδια are not here sheets of copper pierced for the ears and mane of the horse, as M. Reiske thought<sup>3</sup>. The Προμετωπίδιον is a kind of helmet, made of the skin of the head of any animal. This was very common, and especially among the Germans, as appears by the plates to the edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, published by Samuel Clarke, London, 1712, folio. It was the head armour of ancient times.

<sup>2</sup> Pott, Etymol. Forsch. I. p. lxxiii.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. III. p. 375, lin. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Dioscor. V. clxvi. p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Miscell. Lip. Nova, vol. VIII. p. 483.

Hercules applied to this purpose the head of the Nemean lion, as we find from the following verse of Valerius Flaccus :

Cleonæo jam tempora clusus hiatu  
Alcides <sup>4</sup>.

Virgil gives one of a wolf's head to Ornytus :

Caput ingens oris hiatus,  
Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis <sup>5</sup>.

The eastern Ethiopians had their heads covered with the skins of the heads of horses, torn off with the ears and the mane.

LXXI. 99. Ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι. *Javelins hardened in the fire.* The points of the javelins were hardened by means of fire. Homer, speaking of the weapon used by Ulysses to put out the eye of Polyphemus, says <sup>6</sup>,

Ἄφαρ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπυράκτεον ἐν πυρὶ κηλέφ.

Which Madame Dacier has well translated, 'J'en fis aussi-tôt durcir la pointe dans le feu.' But Pope much better,

Whose point we harden'd with the force of fire.

The poverty of the armour of the Libyans contrasts strongly with the costliness and elegance of that of the other people who accompanied Xerxes.

LXXII. 100. Κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. *Helmets woven.* The description of the helmets of the Paphlagonians is obscure enough. Xenophon gives a more detailed and more intelligible account of them, in speaking of those of the Mosynœci. "They" wear on their heads a leathern helmet, like those of the Paphlagonians, from the centre of which rises a tuft of horse-hair, which stands up in a point like a tiara."

LXXIII. 101. Τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. *They changed their name to Phrygians.* If the Phrygians are a modern people, as I have before contended, it will follow that the Armenians, who, according to Herodotus, were a colony of Phrygians, are much more so. But I have used the term only comparatively, and with reference to the Egyptians, whose antiquity is very remote. It may be that the Bryges passed from Europe into Asia, in very remote times, either from the restlessness incidental to people inhabiting a climate little favoured by nature, or owing to some revolution, of which, at the present day, we are ignorant. Established in Asia, they changed their name to that of Phryges; and when the country they inhabited became too populous, they sent

<sup>4</sup> Val. Flacc. Argonaut. I. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Virgil. Æneid. XI. 680.

<sup>6</sup> Homeri Odyss. IX. 328.

<sup>7</sup> Xen. Exp. Cyri, V. iv. § vi. p. 275.

forth colonies. And it was then, according to Herodotus, that they sent one to Armenia. Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word 'Armenia,' says likewise, that the Armenians came from Phrygia, and that their language greatly resembled that of the Phrygians.

But we shall perhaps do better to refer to Mar Ibas Cathina, a Syrian author, who flourished about 130 years before our era. This writer, who had been recommended by Valasarces, king of Armenia, to Arsaces, king of the Parthians, the conqueror of Antiochus Sidetes, had access<sup>8</sup> to the royal archives, and brought back to this prince a history of Armenia from the earliest times, written in the Chaldean language, and translated into Greek by order of Alexander the Great. This history makes no mention of a Phrygian colony, but that Haïcus, who is considered as the father and the founder of the Armenians<sup>9</sup>, passed with his partisans from Babylonia into the country which has been since called Armenia, where his successors reigned down to Aramus, his sixteenth descendant, who gave to his people the name of Arameans, or Armenians, and to the country, that of Armenia. Josephus is of the same opinion. "From Aramus," says he<sup>1</sup>, "came the Armenians, whom the Greeks call Syrians." This Aramus was, according to Moses Chorenensis, contemporary<sup>2</sup> with Abraham. To these authorities may be added that of Strabo<sup>3</sup>. "The Armenians, the Syrians, and the Arabians," says he, "have considerable affinity in their language, in their manner of living, and in the characteristic form of the body, more especially in those districts which border on each other . . . The Assyrians, the Arianians, and the Arameans (Armenians), have a resemblance not only to one another, but to the Mesopotamians. We may also say that there is some affinity in their names; for those whom we call Syrians, are by the Syrians called Armenians and Arameans."

M. Schroeder<sup>4</sup>, however, thinks that this resemblance in the terms of the Syrian, Arabic, and Armenian languages, mentioned by Strabo, applies only to modern times (by modern times, it is presumed he means those of Strabo); and he asserts that the ancient language of the Armenians was very different from those of the Syrians and of the Arabs. If this be the case, which we can scarcely doubt when avouched by so learned a man, it may be that the Armenians were a Phrygian colony, as Herodotus says. This opinion is supported likewise, as I have before observed, by the remark of Stephanus of Byzantium, that the Phrygian language had a considerable affinity with the Armenian. To settle this point satisfactorily, it would be necessary to have some work written in Phrygian, a thing which I should conceive not possible to be procured at the present day.

<sup>8</sup> Mosis Chorenensis Hist. Armen. I. pp. 12, 13.  
vii. et viii. p. 21, et seq.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. ix. et xi. p. 21, et seq. et p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Josephi Antiq. I. vi. § iii. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Mosis Choren. Hist. Armen. I. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, I. p. 70, B; p. 71, A.

<sup>4</sup> Schroeder, in Dissert. p. 52, in Grammaticâ sive Thesaurô linguæ Armeniacæ. Amstel. 1711. 4to.

LXXV. 102. Ἀλωπεκέας. *Foxes' skins.* Although the country to which these Thracians were transplanted was not so cold as that from which they had been driven, they retained their ancient customs. The description given by Xenophon of the dress of the Thracians of Europe is perfectly conformable to that which Herodotus gives of the dress of the Asiatic Thracians. We may remark that Xenophon had himself led succours to Seuthes their king, and therefore spoke of their dress as an eye-witness. "There fell a good deal of snow," he says<sup>5</sup>, "and the cold was so intense, that the water brought to drink at the repast froze, and even the wine in the vessels, and many soldiers had their noses and ears frost-bitten. We then found that the Thracians were right in wrapping up their heads and ears in fox-skins, and in wearing when on horseback, instead of the chlamys, tunics which cover not only their breasts but their thighs, with long robes which hang down to their feet."

Montfaucon fancies a wide difference between the account given by Herodotus and that of Xenophon; for the latter, according to Montfaucon<sup>6</sup>, says, that the Thracians wore on their heads fox-skins, whereas the former speaks of foxes. We cannot easily imagine how this critic could impute to Herodotus so palpable an absurdity. Ἀλωπεκέη signifies the skin of a fox, δορὰ being understood.

103. Πέλτας. *Light shields.* Those who carried these shields were termed 'peltastæ.' The buckler of the heavy-armed troops was difficult to manage. Iphicrates substituted<sup>7</sup> the pelta for it, about the third year of the 101st Olympiad, 377 years before our era. From that time we find no mention of 'hoplitæ' amongst the Greek troops.

LXXVI. 104. Ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοτῖνας εἶχον. *They carried shields covered with untanned cowhide.* This cannot refer to the Asiatic Thracians, as he had just before been speaking of their origin, of their commander, and of their arms. Neither can it concern those of Europe, of whom he speaks in clxxxv. I therefore think with De Pauw, that there is a chasm here, and that the name of the nation and that of its commander are wanting. The late M. Wesseling suspected that it was the Chalybes, because these people had also an oracle of Mars, and because they were neighbours of the nations he had been here speaking of, as we see in I. xxviii.

105. Προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας. *Two javelins of the make of Lycia.* The ancients frequently denominated different species of weapons from the country where they were made. The best arms are the cuirass of Attic make, θώραξ Ἀττικουργής; the helmet of the Bæotic make, κράνος Βοιωτιουργές; the πῖλος (an ornament for the head, a sort of helmet or cap), and the Laconic poniard, or of the make of Laconia, the Argolic

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Anab. VII. iv. § ii. p. 414.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XV. xliv. vol. II. p. 36;

<sup>6</sup> Antiquité Expliquée, IV. i. pp. 28. Corn. Nepos, in Iphicr. I. iii. p. 295.

buckler, the Cretan bow, the Acarnanian sling, the Ætolian dart, the Celtic sword, or sword of the Celtæ, and the axe of the Thracians<sup>8</sup>. The Thracians spoken of in this paragraph wore armour nearly similar to that of the Lycians, or rather of the Cilicians their neighbours. They each carried small shields made of ox-hides undressed, and two boar-spears. The Cilicians also carried small bucklers or targets of undressed ox-hides with the hair, and each of them two darts or javelins (VII. xci.). Athenæus<sup>9</sup> quotes the words *προβόλους δύο λυκιοεργήσας*, from the 7th book of Herodotus, and says that they were javelins proper for hunting the wolf, and made in Lycia. He expresses at the same time two significations, 'darts for hunting the wolf,' and 'darts made in Lycia.' [Thus appearing to confound two similar words, *λυκοεργέας* and *Λυκιοεργέας*.] He adds, that, according to the grammarian Didymus, they were darts made by a certain Lycius, who was a Bœotian, the son of Myron the statuery, according to Polemon, in his first book on the Citadel of Athens; but that apparently the grammarian was ignorant that there are no words so compounded of the proper names of men, whereas there are many compounded of the proper names of cities and nations.—BELLANGER.

LXXVII. 106. *Καβηλῆες δὲ οἱ Μητόρες. The Mæonian Cabalians.* These people appear to be the same with the Cabalians of III. xc. The inhabitants of Cabalis, a city situated near Cibyra, to the south of the Mæander, according to Hecatæus (as cited by Stephanus, under the word *Καβαλῖς*), were called *Καβαλῆες*: and according to Strabo<sup>1</sup>, who speaks of the country Caballis, the people were called *Καβαλλεῖς*<sup>2</sup>.

The Cybaritæ, who formerly occupied Cabalia, were<sup>3</sup> descended from the Lydians, who were themselves Mæonians. Yet, as it appears by the passage of Strabo above cited, that it was the Cybaritæ, or rather Cibyratæ, who were descended from the Lydians, and not the Cabalians, I am of opinion that Herodotus meant to speak of three different nations, the Cabalians, the Mæonians, and the Lasonians. Though the Lydians formerly bore the name of Mæonians, Mæonia nevertheless was anciently distinguished from Lydia. What favours my conjecture is, that it appears from Alexander Polyhistor, as cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, under the word *Καβαλῖς*, that the Cabalians were originally of Olbia. He does not indeed say which city of Olbia he means, and there were nine of the name. But as Strabo relates<sup>4</sup> that there were those who asserted that the Cabalians were Solymi, and that there was in the territory of this latter people a city of Olbia, we may conclude that these people were originally of Olbia of the Solymi: yet, as Hero-

<sup>8</sup> Jul. Pollux, I. x. segm. 149, p. 101. Herodotus.]

<sup>9</sup> Deipnos. XI. xi. p. 488, D, E, F. [Schweighäuser has rejected these words from the text of Athenæus, who says, lower down, that we ought perhaps to read *Λυκιοεργέας* for *λυκοεργέας* in He-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 934, c.

<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 935, A.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* c.

<sup>4</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 935, A.



dotus adds that they were armed in the Cilician fashion, and as we know that there was a city of Olbia in mountainous Cilicia, I am more disposed to think that the geographer Stephanus means that city. In fact, whence should they have this kind of armour, but from their mother country? At all events, it appears from the passage of this geographer, that the Cabalians were not Mæonians by origin. I would therefore read in Herodotus, Καβηλλέες δὲ καὶ οἱ Μήονες, the Cabalians and the Mæonians.

I may add, that if the Lasonians were one and the same people with the Cabalians, as the learned Valckenaer conjectures, Herodotus could not have said *τουτέων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης*: 'Badres commanded all these nations.' Which certainly supposes that there were more than two; three even would scarcely suffice to justify this expression.

LXXX. 107. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα. *The nations of islanders who followed from the Erythrean sea.* These were the inhabitants of the islands of the Persian gulf. These islands, which were very numerous, were under the government of the Persians. They stretched along the coasts of Caramania and Persia. There are very few islands in the Red Sea, and they were at too great a distance from Persia to have been ever conquered by its kings.

108. Τοὺς ἀνασπάστους. *Those removed.* The Hyrcanians<sup>5</sup> were transplanted into Lydia near to Sardis, the Barceans<sup>6</sup> into Bactriana, the Eretrians<sup>7</sup> into Cissia, and the Pæonians<sup>8</sup> into Phrygia; but I can find no people who were transported to these islands. Ἀνάσπαστος therefore must not be understood of a people removed from one country to another, but of individuals banished by order of the prince. Ctesias<sup>9</sup>, speaking of Megabyzes, uses this expression, τοῦ μὲν θανάτου ῥύεται, ἀνάσπαστος δὲ γίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐν τινὶ πόλει ὀνόματι Κύρται. 'His life was spared, but he was banished to Cyrtæ on the Red Sea.'

LXXXII. 109. Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. *Megabyzes, the son of Zopyrus.* This Megabyzes has been already mentioned in bk. III. clx. He was son of the famous Zopyrus, whose actions are recorded by Herodotus in clii. and following of the same book. He had a son named Zopyrus.

LXXXIII. 110. Χωρὶς δὲ, χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες. *Besides, they had an immense quantity of gold.* "Illi<sup>1</sup> aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant."

LXXXVI. 111. ὄνοι ἄγριοι. *Wild asses.* ὄνος ἄγριος or ὄναγρος is the same animal. Many authors have spoken of the onager; but no

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 933, B.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. IV. cciv.

<sup>7</sup> Id. VI. cxix.

<sup>8</sup> Id. V. xcvi.

<sup>9</sup> Ctesias apud Phot. Cod. LXXII. p. 124, lin. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Quint. Curtius, III. iii. § xiii. p. 75.



one of them has given a more exact and detailed description of it than Philostorgus, in his Ecclesiastical History<sup>2</sup>. "This country (the East) possesses a kind of wild ass of a very high stature, the skin of which is curiously variegated with black and white, in zones or bands which extend from the spine of the back to the ribs and belly. They separate at this part, and form together circles mutually intertwined, presenting to the eye an appearance beautiful and wonderful from its variety." Oppian likewise, in his poem on the Chace (I. 183), gives a description of it. By comparing these descriptions with that of the late M. de Buffon<sup>3</sup> we shall find that this animal and the zebra are the same. M. Schneider, in his notes on Oppian, makes the same remark, citing in support of it the above authorities, to which he adds several others.

[The onager or wild ass which is here described is quite distinct from the zebra, although some resemblance may be traced between them. The former inhabits the plains of Central Asia; whereas the zebra is peculiar to Southern Africa.]

112. Λιβυες. *The Libyans*. It cannot be the Libyans who are meant here. The text is manifestly corrupt. I am inclined to think we should substitute the Ægli, whom Herodotus places adjacent to the Bactrians (III. xcii.).

113. Κάσπειροι. *The Caspians*. As the Caspians have been mentioned a little before, some other people must here be intended. In lxviii. Herodotus joins the Outii and the Myci to the Paricanii. Which of these two nations the Caspians have taken the place of, M. Wesseling will not venture to decide.

Cornelius de Pauw here reads 'the Arians;' but this conjecture is disapproved of by M. Wesseling, and I think with reason. In fact, between the Arians and the Saci, there are the Bactrians, the Aparytæ, Margiana, and Sogdiana. I think, with Major Rennell<sup>4</sup>, that it should here be Casia, which answers to the kingdom of Cashgar.

LXXXVII. 114. "Ἀτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους. *Inasmuch as horses cannot endure camels*. Herodotus has said (I. lxxx.) that the horse can bear neither the sight nor the smell of the camel; and that Cyrus was indebted for the victory which he obtained over the Lydians, to the single circumstance of having opposed his camels to the Lydian cavalry. The horse, when accustomed to the figure and the smell of the camel, no longer feels that terror of him which he did at first.

LXXXIX. 115. Ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσια καὶ χίλια. *Twelve hundred and seven*. According to Herodotus, and the poet Æschylus<sup>5</sup>, who

<sup>2</sup> Philostorgii Hist. Eccles. III. xi. p. 494.

<sup>4</sup> The Geogr. Syst. of Herodotus, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> Histoire des Animaux, XII. p. 7, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Æschyl. in Pers. 339, et seq.

was contemporary with him, the Persian fleet amounted to 1207 vessels ; and according to Diodorus Siculus<sup>6</sup>, to more than 1200. The enumeration of these writers is as follows :

ENUMERATION OF HERODOTUS.

Phœnician vessels	.	.	.	.	.	.	300
Egyptian	.	.	.	.	.	.	200
Cyprian	.	.	.	.	.	.	150
Cilician	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
Pamphylian	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
Lycian	.	.	.	.	.	.	50
Dorian	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
Carian	.	.	.	.	.	.	70
Ionian	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
Islanders	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
Æolian	.	.	.	.	.	.	60
Hellespontian	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
Total							1207

ENUMERATION OF DIODORUS.

Greek vessels	.	.	.	.	.	.	320	} Vessels of Barbarians.
Dorian	.	.	.	.	.	.	40	
Æolian	.	.	.	.	.	.	40	
Ionian	.	.	.	.	.	.	100	
Hellespontian	.	.	.	.	.	.	80	
Islanders	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	
							310	
Egyptian	.	.	.	.	.	.	200	
Phœnician	.	.	.	.	.	.	300	
Cilician	.	.	.	.	.	.	80	
Carian	.	.	.	.	.	.	80	
Pamphylian	.	.	.	.	.	.	40	
Lycian	.	.	.	.	.	.	40	
Cyprian	.	.	.	.	.	.	150	
Total							1200	

The amount belonging to the different nations varies. Besides, Diodorus says that the Greeks had 320 vessels, whereas his enumeration gives but 310. These errors must be imputed to the copyists.

116. Χηλεντά. *Of woven rushes.* Hesychius explains the words κρά-

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. IX. iii. vol. I. p. 406.

νεα χηλεντὰ by πλεκτὰ ἐκ σχοίνου, 'woven with rushes.' I have preferred this interpretation to that of Laurentius Valla, who translates 'cassides forcipiculatas,' which has been preserved by Gronovius.

117. Τὰς ἴνυς. *The edges of which.* Ἴνυς is the edge or border of a shield. Suidas has very clearly explained it: ἴνυς· περιφέρεια ὅπλου. "Ἴνυς" is the rim of the shield.' And he cites the following passage of Xenophon, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἴνυος<sup>7</sup>, 'he catches hold of the edge of his shield. It appears to me extraordinary that any one should have been mistaken as to the meaning of this word, since Suidas quotes also two verses of an epigram of Mnasalcas, in which the edge and the middle of the shield are both mentioned, the ἴνυς and the ὀμφαλός, as being much worn by long service in war.

This edge was iron, and for this reason Polybius<sup>9</sup> calls it σιδηροῦν σιάλωμα, 'ambitus scuti ferreus.'

The pikes, mentioned immediately afterwards, were probably long pikes used to push the vessels off from the shore, and to prevent boarding.

XC. 118. Κιθῶνας. *Shawls.* In the Greek, "The kings had their heads covered with a mitre, and the rest wore tunics," κιθῶνας; which is nonsense. Corn. de Pauw asks jestingly if the Cyprians covered their heads with tunics. He alters the text, and substitutes κιτάριας for κιθῶνας; a very slight alteration, and which appears founded on Julius Pollux, (X. segm. 162.) who cites κίταριν as from Herodotus. M. Wesseling, from whom I borrow this note, would have approved this change, had not the 'citaris' been peculiar to the Persians. But the Cilicians might have adopted this article of dress from the Persians.

XCI. 119. Λαισήϊα. *Little shields.* They were very light; Homer<sup>1</sup> calls them λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα, winged shields. The grammarian Herodian pretends that all defensive arms are called λαισήϊα, because held in the left hand, διὰ τὸ ἐν λαιᾷ φέρεσθαι χειρὶ. But the contrary has been proved.

120. Κάλχαντι. *Calchas.* Every one has heard of Calchas, but perhaps few of his end. Mopsus<sup>2</sup>, the son of Manto and Apollo, on his mother's death, had by right of succession the oracle of Apollo at Claros. About the same time, Calchas, who had been wandering about delivering oracles ever since the siege of Troy, arrived at Colophon. The two prophets disputed for a long time; but at length Amphimachus, king of Lycia, terminated their differences: for Mopsus forbade him to depart for the war, predicting that he would be beaten, and Calchas on the contrary exhorted him to go, with promises of victory:

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, voc. ἴνυς.

<sup>8</sup> Xenophon, Cyri Exped. IV. p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> Polyb. VI. xxi. vol. I. p. 652.

<sup>1</sup> Homeri Iliad. V. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Conon. Narrat. VI. p. 249.

Amphimachus being entirely defeated, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas killed himself.

XCII. 121. [Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο. *The Lycians were* (anciently) *called Termilæ*. The name Termilæ or Tremilæ has been read with tolerable certainty in the ancient Lycian inscriptions copied by Mr. Fellows<sup>3</sup>.]

XCV. 122. Νησιῶται. *The islanders*. These Ionian islanders can be neither those of Chios, nor those of Samos; for these latter assembled at the Panionium, and formed part of the twelve cities; whereas the islanders here mentioned had no right in that assembly. Diodorus Siculus<sup>4</sup> also joins the inhabitants of Samos and Chios with the Ionians, and he separates the islanders in the same manner as Herodotus. Who, then, can they be? This same Diodorus informs us. "The king," says he<sup>5</sup>, "had joined in his armament all the islands between the Cyaneæ and the promontories Triopium and Sunium. These were, therefore, the islands of Ceos, Naxos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Ionian, and colonised by the Athenians, as we find in Herodotus (VIII. xlv. xlviii.), and in Thucydides (VII. lvii. where, however, instead of Τήϊοι, we must read Τήνιοι, the inhabitants of Tenos).—VALCKENAER.

XCVII. 123. Κέρκουροι. *The cercuri*. The cercurus was a peculiarly long kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians<sup>6</sup>.

XCIX. 124. Ἀρτεμισίη. *Artemisia*. If we are to believe Ptolemy son of Hephæstion, who has mixed up much fable with some truth, "Artemisia, the daughter<sup>7</sup> of Lygdamis, who accompanied Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, fell in love with Dardanus of Abydos; but finding herself despised by him, plucked out his eyes whilst he was sleeping. Her passion being but the more inflamed by the anger of the gods, she repaired to Leucas by order of the oracle, and precipitating herself from the top of the rock, was killed, and buried near the spot."

The rock Leucas<sup>8</sup> was so named from Leucas, the companion of Ulysses, who was killed by Antiphus. It is said that he erected a temple to Apollo Leucates. Those who leaped from this rock were said to be cured of love. The reason of this is as follows: Adonis being killed, Venus sought for him every where, and having found him at Argos in Cyprus, she carried him to the temple of Apollo Erithius, where she conversed with that god on the subject of her passion. Apollo conducted her to the rock Leucas, and told her to leap from it.

<sup>3</sup> Discoveries in Lycia, pp. 503. 506.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. iii. vol. I. p. 406.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. H. N. VII. lvi. vol. I. p. 418.

<sup>7</sup> Ptol. Hephæst. apud Phot. p. 492.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, ibid. lin. 2, et s.

Having followed this advice, she found herself cured of her passion. She inquired the reason of this; and Apollo told her, that Jupiter, who had always loved Juno, ceased to love her from the moment he sat down on that rock. Many others of both sexes were afterwards cured of their love, by leaping from the same rock.

The goddess, who was immortal, risked nothing by leaping from this rock; but a man either perished, or was so crippled that he was likely to be cured of his passion.

125. Τροιζηνίους. *The people of Trœzene.* The Trœzenians<sup>9</sup> say that their first king was called Orus, and that he was an aboriginal of the country; that, from his name, the country was call Orea: that afterwards Althepus, son of Neptune and of Leïs the daughter of Orus, having succeeded his grandfather, the country received the name of Althepia. . . . Saron succeeded Althepus. . . . The succession of kings from Saron to Hyperes and Anthas, who built the cities of Hyperæa and Anthia, is not known. Aëtius, the son of Anthas, changed the name of one of these cities, and would have it called Posidonia; but Trœzen<sup>1</sup> and Pittheus having come to Aëtius, the country had three kings instead of one; and the two sons of Pelops shortly became the most powerful. Pittheus, after the death of Trœzen, united the two cities of Hyperæa and Anthia, and made them one, which he named Trœzene, after his brother. Many years afterwards, the descendants of Aëtius, the son of Anthas, having received orders to conduct colonies to various places, founded Myndus and Halicarnassus in Caria. The sons of Trœzen, Anaphlystus and Sphettus, emigrated to Attica, where they gave their names to two towns. After the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus, the Trœzenians received into Trœzene certain Dorians of Argos, who came to settle among them; for they recollected having been themselves subject to the Argians.

C. 126. Τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν. *And the vessels having put to sea.* We have seen before (lix.), that the vessels had been dragged on shore; we here find them pushed out to sea again. The former operation was termed ἀνελκύσαι τὰς νεᾶς, the second, καθελκύσαι.

127. Τὰς πῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν. *All having turned the heads of their vessels to the land.* Μέτωπον τῆς νηὸς, is the prow of the vessel, as the scholiast of Thucydides<sup>2</sup> has explained.

CIII. 128. Ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος εἴη. *Take care that this be not vain-glory and boasting.* Μάρην, as well here as in a hundred other places, signifies, not 'frustra,' but 'falso.' Euri-

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. II. xxx. pp. 181, 182, 183.

III. xiv. vii. that Pittheus was the son of Pelops.

<sup>1</sup> I know only this one passage in which Trœzen is said to be the son of Pelops. We gather from Apollodorus,

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad II. xc. p. 158, col. 2, lin. 4.

pides in his *Hippolyta*<sup>3</sup> says, κομπάζειν μάτην, and in his *Hercules Furiosus*<sup>4</sup>, κόμποι κενοί, which are words full of vain boasting. Sotion in<sup>5</sup> Athenæus :

Ἄρεταὶ δὲ, πρεσβεῖαι τε, καὶ στρατηγαίαι,  
Κόμποι κενοὶ ψοφοῦσιν ἄντ' ὀνειδάτων.

'Valour, embassies, the command of armies, are vain-glorious, make a noise, and take the place of useful things.'

129. Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισί. *Against three Greeks at once.* This boasting of Xerxes was afterwards punished by Polydamas. Darius<sup>6</sup>, the natural son of Artaxerxes, and who ascended the throne by the favour of the Persian people, had heard speak of his extraordinary strength. Polydamas, being drawn to Susa by the king's promises, challenged three of the men whom the Persians termed immortals, fought against the three at once, and killed them all.

CIV. 130. Βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε. *He gave me house and fortune.* This prince gave him<sup>7</sup> the cities of Pergama, of Teuthrania, and of Halisarnia. Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, possessed them as late as the 95th Olympiad, and joined Thimbron, the Lacedæmonian general, who had passed into Asia Minor to make war on the Persians. Xenophon speaks of these two Lacedæmonians in many passages of his works.

Some of the posterity of this prince were still living at the time of Alexander's death<sup>8</sup>. Pythias, the daughter of Aristotle, had for her second husband Procles, one of his descendants, and had by him two children, Procles and Demaratus. These two young princes became disciples of Theophrastus, and it is probably this Demaratus that the philosopher<sup>9</sup> names in his will.

131. Νόμος. *The law.* "With the Lacedæmonians," says Plato<sup>1</sup>, "the law is the king and master, and men are not tyrants over the law. God," he adds<sup>2</sup>, "is the law of wise and moderate men : pleasure, that of madmen and such as are incapable of moderation."

CVII. 132. Βόγην. *Boges.* Pausanias calls him Boes, but that is an error. The city of Eion<sup>3</sup> being built on the banks of the Strymon, Cimon, the son of Miltiades, who was besieging it, turned the course of the river so as to wash its walls. As they were built of unbaked bricks, they were soon overthrown. This account of Pausanias appears to me to be false. Thucydides speaks also of this expedition of Cimon<sup>4</sup>, as does Æschines, whose words I shall quote, because he

<sup>3</sup> Euripid. *Hippolyt.* 978.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, *Hercul. Fur.* 148.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. *Deipnos.* VIII. iii. p. 336, F.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VI. v. p. 464.

<sup>7</sup> Xenoph. *Hellen.* III. i. iv. p. 128.

<sup>8</sup> Sextus Empiricus *adversus Gram-*

*matics*, I. xii. p. 271.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. *Laërt.* V. liii. p. 297.

<sup>1</sup> Pl. *Epist.* VIII. vol. III. p. 354, B, c.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, *ibid.* p. 354, E.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. VIII. viii. p. 614.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. I. xcvi. p. 64.

mentions the reward granted to that general. "Our generals<sup>5</sup>, after having run many and great risks, conquered the Medes on the banks of the Strymon. On their return to Athens, they demanded of the people a recompense. A very honourable one, according to the prevailing ideas of those times, was granted them. They were permitted to place three Hermæ of stone (statues of Mercury) in the portico of<sup>6</sup> Hermes, on condition that they should not have their names engraved on them, in order that the inscription might appear to be placed by the people, and not by the generals themselves. That engraved on the first of these statues was as follows :

"These men have shown their valour against the Medes, at Eion on the banks of the Strymon ; they were the first who found the means of reducing the enemy to despair, by famine and by the vigour of their attacks."

*Inscription on the second statue.*

"The Athenians have granted to their generals this honour, in recompense of their great actions and their valour, that future men on beholding this<sup>7</sup> may fight with greater ardour for the welfare of their country."

*On the third statue was written,*

"Menestheus, whom Homer represents as the first of men for arraying an army for battle, went from this city at the head of the Athenians to go to Troy with the Atridæ. It is therefore not without reason that the Athenians are renowned for their valour and martial virtues."

133. Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδεω. *Cimon the son of Miltiades.* This Cimon was grandson of the Cimon mentioned in I. xxxiv. xxxix. The ancients often named children after their grandfathers ; witness the following epitaph in dialogue, from the pen of Antipater of Sidon.

"A. Answer<sup>8</sup>, woman, who are you? B. Praxo. A. Who was your father? B. Calliteus. A. Of what country are you? B. Of Samos. A. Who raised this monument to you? B. Theocritus, my husband. A. How did you die? B. In the pains of childbirth. A. How old were you? B. Twice eleven years. A. Did you leave any child living? B. Calliteus, three years old. A. May he live to an advanced age! B. Traveller, may your fortunes be ever prosperous!"

134. Ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ. *When there were*

<sup>5</sup> Æschin. contra Ctesiphont. p. 80, by Taylor and Markland. They are lin. 1 et s. found in Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc.

<sup>6</sup> See Harpocration under the word vol. III. pp. 180, 181. No. clv. clvi. clvii. *Ἐρμαῖ*, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II.

<sup>7</sup> I have followed the changes proposed p. 30. No. lxxxvi.



*no more provisions in the fort.* Authors<sup>9</sup> posterior to Herodotus have related that the walls of this city being built of unbaked bricks, Cimon had turned the course of the river Strymon, so as to wash against the walls, and throw them down. This appears to me very unlikely, as Boges could not have had time to execute such an enterprise.

CIX. 135. Τὸ ῥέεθρον. *The bed.* 'Ρέεθρον is properly the bed of a river. 'Ρεῖθρον ῥεύματος διαφέρει. ῥεῖθρον μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τόπος δι' οὗ φέρεται τὸ ῥεῦμα· ῥεῦμα δὲ, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ<sup>1</sup>.

136. Οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυρος. *Its name is Pistyrus.* I am of opinion that the name of this city has been altered by the copyists, and that we should read Topiris. All the letters of one of these words are found in the other, except two.

CXI. 137. Τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαρτήϊον. *The oracle of Bacchus.* Aristotle in his Theologoumena (as reported by Macrobius<sup>2</sup>), says, that there was in Thrace, amongst the Ligures, a place consecrated to Bacchus, where oracles were pronounced. Those who delivered them never did so till after they had drunk freely of wine. Euripides also speaks of this oracle of Bacchus. "I learn<sup>3</sup> these things," says Polymestor, "from Bacchus, the prophet of Thrace."

138. Προφητεύοντες. *Who interpret.* The interpreters of the will of the gods, those whose office it was to collect, to announce, and to publish the oracles delivered by the priestess.

CXIII. 139. Σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκούς. *Sacrificing white horses.* This kind of sacrifice was made in the following manner: "When the Persians<sup>4</sup> come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they dig a ditch, and there slaughter the victim, taking great care that the pure water of the vicinity is not stained with the blood, as that would pollute it. They then place the flesh of the victim on branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with slender rods, singing their Theogony, and making libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, nor into the water, but on the earth. The singing of the Theogony lasts some time, and whilst they sing it, they hold in their hands small branches of heath."

It seems by the above passage of Strabo, that they took great care not to stain the water with blood, for fear of polluting it. If Dr. Hyde had been acquainted with this passage of the Greek geographer, he would not have contested the truth of the fact<sup>5</sup> related by the father of history, nor that Tiridates had sacrificed a horse<sup>6</sup> to the Euphrates to propitiate that river. We know that the Parthians had adopted the

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. VIII. viii. p. 614.

<sup>1</sup> Ammon. de Different. Voc. p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Macrob. Saturnal. I. xviii. p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Euripid. Hecub. 1253.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, XV. p. 1065, B.

<sup>5</sup> Vet. Pers. Relig. Hist. vi. p. 135, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Tacit. Annal. VI. xxxvii.

greater part of the customs of the Persians; as the former had also borrowed some customs observed in other parts of Asia. In the time of the siege of Troy, the Trojans sacrificed bulls and horses<sup>7</sup> in honour of the Scamander; with this difference, that they threw them alive into the water, whereas the Persians, for fear of polluting the water, sacrificed them in a trench dug near the river.

CXIV. 140. Γηράσασαν δὲ ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας. *Caused to be buried fourteen children.* Plutarch says<sup>8</sup> twelve men. The examples of Cambyses and others, cited by the President Brisson<sup>9</sup>, prove that this was a constant custom among the Persians.

CXVI. 141. Ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. *In the costume of the Medes.* This garment<sup>1</sup> was the invention of Semiramis, the wife of Ninus. It was so very graceful, that after their conquest of Asia the Medes adopted it, and the Persians followed their example.

CXVII. 142. Πέντε πηχέων βασιληῶν. *Five royal cubits.* Supposing that he here means the measure in use at Babylon, it would make seven feet eight inches, according to the computation of M. D'Anville<sup>2</sup>.

143. Ἐξενεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι. *Caused funeral rites of the most honourable kind to be performed for him.* Ἐξενεῖκαί is a term proper to funerals, as was 'efferre' with the Latins, to carry to the place of sepulture.

CXXII. 144. Ὀlynθον. *Olynthus.* This city was totally destroyed by Philip of Macedon. The silence of Strabo and other ancient geographers, leads us to suspect that it was never restored. We have an epigram of Antipater of Sidon<sup>3</sup>, in which a certain Diodorus of Olynthus, who perished in the harbour of that place, is mentioned. We know the age of Antipater from several epigrams, and among others<sup>4</sup> from that in which he mentions the destruction of Corinth as a very recent event. Now this city was destroyed in the third year of the 158th Olympiad, which answers to the year 146 B. C. Olynthus was overthrown in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, that is, the year 348 before our era. This latter city therefore was restored in less than two centuries after the death of Philip; but by whom and at what precise time this was accomplished, is not known.

CXXIII. 145. Καναστραῖον ἄκρην. *The promontory Canastrum.*

<sup>7</sup> Homeri Iliad. xxi. 133, 134.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Superstit. p. 171, D.

<sup>9</sup> Barn. Brisson, de Regno Persar. II. p. 33. No. xcvi.

ccxviii. p. 581, et s.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. II. vi. p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 20. No. 1.

The true name of this promontory is Canastrum, from which the adjective would be *Καναστραῖνη* or *Καναστραῖον*, understanding *ἄκρα* or *ἀκρωτήριον*. In all the preceding editions we read *Καναστραῖνην ἄκρην*, as well as in the MSS. of the Royal Library. I therefore am at a loss to conjecture what can have induced M. Wesseling to substitute for this reading *Καναστραῖον*, which rests only on the MS. of Sancroft, unless it be said that *τὸ δὴ*, which immediately follows, absolutely requires this reading. That eminent critic was certainly aware that the change of gender was familiar to the Greeks, and especially to the Attic authors. From among a thousand examples which I could cite, I select the following from Euripides<sup>5</sup>, *Ταῦτα γὰρ ξύνονθ' ὁμοῦ*, which, though neuter, manifestly relates to *θεοῦς*, which goes before.

CXXV. 146. *Θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον. I wonder at the cause.* "Herodotus," says the Abbé Bellanger in a note on this passage, "was not a very great naturalist. The Arabs, and all those who inhabit countries where there are both lions and camels, know how partial the lion is to the flesh of the camel<sup>6</sup>." Herodotus was certainly not much skilled in natural history; but had he been so, it would still have remained a matter of surprise to him that lions who had never seen camels, nor ever tasted their flesh, should have attacked them in preference to the other beasts of burden. That in Arabia the lion should prefer the flesh of the camel to that of the horse, is very natural; they know the taste of both by experience, and the former is more to their liking. But what could have imparted this knowledge to the lions in Macedonia? I confess that this appears to me as wonderful as it did to Herodotus, unless we decide that it is an instinct communicated to them by the Author of nature.

CXXVI. 147. *Οὗρος δὲ τοῖσι λέουσι ἐστι. Serves as a boundary to the lions.* There were still lions in Europe in the time of Aristotle. That author observes<sup>7</sup>, "This animal is scarce, and is not found every where. Taking Europe throughout, it is to be met with only between the Achelous and the Nessus." Dio Chrysostom asserts<sup>8</sup>, that there were none in Europe in his time; that they had disappeared from Macedonia and other places where they had been previously seen.

CXXVII. 148. *Ἐς τὸντὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. Mixing their waters in the same bed.* This passage is, with reference to geography, one of the most perplexing in Herodotus. The Lydias and the Haliacmon, according to Ptolemy and the abbreviator of Strabo<sup>9</sup>, have different mouths. MM. Sanson, De L'Isle, and D'Anville have

<sup>5</sup> Euripid. *Ἰκέτιδ.* 595.

<sup>6</sup> *Ælian. Hist. An.* XVII. xxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> *Aristot. Hist. An.* VI. xxxi. p. 884, D.

<sup>8</sup> Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* XXI. p. 269, c.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 508, col. 2, B.

preferred the authority of these geographical writers to that of the father of history. Is Herodotus, then, in error? It is possible. But we will endeavour to justify him.

Let us draw from the Axios a canal, branching from that river below its confluence with the Erigon; let it flow from north to south, slightly inclining to the east, as far as Pella, and there fill the marshes which surround that city, and particularly the great marsh which was before Pella<sup>1</sup> on the north-west. Let us continue this canal in the same direction after leaving the marsh of Pella, until its junction with the Haliacmon, a little above the mouth of that river. This canal from Pella to the Haliacmon we will call Lydias. This river and the canal which branches from the Axios will bound the district of Bottiæis on the west, and separating that territory from Macedonia, they will enclose it between them and the sea.

Let us place the source of the Haliacmon sufficiently to the west. Let us make it flow from the north, first towards the south-east across the district Elimea; let it then flow from west to east nearly in a right line, so as to bound Macedonia on the south, and then entering Pieria towards the eastern extremity of the southern boundary of Macedonia, let it advance a little more to the north, and, having received the Lydias, discharge itself into the Thermaic gulf.

It is proper to remark that the Platamona is the Haliacmon of the ancients; and, according to modern travellers, this river flows first from the north towards the south, after which it turns suddenly from the west to the east, traverses the Comenolitari (which is the ancient Macedonia together with Thessaly), and finally empties itself into the Thermaic gulf.

These two rivers, thus placed, correspond with all that Herodotus has said of them. 1. They bound the Bottiæis and Macedonia. 2. The Lydias encloses between itself and the sea the narrow country of Bottiæis, in which are situated the cities of Pella and Ichnis. 3. The Lydias and the Haliacmon mingle their waters together in the same bed.

CXXIX. 149. Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα. *Neptune made the glen.* "The plain," says Strabo<sup>2</sup>, "was formerly a marsh; but earthquakes having formed an opening in it, and Ossa having been separated from Olympus, the Peneus discharged itself into the sea by this mouth, and the country became dry."

The scholiast of Pindar agrees with these authors. "Neptune<sup>3</sup>," says he, "is adored by the Thessalians under the name of Neptune Petreus, from his having separated the mountains of Thessaly, I mean

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VII. p. 509. col. 1, B.

<sup>2</sup> Id. IX. p. 658, A.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Pyth. IV. 246. p. 229.

those of Tempe, and caused the river Peneus, which formerly crossed the marsh, and injured the country, to pass between them." Pindar also calls this god, Neptune Petreus<sup>4</sup>.

The knowledge of this event was derived from tradition; and the festival of the Peloria or Saturnalia, instituted on the occasion by the Thessalians, has kept up the remembrance of it. This festival would be unknown to us, as well as the reason of its institution, had not Athenæus<sup>5</sup> preserved to us a passage of the history of Thessaly written by the rhetorician Baton of Sinope. The historian relates a particular circumstance which leads us to believe that the earthquake happened about the year 2829 of the Julian period, 1885 years before our era. He says that a certain Pelorus announced to Pelasgus that an earthquake had opened the mountains, and that the waters having run off by the opening, had exposed to view immense plains. Pelasgus, king of Arcadia, was descended from Inachus, first king of the first dynasty of the kings of Argos. He was brother of Argus<sup>6</sup>, king of Argos, the seventh ancestor of Gelanor, king of Argos, who was expelled by Danaus. I have proved in my Chronological Essay, that Danaus came into Greece about the year 3142 of the Julian period, 1572 years B. C. The seven generations from Argus or Pelasgus to Gelanor, make 233 years. The reign of Pelasgus, therefore, reaches back to the year 2810 of the Julian period, 1904 years B. C. The Peloria may have been instituted about the year 2835 of the Julian period, 1882 years before our era.

CXXXII. 150. Ἐταμον ὄρκιον. *They made a covenant.* Literally, they cut an oath. This expression arises from their custom of never making any treaty or compact without sacrificing victims. They also said φιλίαν τέμνειν, as we find in a fragment of Callimachus<sup>7</sup>, and in several passages of Euripides. Homer has joined the two expressions, φιλότητα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες; which the scholiast explains by φιλίαν καὶ ὄρκους πιστοὺς δι' ἐντόμων ποιήσαντες. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said, 'ferire foedus.'

151. Δεκατεῦσαι. *To pay a tenth of their property.* Diodorus Siculus says the same thing<sup>8</sup>. The assembly of the Greeks convoked in the Isthmus condemned them to pay to the gods the tenth part of their effects. The critic who thought that every tenth man was to be put to death was greatly deceived. This barbarous custom, which was afterwards practised at Rome, was unknown in those times, and was very abhorrent to the mild manners of the Greeks.

CXXXIII. 152. Ἐς τὸ βάραθρον. *Into the Barathrum.* M. Bel-

<sup>4</sup> Pindar. Pyth. IV. 246.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIV. ix. p. 639, E, F; 640, A.

<sup>6</sup> Apollodor. Bibl. III. viii. i.; II.

i. i.

<sup>7</sup> Callimach. Fragm. Bentr. 199.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. vol. I. § iii. p. 405.

langer<sup>9</sup> thought that it was the Lacedæmonians who threw the heralds into the Barathrum, and the Athenians who threw them into a well. This question, not of any great interest in itself, derives some from its involving a point of language and of antiquity. M. Bellanger is in error. 1. Herodotus, after naming first Athens and then Sparta, says, οἱ μὲν αὐτέων τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὰ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, &c. Now the genius of the language requires that οἱ μὲν should refer to Athens, which was first named, and οἱ δὲ to Sparta.

2. It has been taken in this sense by Polybius. Lyciscus, ambassador from the Acarnanians, addressing the Lacedæmonians, says to them<sup>1</sup>: τίνος χάριν ὑπολαμβάνετε τοὺς ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καθ' οὓς καιροὺς ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν αἰτούμενος, ἀπώσαντας εἰς τὸ φρέαρ τὸν παραγεγονότα καὶ προσεπιβάλλοντας τῆς γῆς, κελεύειν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Ξέρξει, διότι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν; 'For what reason, think you, did your ancestors throw into a well the ambassador sent by Xerxes to demand earth and water, and then, having thrown earth on him, order him to tell his master, that he had obtained from the Lacedæmonians both earth and water, according to the commands he had delivered to them?'

3. We find from numerous passages of ancient authors, that the Barathrum was at Athens. I shall content myself with the following. The Athenians ordered<sup>2</sup> that Miltiades, who had gained the battle of Marathon, should be thrown into the Barathrum, and, but for the intervention of the first magistrate, this sentence would have been executed. Aristides<sup>3</sup> having opposed a just enterprise of Themistocles, and having succeeded against him, could not refrain from saying, as he left the assembly, that the Athenians would not be able to save their republic, unless they threw him, together with Themistocles, into the Barathrum. A Vocabulary of Rhetoric in the Library of St. Germain-des-Prés says: The Barathrum is a<sup>4</sup> pit at Athens, in the quarter<sup>5</sup> of the Ceraïdes of the tribe Æneis, into which it was the practice to throw criminals sentenced to death, as the Lacedæmonians threw them into the Ceadas.

The Barathrum<sup>6</sup> was a pit, in the form of a well, into which criminals were thrown. In the sides of this pit were fixed spikes at various distances, which tore to pieces those who were thrown into it.

153. Τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι. *What misfortunes befel the Athenians.* "The wrath of Talthybius<sup>7</sup> was felt at Lacedæmon by the republic in general, but at Athens it fell on a particular family, that of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, because he had conn-

<sup>9</sup> Essais de Critique, &c. p. 63.

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. Hist. IX. p. 793.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, in Gorgia, vol. I. p. 516, E.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 320, A.

<sup>4</sup> Biblioth. Coislin. p. 491.

<sup>5</sup> The quarter or hamlet of the Ceraïdes of the tribe Hippothoontis is well

known; but that of the Ceraïdes has been unknown till now. Yet I do not think that we are authorised to make any change in the text.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Plut. 431.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. III. xii. p. 236.

selling the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica." Are we to suppose that Pausanias was better informed of these circumstances than our historian?

CXXXIV. 154. *Σπερθίης. Sperthies.* Writers vary considerably as to the name of this Spartan. It has been written Spertis, Sperchis, and Sperches. But this is of little consequence. Suidas, with an unpardonable degree of negligence, changes these two Lacedæmonians, Sperthies and Boulis, into two Athenians.

A mournful song, entitled Sperchis, was sung in honour of these two generous men; for I am persuaded that Boulis also was celebrated in this song, as Aristogiton was in that of Harmodius<sup>8</sup>:

Μέλλει τὸν Ἀδωνιν αἰδεῖν  
'Α τᾶς Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ, πολυῖδρις ἀοιδὸς,  
'Ατις καὶ Σπέρχιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἠρίστευσε.

'The celebrated singer, who obtained the prize by singing the mournful song of Sperchis, shall sing the Adonis<sup>9</sup>.' We must understand αἰδουσα with ἠρίστευσε. This song was mournful, because the poet, doubtless, in celebrating the generosity of these two men, deplored the fate which they expected to meet.

CXXXVII. 155. *Τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι.* *This seems to me the strongest mark of divine interference.* Thucydides<sup>1</sup> relates that Aneristus put to death certain Athenian merchants, with some of their allies, whom he had taken in transport-vessels near the Peloponnesus. He adds that the Athenians, in retaliation, put to death Aristæas of Corinth, together with Aneristus and Nicolaos, whom the Lacedæmonians had sent on an embassy to the great king. Why then should Herodotus consider their death the effect of divine vengeance, rather than of the vengeance of men? Herodotus was certainly superstitious. But Sperchis and Boulis having conducted themselves in an irreproachable manner, why should the death of their children have appeared to him the result of the wrath of the gods? Aristæas of Corinth, who was taken with them, was also put to death, though he had not offended Talthybius.

M. Wesseling, in his Dissertation on Herodotus, thought that we should read Ἀλιέας with a capital letter, so as to make that word signify the Halians, a people of the Peloponnesus near Hermione. But he has since reflected that the Halians being friends of the Spartans, it was not likely that Aneristus should have put them to death; and moreover, that this Aneristus had put to death certain Athenian merchants, and allies of Athens, whom he had taken on the coast of the Peloponnesus:

<sup>8</sup> Theocr. Idyll. XV. 96—98.

enaer's Theocritus, p. 388.

<sup>9</sup> See Toup on this Idyll in the Oxford Theocritus, vol. II. p. 338; and Valck-

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. II. lxvii.



he therefore admits the conjecture of De Pauw, who reads : *ὃς εἶλε ἀλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὀλκάδι καταπλώσαντας πληρεῖ Ἀνδρίων.*

These conjectures appear to me well worthy the attention of the learned ; but if we hold with the text of the editions, the whole passage should be translated thus :

“ This conduct of the Spartans appeased, for a while, the wrath of Talthybius, notwithstanding the return of Sperthies and Boulis to Sparta. But a long time afterwards, as the Lacedæmonians say, it was rekindled during the war of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. *In this event I discern a divine interference.* For, that the wrath of Talthybius should have been excited against the envoys, and should not cease till it had taken effect, is reasonable : but that it should have fallen on the children of those two Spartans, who had gone to the king to appease his wrath, I mean upon Nicolaos, son of Boulis, and on Aneristus, son of Sperthies, who, sailing with a vessel full of warriors, took certain fishermen of Tirynthus, is to me a certain proof that it was an effect of the vengeance of the gods, who countenanced the wrath of Talthybius.”

156. Οἱ γὰρ πεμφθέντες. *For they having been sent.* This evidently refers to Nicolaos and Aneristus. Thucydides relates the circumstance in the following manner<sup>2</sup> :

“ Towards the end of the same summer, Aristæas of Corinth, and the ambassadors of Lacedæmon, Aneristus, Nicolaos, Pratodemus, Timagoras of Tegæa, and Polis of Argos, in his private capacity, having started to go into Asia to the great king, to see if they could persuade him to furnish them with money, and enter into alliance with them, they arrived first in Thrace, and went to Sitalces, son of Teres. They wished, if possible, to persuade him to abandon the alliance of the Athenians, to march to the assistance of Potidæa, which the Athenians were then besieging, and to aid them in crossing the Hellespont, to Pharnaces, son of Pharnabazus, where they intended to go. This latter was to conduct them to the court of the great king. Learchus, son of Callimachus, and Aminiades, son of Philemon, the ambassadors of Athens, being by chance at the court of Sitalces, persuaded Sadocus, his son, who had become a citizen of Athens, to deliver these people into their power, for fear, if they obtained access to the great king, they might do them much harm. Sadocus, yielding to their persuasions, sent some of his people with Learchus and Aminiades to arrest them whilst they were in Thrace, and before they should have embarked in the ship in which they were to cross the Hellespont, and gave orders that they should be delivered to those two Athenians. These latter took them to Athens. When they arrived there, the Athenians, fearing that if Aristæas escaped death, he would do them still greater injury, because it was proved that he was the author of all that had happened to them both at Potidæa and in Thrace, put them to death the same

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. II. lxvii. p. 141.

day, by throwing them into deep pits, without allowing them any trial or hearing. They thought themselves justified in treating them in the same manner as the Lacedæmonians had treated the Athenian merchants and the allies of Athens, whom they had taken in transport-vessels off the Peloponnesus, and in like manner thrown into pits. The Lacedæmonians, indeed, in the beginning of this war, put to death all those whom they took at sea, as well the allies of the Athenians as neutrals."

157. Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρειω. *Sitalces, son of Teres.* Teres was a valiant prince, and the founder of the kingdom<sup>3</sup> of the Odrysæ. He had two sons, Sitalces and<sup>4</sup> Sparadocus, and a daughter whose name is not known. This daughter was married<sup>5</sup> to Ariapithes, king of the Scythians, who had two children by her, Scyles and Octamasades. Ariapithes<sup>6</sup> having been killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, Scyles ascended the throne. This prince preferred the manners of the Greeks to those of the Scythians, and readily adopted them. His subjects, indignant at this preference, revolted, and gave the crown of Scythia to his brother Octamasades. Scyles, finding himself pursued, took refuge at the court of his uncle Sitalces, who then reigned in Thrace. This warlike prince was not less ambitious than Teres, his father. He greatly extended the boundaries of his states, and raised the kingdom of the Odrysæ to the highest pitch of glory. He married<sup>7</sup> a sister of Nymphodorus, son of Pythes, a distinguished citizen of Abdera, by whom he had a son named Sadocus. This young prince was ambitious of the title of citizen of Athens, and having obtained it by the influence of his uncle Nymphodorus, his father Sitalces became an ally of the Athenians. Sparadocus, his brother, had retired into Scythia, either from choice, or that, having revolted, he feared the chastisement he merited. Scyles having in the mean time taken refuge in Thrace, Octamasades pursued him. Sitalces, who did not with composure behold a Scythian army ready to overrun his territory, went forth to meet him. The two armies<sup>8</sup> were in presence of each other, and on the point of giving battle, when they made peace, on the condition that Sitalces should give up Scyles, and that Octamasades in return should surrender Sparadocus. The king of the Scythians no sooner had his brother Scyles in his power, than he had his head cut off. How Sitalces treated his brother Sparadocus, is a matter of uncertainty. We are told that his son Seuthes<sup>9</sup> was in great favour with his uncle, and that Sadocus having died during the lifetime of his father, he succeeded his uncle in the throne of the Odrysæ, that monarch having lost his life<sup>1</sup> in a battle with the Triballi, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the 4290th of the Julian period, 424 years B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. II. xxix.

<sup>4</sup> Id. IV. ci.

<sup>5</sup> Herodot. VII. lxxx.

<sup>6</sup> Id. *ibid.* lxxxviii.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. II. xxix.

<sup>8</sup> Herodot. VII. lxxx.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. II. ci.

<sup>1</sup> Id. IV. ci.

History makes no mention of the warlike actions of Seuthes, nor is it known whether he inherited the valour of his ancestors; but it mentions his riches and his revenues, which, at a time when money was scarce, were considered immense. They amounted to 400 talents, without reckoning presents in gold and silver, which did not fall short of the same value.

This empire, which had arisen and maintained its eminence by the valour and wisdom of some of its princes, speedily went to decay, as we may see in Xenophon's Retreat of the Ten Thousand, VII. ii.

158. Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδαιμάντου. *Aristæas, the son of Adimantus.* He commanded the Corinthians in the battle of Potidæa, and broke through<sup>2</sup> the wing of the Athenians which was opposed to him. This event occurred in the second year of the 86th Olympiad. He was taken about five years afterwards. Having been brought to Athens, he was put to death. The injurious conduct of his father Adimantus towards Themistocles, and his shameful flight at the battle of Salamis, contributed greatly to his misfortune<sup>3</sup>.

159. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον ἐγένετο. *Were many years subsequent.* They happened in the third year of the 87th Olympiad, as we find in Thucydides<sup>4</sup>. Herodotus wrote part of his history therefore at that time, or at least added these circumstances after that event.

CXXXIX. 160. Πολλοὶ τείχεων κιθῶνες. *Many mantles of walls.* Hence some one has pleasantly observed, that the wall of a city was its coat. Τὸ τεῖχος ἱμάτιον πόλεως<sup>5</sup>.

161. Αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἔσαν. *And it was they, &c.* "I maintain<sup>6</sup>, therefore, that these men (the Athenians who fought at the battle of Marathon) were the authors of our liberty, and of that of the inhabitants of this continent. The Greeks, enlightened by the victory which we gained at Marathon, and having it always before their eyes, dared afterwards to fight for the salvation of their country. The first prize of valour is therefore due to them for the victory of Marathon, the second belongs to those who won the battles of Salamis and Artemisium."

CXL. 162. Κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν. *Arm yourselves with courage against so many evils.* In the Greek, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν, which Valla has rendered, 'atque malis effundite mentem.' If the sense which I have given is not approved, that suggested by Stephens, in his Thesaurus, vol. III. p. 814, may be preferred. The Pythoness, says he, warns the Athenians to look on all sides for the means of resisting the cloud of evils ready to burst on them.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. I. lxii.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. VIII. lix. lxi. xciv.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. II. lxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Eustath. ad Homer. p. 379, lin. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Plat. in Menexeno, vol. II. p. 240, E.

CXLI. 163. Ἡ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δέυτερα τάδε. *The prophetess utters this second oracle.* This oracle was the work of Themistocles. "This great man," says Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, "despairing of persuading the people by human reasons, had recourse to machinery, as in a tragedy, and gave them prodigies and oracles."

These prodigies consisted in the disappearance of the serpent, which was supposed to guard the citadel<sup>8</sup>. The oracles were those concerning the island of Salamis, which are related afterwards.

164. Ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας. *Bringing it near to adamant.* He understands by this an oracle, the accomplishment of which cannot be averted. The hardness of the diamond is notorious. The sense is the same as that of the following expression in Homer, ἀλλ' ἔκτοι ἐρέω, τόδε καὶ τετελέσθαι ὁῖω.

165. Ἐπι τοι κοτὲ κἀντίος ἔσση. *A day will come, when you shall make head against him.* "This passage has been rendered in Latin, 'vel si tibi fors erit obuius usquam.' Take to flight, 'if even the enemy should one day present himself to fight.' The meaning is, on the contrary, 'fly; a day will come, when you will be able to oppose him,' ἀντίος ἔσση. It is surprising that no translator should have seen that ἔσση is a second person, which must be understood of the Greeks, to whom the Pythoness speaks, and not of the enemy of whom she is speaking, and which is the third person."—BELLANGER.

M. Reiske<sup>9</sup> also translates, 'veniet aliquandò tempus, quo tu ipsi eris ex adverso,' or 'adversus eris,' as we find it in the various readings of Herodotus. This expression often occurs in Homer.

CXLIII. 166. Θεμιστοκλέης. *Themistocles.* In his youth he had been a debauched character. "At a time when the Athenians were<sup>1</sup> addicted neither to wine nor to loose women, Themistocles one morning crossed the Ceramicus, which was full of people, in a chariot with four courtezans. Idomeneus makes use of an ambiguous expression, which may mean either that the courtezans were harnessed to the chariot, or that they were sitting in it." The same Athenæus in another part names these courtezans<sup>2</sup>, Lamia, Scione, Satura, Nannium.

I will not expatiate upon the various incidents of the life of this great man. The reader may consult Plutarch. I shall content myself with relating, that forced to seek an asylum with the king of Persia from the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, he preferred death to bearing arms against his ungrateful country. He died at Magnesia, at<sup>3</sup> the age of sixty-five. This city was one of those which Xerxes had given to him. His posterity enjoyed the highest honours, and endured for many ages. Plutarch<sup>4</sup> makes mention of Themistocles, one of the

<sup>7</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 116, D, E.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. VIII. xli.

<sup>9</sup> Miscell. Lips. Nova, vol. VIII. p. 485.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XII. viii. p. 533, D.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. XIII. v. p. 576, C.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Themist. p. 128, A.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. p. 128, F.

descendants of this great man, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship, and who lived more than 600 years after the first of the name.

167. Παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος. *Son of Neocles.* The father of Epicurus was of the same name, which gave occasion to Menander to join them both in the following epigram :

Χαῖρε Νεοκλείδα δίδυμον γένος· ὦν ὁ μὲν ὑμῶν  
Πατρίδα δουλοσύνας ῥύσαθ', ὁ δ' ἀφροσύνας<sup>5</sup>.

'I salute you, twofold offspring of a Neocles, one of whom has rescued his country from slavery, and the other from folly.'

Grotius has translated these verses with his usual elegance :

Salvete, o Neoclis nati duo : quippe per illum  
Libera gens Cecropis facta, per hunc sapiens.

It is known that the philosophy of Epicurus struck at the root of all religions. This philosopher, who dared not openly violate the laws of his country, did not deny the existence of the gods ; but he rendered it of no avail by his reasonings. He placed the gods in a sort of separate world, where, attending only to their own happiness, they never inter-meddled with the affairs of our world, lest their enjoyment should suffer some diminution. "If there are gods," justly argues Lactantius<sup>6</sup>, "then there is a providence. It is not possible to separate this idea from the existence of a God ; it is a quality which is essential and peculiar to his nature. He occupies himself with nothing, says Epicurus : he therefore does not occupy himself with human affairs, and still less with those of heaven. How then can you affirm that he exists, or how do you know it ? In excluding Divine Providence, you should, if you would reason consistently, deny that there is any God at all. You have left one in name, but deny his reality."

CXLIV. 168. Ὁρχηδόν. *Who had attained the age of puberty.* "The ci-devant curate of Meudon, Rabelais, would have rendered this by a single word."—BELLANGER.

Ὁρχηδόν comes from ὄρχις, 'testiculus.' Hesychius explains the word ἡβηδόν, 'in singulos puberes.'

169. Ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσάμενους. *He persuaded the Athenians to leave off making this distribution.* Plutarch<sup>7</sup> says that the Athenians being in the habit of dividing amongst them the produce of the silver mines of Laurium, Themistocles was the first who dared to propose to the people to abstain from this distribution, and to employ the money in the construction of vessels to make war

<sup>5</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. I. p. 203. subject still more at large in his Divine Institutions, III. xvii. vol. I. p. 231, et seq.

<sup>6</sup> Lactantii Epit. Div. Instit. xxxvi. vol. II. p. 25. This author treats the <sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 113, c.

against the Æginetæ. The remark of Plutarch is just. It required courage to make this proposal to a people who were very poor, and who found a great resource in these revenues.

170. Ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. *Having in view the war against the Æginetæ.* If this expression was really used by Themistocles, I imagine that he purposely employed it, to signify in a general manner the war against the Persians, whom the Athenians then scarcely expected to return, if we go by Plutarch<sup>8</sup>. It is very probable that Themistocles did not speak in a general manner, but that he offered to the Athenians two cogent reasons for discontinuing the distribution of the public revenues: the first, the war which they had to maintain against the Æginetæ, who then held the empire of the sea<sup>9</sup>: the second, the expectation they might reasonably entertain of the return of the Persians. Thucydides<sup>1</sup> says so positively; and this is confirmed by Plato<sup>2</sup>, who remarks that the Athenians had heard of the preparations of the king, and that after his death Xerxes continued them.

CXLV. 171. Ἦσαν ἐγκεκλημένοι. *They were engaged.* Ἐγκεκλημένοι does not appear to me altered, as the later editors have supposed. We may, with Portus, make it come from ἐγχράομαι, the passive of the verb ἐγχράω, which Herodotus has used, VI. lxxv. Ἐνέχραεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον, 'struck him in the face with his stick.' For so Eustathius reads this passage<sup>3</sup>. Thus, πόλεμοι ἐγκεκλημένοι πρὸς ἄλλους may be rendered in Latin 'bella conserta cum aliis populis. For ἐπιχράω, in Homer, signifies 'cum impetu hostili invado, ingruo.' For example,

Ὡς δὲ λύκοι ἄρνεσσιν ἐπέχραον<sup>4</sup>.

'Ut vero lupi agnis vehementi impetu irruunt.'

172. Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. *The Hellenic body.* The Greeks were called, in their own language, 'Hellenes,' whence the word 'Hellenic.'

This passage proves that the council of the Amphictyons was not the general council or states-general of Greece. Had it been so, the Greeks would have been assembled by its order; whereas they assembled of themselves, pressed by the danger of their country. This council, moreover, would have assembled at Thermopylæ or at Delphi; but this general assembly was held at Corinth. See the excellent work of M. De St. Croix on the ancient Federative Governments.

CXLVII. 173. Πλοῖα σιταγωγὰ ἔς τε Αἶγιναν κομιζόμενα. *Transport ships to carry corn to Ægina.* All the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, carried on a great commerce with the coast of the Euxine

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 113, D. 698, E.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Plato de Legibus, III. vol. II. p.

<sup>3</sup> Eustath. Comment. p. 579, lin. 13; 1063, lin. 32; 1434, lin. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Iliad. XVI. 352.



sea, and especially with the Tauric Chersonesus (the Crimea). They carried thither the wines of Cos, of Thasos, &c., vases and Athenian wares, which were then in as great request for their elegance as those of London or Paris are at the present day. They brought from these countries in exchange, corn, wax, honey, wool, hides, goat-skins, timber, &c.; and this commerce was a great source of wealth to the Athenians.

CXLVIII. 174. Μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων, δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. *After the spies were despatched, they sent, in the next place, messengers to Argos.* 1. Ἀπόπεμψις signifies properly the act of sending from one place to another. Consequently, it may be understood either of the sending out of the spies by the Greeks, or the sending them back by the Persians. I have preferred the former sense; because it is not likely that the Greeks would have waited for their spies to be sent back, before they despatched deputies to Argos.

2. Δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους does not signify that they sent a second deputation to Argos. It evidently relates to the words πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, in cxlvi. ‘*First, they sent spies into Asia.*’ Herodotus then relates what befel those spies on their arrival at Sardis; and after this digression, he resumes the thread of his narrative, at the commencement of cxlviii., ‘*after sending off the spies, they sent secondly,*’ or in the second place, ‘*deputies to Argos.*’ The digression has occasioned the error into which the interpreters have fallen.

175. Εἶσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων. *Keeping within the fence.* I thought that by τὸν προβόλαιον Herodotus meant a wall or rampart. Προβολή is found in many places in this sense. Ἀθηναίους δ’ οὐκ ἂν οἶει . . . . μεγάλην προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατεσκευάσθαι<sup>5</sup>; ‘*Would not you think that the Athenians were a firm rampart for their fellow-citizens and for their country?*’ I was the less disposed, however, to adopt this conjecture definitively, as M. Valckenaer, to whom Greek literature owes so much, candidly confesses that he does not understand this passage of the Pythia.

The following note of M. Coray’s has induced me to change my opinion. “I think,” says this critic, “that προβόλαιον is the same thing with πρόβολον, a word which we find in lxxvi., πρόβολος, and in the Ionic dialect προβόλεος, as ἀδελφός, ἀδελφεός, or sometimes, when the measure requires it, προβόλαιος. Xenophon calls it προβόλιον. It signifies a hunting-spear, when applied to the chase of wild beasts, as in the last-named author; or a dart, when speaking of arms used in war. See the Ionic Lexicon of Portus, at the word πρόβολος. Εἶσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχειν, signifies simply ‘to put one’s self in an attitude to strike, or to parry the blows of an adversary,’ or, to speak in terms

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Socr. Mem. III. v. § xxvii. p. 156.



of fencing, 'to be on one's guard,' that is to say, 'to hold the body and the dart in such a position, as to be covered from the blows of the adversary, and to be ready to strike him when opportunity offers.'

176. Μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος. *Afterwards, when the envoys came to Argos.* Diodorus Siculus affirms that it was the Argians who sent deputies to the assembly of the Greeks. "The Argians," says he<sup>6</sup>, "having sent ambassadors to the assembly of the Greeks, promised to enter into the league, if they would give them a share in the command of the armed force. The assembly decidedly answered them, that if they found it more revolting to their feelings to acknowledge a Greek for their general, than to have a barbarian for their master, they would do well to remain quiet; but that if it was their ambition to command the Greek forces, they should raise themselves to that honour by great actions."

CXLIX. 177. Μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι. *That if there was not the treaty, they had apprehensions, &c.* Portus, in his Ionic Lexicon, under the word ἐπιλέγεσθαι, explains this passage in such a manner as leads me to doubt whether he himself understood what he was saying. Let us begin by settling the meaning:

"It signifies διαλογίζεσθαι, 'to think, to consider, to reflect,' as we find by examples in Herodotus. But the same author also frequently employs it for φροντίζειν, μεριμνᾶν, 'sollicitum esse, anxium esse,' 'to think with pain, to torment the mind, to be in trouble,' and even for φοβεῖσθαι, 'to fear.' The following are some examples: VII. xlvii. δείματός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος . . . . πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος,—VII. xlix. εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρώδεοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι.—VII. lii. οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσιν· οὕτω δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο φόβει.—VII. ccxxxvi. τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων, μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα . . . . . ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἐωϋτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσί."

"The meaning once settled, I think that the obscurity, which lies in the construction, consists in this, that Herodotus, who ought to have put it in the subjunctive, and made it depend on the conjunction ἵνα, as ἀνδρεωθέωσι, has expressed it in the infinitive, understanding ἔνεκα, that is to say, ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι, which is exactly equivalent to ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλέγωνται." CORAY.

178. Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα. *The Argives have but one (king).* I do not think any other passage of history can be pointed out, in which it is said that the Argians, at that time, had a king. Nobody, however, could be more correctly informed on that point than Herodotus; but as no other author mentions him, the power of this prince must have been very trifling. Pausanias remarks<sup>7</sup>, as is observed by M. Valckenaer in a note on this passage, that the Argians, jealous of their liberty, had left to Cissus, the son of Temenus, and his descendants, merely the name

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. iii. vol. I. p. 405.      <sup>7</sup> Pausan. II. xix. p. 152.

of king. But the same author adds immediately afterwards, that the people deprived of the crown Meltas, the son of Lacides, who was descended from Medon. One might suppose that this Meltas was the last king of Argos. It is, however, to be presumed that royalty was not entirely abrogated, but that the title descended to his son.

179. Τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον. *That neither of the two kings of Sparta (could yield the command).* The answer of the deputies of Sparta appears to me the more surprising, as by a law passed some years before, and which Herodotus himself mentions, (V. lxxv.) there was at Sparta only one king who could command the army.

180. Τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην. *The ambition of the Spartans.* This was no doubt the true motive of the Argians for preserving a neutrality in the war against the Persians, and which even inclined them rather to the side of the latter than to the Greeks; because they considered it a lighter evil to submit to the Barbarians than to yield to the Lacedæmonians. These latter, and especially their king Cleomenes, had indeed on many occasions treated them very hardly. They were also the only people, except the Achæans, who refused to join the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war.—VALCKENAER.

CL. 181. Ἀπ' οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος. *The son of Perseus from whom we are sprung.* If we are to believe the Greek fables, the royal houses of Persia and of Argos sprang from the same root. Of Danaë, daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, was born Perseus, king of Argos; Perseus had by Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, who had before been called Cephenees.

182. Οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν. *Promising nothing, they made no inquiries.* Ἐπαγγελλομένους, 'sponte suâ, ultro.' Such is the sense which this word bears in the following passage of Demosthenes<sup>8</sup>: καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον ποιεῖν, 'and that he did it of his own offer.' He had said likewise, a few lines before, ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τῷ πρὸ τῶν Τριάκοντα μικρὸν, σπανίζοντα τὸν Δῆμον χρημάτων, τάλαντον ἔδωκεν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος. 'Seeing that, in the war which occurred shortly before the administration of the thirty tyrants, the people wanted money, he gave of his own accord a talent.' The scholiast explains ἐπαγγειλάμενος by these words, αὐτεπάγγελτος, καὶ αὐθαίρετος.

CLI. 183. Πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. *Many years afterwards*<sup>9</sup>. Artaxerxes, having heard of the losses he had sustained in Cyprus, resolved to make peace with the Greeks. Artabazes and Megabyzes sent ambassadors for this purpose to Athens. The conditions appearing to the Athenians to be reasonable, they sent ambassadors to Artaxerxes

<sup>8</sup> Demosth. πρὸς Λεπτίνην, pp. 286, 78.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. iv. pp. 481. 484.

with full powers on their side. Callias, son of Hipponicus, was at the head of this embassy. It occurred in the fourth year of the 82nd Olympiad, that is, in the year 449 before our era, or 4265 of the Julian period.

184. Ἐν Σούσοισι τοῖσι Μερνονίοισι. *In Susa, the city of Memnon.* This city<sup>1</sup> was built by Tithonus, father of Memnon. Herodotus always calls it the Memnonian city<sup>2</sup>. Its citadel was called Memnonium<sup>3</sup>.

185. Καλλίην. *Callias.* The embassy of Callias was in the fourth year of the 82nd Olympiad<sup>4</sup>.

CLII. 186. Ἀποφεροῖατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενείκαντο. *Each would be glad to take back what he brought.* "I do not very clearly perceive," says M. Bellanger, "the drift of this reflection, nor to what Herodotus would apply it." I think that Herodotus intended to convey, somewhat obscurely, that no man is without some cause of self-reproach, and that all the other nations of Greece had, at some time or other, been guilty of actions more infamous than those of the Argians. I have therefore translated κακά, 'bad actions.' Herodotus perhaps borrowed this reflection from Solon; or perhaps Valerius Maximus saw it only in Herodotus, and attributes it to Solon upon conjecture. At all events, Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, said<sup>5</sup>, "si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum, ut propria deportare domum, quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent. Quo colligebat, non oportere nos, quæ fortuito patiamur, præcipuæ et intolerabilis amaritudinis judicare."

CLIII. 187. Οἰκήτωρ ἐὼν Γέλῃς. *Being an inhabitant of Gela.* Gela was built forty-five years<sup>6</sup> after the foundation of Syracuse. Now Syracuse was built in the 21st year<sup>7</sup> of the perpetual archontate of Æschylus at Athens, that is to say, the third year of the 5th Olympiad, which answers to the year 758 before our era; if, with Eusebius, we make the Olympiad begin in the third year of the archontate of Æschylus. It follows from this, that Gela was founded in the fourth year of the 16th Olympiad, i. e. the year 713 B. C. The year of this archontate is fixed also by the Oxford Marbles, which assign the foundation of Syracuse to the year 494, which, according to the calculation of that chronologist, is the year 758 before our era.

Phintias<sup>8</sup>, tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed the city of Gela, about the 125th Olympiad, or 433 years after its foundation, and transferred the inhabitants to the city of Phintias, of which he was the founder.

188. Τῶν χθονίων θεῶν. *Of Ceres and Proserpine.* Literally 'the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, XV. p. 1058, c.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. V. liv.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, XV. p. 1058, c.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Valer. Maxim. VII. ii. Ext. II. p. 632.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. VI. iv. p. 380, lin. 88.

<sup>7</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. XXII. p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. Eclog. ex XXII. vol. II. p. 495. R. Bentleii Dissertatio de Phalaridis Epistolis, p. 10. 1.

earthly goddesses.' The scholiast of Pindar explains this <sup>9</sup> *ταῖν θεῶν ἱεροφάντην* : but for this authority, it might have been interpreted 'of the earthly gods.'

CLIV. 189. *Τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον.* *Having come to an end.* Cleander was killed by Sabyllus, in the third year of the 70th Olympiad. Hippocrates, his brother, afterwards reigned seven years, and Gelon obtained the crown after his death, in the second year of the 72nd Olympiad <sup>1</sup>.

190. *Δορυφόρος.* *A soldier of the body-guard.* He was not the brother of Hippocrates, as Dionysius <sup>2</sup> of Halicarnassus says. From being one of the body-guards of Hippocrates, he raised himself to the tyranny of Gela, and afterwards to that of Syracuse. He rendered this last city flourishing, and so firmly fixed the attachment of its citizens to him by various benefits, that when <sup>3</sup> the statues of the tyrants were broken up to be made into money, after Timoleon had restored Syracuse to liberty, those of Gelon alone were excepted ; or, if that of Dionysius Priscus was spared, as Dio Chrysostom <sup>4</sup> says, who relates the same anecdote that Plutarch does, it was because they bore the ornaments of Bacchus, which divinity the Greeks in their language call Dionysus.

191. *Ἐπ' ᾧ τε Καμαρίναν παραδοῦναι.* *That they would give up to him Camarina.* Camarina <sup>5</sup> was then destroyed, but the Syracusans gave the territory of that city to Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela. This prince sent thither a colony, and rebuilt the city.

192. *Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμαρίνα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.* *Camarina had anciently belonged to the Syracusans.* The Syracusans <sup>6</sup> were, in fact, the founders of it, about 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse, that is to say, in the year 623 before our era.

CLV. 193. *Ἦρχε αὐτός.* *He himself assumed the sovereign power.* This happened in the second year of the 72nd Olympiad ; but he was not as yet tyrant of Syracuse, as Dionysius <sup>7</sup> of Halicarnassus says.

194. *Γαμόρους.* *The Gamori.* The Gamori or Geomori (i. e. land-sharers) were properly those who, being sent out as a colony, divided the land among them. The grandees of Syracuse had this name, because they were descended from those Greeks who had accompanied Archias from Corinth, and were the founders of Syracuse <sup>8</sup>.

195. *Κυλλυρίων.* *Cyllyrians.* This name is written in various manners. Hesychius and the MS. Lexicon of Photius have *καλλικύριοι*, which, as the order of the letters shows, ought to be *κιλλικύριοι*. The

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Pind. ad Pyth. II. 27. p. 183. col. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. VII. i. pp. 402, 403.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Timoleonte, p. 247, E.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Chrysostom. Corinth. p. 460, c.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. VI. v.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. VII. i. p. 402.

<sup>8</sup> See M. de Valois on Diod. Sic. vol. II. p. 549, col. 1.

author of the Lexicon of Rhetoric, cited by Eustathius<sup>9</sup>, also writes *Κιλλικύριοι*: but the same author places them in Crete, and is, so far, mistaken. This was the name which the Syracusans gave to their slaves, because, says Zenobius<sup>1</sup>, they ran in great numbers to the same place, when it was proposed to attack their masters.

CLVI. 196. Ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον. *They ran up* (i. e. increased). Ἀνέδραμον is properly said of the growth of trees. Hence ἀναδρομαί in Hesychius is interpreted αὐξήσεις, βλαστήσεις. Herodotus employs it metaphorically. The expression is borrowed from Homer, whom our historian takes a peculiar pleasure in imitating.

Thetis, when speaking of her son Achilles, says :

Ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος.—Iliad. XVIII. 56.

'He grew up like a young plant.'

197. Οὐκ ἐόντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου. *Not being the author of the war.* To the examples adduced by Portus, in his Ionic Lexicon, we may add the following, from the Supplices of Euripides<sup>2</sup>: τάφου μεταίτιον. 'The author of funeral rites.'

CLVII. 198. Μέλλει . . . στρατηλατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *He is about to invade Greece.* The Attic writers join the present and the future with the verb μέλλω, but never the aorist. Thomas Magister<sup>3</sup> says, μέλλω ποιεῖν, καὶ μέλλω ποιήσῃ, οὐ μέλλω ποιῆσαι. Varinus Phavorinus<sup>4</sup> says the same in his Lexicon.

However, examples of this verb with the aorist are found, as in Homer<sup>5</sup>:

Μέλλει γάρ πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι.

But, as is remarked by Thomas Magister, we then understand the potential particle ἄν, which gives to the aorist and to the perfect the force of the future.

CLVIII. 199. Λόγον πλεονέκτην. *The insolence.* The Greek phrase implies an arrogant discourse held by one who thinks that much is due to himself, and that he owes nothing to others, as the sequel of the answer of Gelon sufficiently testifies.

200. Διηκοσίας τε τριήρας. *Two hundred triremes, &c.* These offers may perhaps appear excessive. We may remark, however, that Dionysius<sup>6</sup>, some time afterwards, levied in the single city of Syracuse, 120,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 400 ships of war.

<sup>9</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. v. vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>1</sup> Zenobii Adag. Centur. IV. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Euripid. Supplic. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Thom. Magister, p. 607.

<sup>4</sup> Varini Phavorini Camertis Dictionar. p. 353, lin. 3 à fine.

<sup>5</sup> Homeri Iliad. XXIV. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. Sic. II. v. vol. I. p. 118.

CLIX. 201. Ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων. *It would be a subject of great grief, &c.* This passage is imitated from the Iliad, VII. 125.

Ἡ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς.

202. Ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκουσίων. *By a Gelon and by Syracusans.* The grace and the true meaning of this passage are lost in the Latin translation, and it would perhaps be impossible to express them in that language; "O quam ejularet Pelopides Agamemnon, si audiret Spartiatas imperio spoliatos esse ab Gelone atque Syracusanis:" but our modern languages are capable of expressing them by substituting the indefinite article for the absence of the article in the Greek. We know the pride of Republicans, and especially that of the Lacedæmonians, towards kings. We know with what contempt the Athenians<sup>7</sup> treated Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, and the insulting, disdainful, and truly laconic answer which the Lacedæmonians gave to the menaces of Philip<sup>8</sup>, father of Alexander. "The Lacedæmonians to Philip, Dionysius at Corinth." The answer of Gelon proves incontestably that that prince considered himself insulted by the ambassadors of the Greeks. "Spartans," said he to them, "insults offered to a man of spirit, usually excite his anger."

CLX. 203. Φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν. *Usually excite his anger.* Ἐπανάγω signifies 'revoco, retrorsum ago, proveho navem in altum,' none of which will suit the context. Portus, in his Ionic Lexicon, explains it 'excito, commoveo;' but he adduces no example, and I doubt if there be one in the whole language. For my part, I think the text vicious, and I read φιλέει ἐπενάγειν τὸν θυμόν. We know that ἐνάγω means 'impello, incito, instigo,' and that Herodotus frequently uses this verb: ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους (IV. lxxix.);—ἐνῆγέ σφεας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα (IV. cxlv.);—καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμίη μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν (V. xlix.), &c.

204. Ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ. *Insulting discourse.* The discourse could not justly be termed so. It was natural that the mother country should preserve some sort of authority over the colony. Now we know that Syracuse had been founded by the Corinthians<sup>9</sup>, who themselves obeyed the Lacedæmonian generals. But despots, by perpetual communication with slaves, become unable to bear the independent language of a free man. Perhaps the remarks might be considered insulting from the manner in which they were delivered.

CLXI. 205. Εἰ ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι. *If, Athenians as we are, we yield,*

<sup>7</sup> Herod. VIII. cxliii.; Aristid. in Panathen. p. 13, lin. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Hermog. de Elocut. p. 546, lin. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. VI. iii. p. 379; Strabo, VI. p. 413, R.

§c. One would be almost led to think that Thucydides, who hated the Athenians after they had banished him, had, with the express view to mortify them, and lower the haughty tone of the Athenian orator, put into the mouth of Hermocrates of Syracuse the following words, addressed to the inhabitants of Camarina. "We do not wish<sup>1</sup> to remind them (the Athenians) with warmth, that they (the Leontines) are neither Ionians, nor Hellespontians, nor Islanders, who have been slaves, and have only changed masters, but Dorians, free people, who having come from the Peloponnesus, have chosen to live in Sicily, governed by their own laws."

206. Μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται. *We have never changed our soil.* No man ever pronounced a finer eulogium on his country than Euripides<sup>2</sup>, when he says: Its inhabitants do not come from another land, they are aboriginals; whilst other states, thrown at random like dice, have been seized on by one another.

CLXIII. 207. Τὸν Σκύθεω. *Son of Scythes.* We have read (in VI. xxiv.) of one Scythes, king of the Zancleans. Perizonius<sup>3</sup> thinks that he was the father of Cadmus. I am inclined to the opinion of M. Valckenaer, that he was the uncle of the father of Cadmus. Had not Cadmus been of the same family, he would hardly have gone to dwell at Zancle in Sicily, of which Scythes had formerly been sovereign. It is said<sup>4</sup> that Epicharmus went into Sicily with Cadmus.

208. Φιλίους λόγους. *Friendly language.* This Cadmus had orders to conciliate the good-will of Xerxes, in case that prince should conquer the Greeks.

CLXIV. 209. Τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα. *Which changed its name to Messana.* There is a difference of opinion as to the time when Zancle<sup>5</sup> took the name of Messana. Herodotus and Thucydides date this incident between the fourth year of the 71st Olympiad, and the first year of the 76th; but Pausanias places it in the 29th Olympiad. The balance inclines in favour of the first two historians, who were better informed, have a high character for accuracy,

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. VI. lxxvii. p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de Exilio, p. 604, p.

<sup>3</sup> Ad Æliani Var. Hist. VIII. xvii. p. 563.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, voc. Ἐπίχαρμος.

<sup>5</sup> I was greatly surprised on reading a translation of Bentley's Dissertation on the Letters of Phalaris, published by M. Van Lennep in 1777, to find that the proofs adduced by that writer are exactly the same as mine. I became acquainted with his work only in 1780, and my note had then been written many years, as will appear from a part of this note which I communicated to M. de

Vauvilliers in 1771, and which he inserted in his Essay on Pindar, printed in 1772. As the note contains nothing that is matter of invention, and as Dr. Bentley and I have both had access to the same authorities, it is not at all astonishing that we should have made the same use of them. If after this declaration, however, it should be suspected that I have borrowed from the Dissertation, I am very willing that any degree of credit to be derived from the remarks should be imputed to the learned Englishman.



and were nearly contemporary. But as Pausanias may have had means of information of which we have no knowledge, and as his authority has obtained the acquiescence of Scaliger, Petavius, Riccioli, Corsini, and many others of the most celebrated chronologists, I have thought it best to discuss the point, and to decide only after mature reflection.

“Zancle,” says Thucydides<sup>6</sup>, “was first founded by a set of freebooters who came from Cyme, which latter town had been founded by certain Chalcidians of the Opic plain. There afterwards came many people from Chalcis and from other parts of Eubœa, who divided the territory with them. Perieres and Cratæmenes, the one of Cyme, and the other of Chalcis, were the original founders. The Sicilians, in the first instance, gave it the name of Zancle, because the shore is there in the form of a sickle, which that people call ‘zancleon.’ They were afterwards driven out by Samians and other Ionians, who flying from the Medes landed in Sicily.”

Herodotus<sup>7</sup> relates that the inhabitants of Zancle having invited the Ionians to come and people the country of Calacte in Sicily, the Samians accepted the invitation; but that with the most odious ingratitude, they had, at the instigation of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, seized on the city of Zancle, whilst its inhabitants were gone with their king to besiege some other city. “But the same<sup>8</sup> tyrant of Rhegium having shortly afterwards dispossessed the Samians of it, he peopled it with a vast number of adventurers from different countries, whom he joined with the Samians, and called it Messena (in Doric, Messana), from the country of his ancestors.”

Strabo<sup>9</sup> relates that Zancle was founded by certain Messenians of the Peloponnesus, who changed the name of Zancle, which had been given to it from the obliquity of its form<sup>1</sup>, the Sicilians calling any thing that is curved ‘zancleon.’ It had previously been built by certain Naxians<sup>2</sup>, who lived near Catana.

We have next to determine the time when the Messenians established themselves at Zancle, and gave their name to the city. If I cannot ascertain the precise year in which this happened, I hope at least to come pretty near to it.

1. Herodotus says<sup>3</sup>, that Miletus having been taken by the Persians, the Samians, on the invitation of the Zancleans, passed into Sicily, together with some Milesians, and most perfidiously seized on the city of Zancle. Now Miletus was taken in the third year of the 70th Olympiad, and Zancle therefore could only have been occupied by the

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. VI. iv. p. 380.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. VI. xxii. et xxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. VI. v. p. 380.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, VI. p. 410, c.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxxv. vol. I. p. 327, that it took its name from Zancleus its king. The account of Thucydides and Strabo seems more probable.

<sup>2</sup> This does not contradict Thucydides, who had advanced that the Chalcidians were the founders of Zancle. He also shows (VI. iii.), that the Naxians, who lived near Catana, were Chalcidians by origin.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. VI. xxii.

Samians about the fourth year of the same Olympiad. Thucydides confirms this account, by saying that the Zancleans were driven out by the Samians and other Ionians, who, flying from the Medes, had landed in Sicily. But as they themselves were shortly afterwards driven out by <sup>4</sup> Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who established there the inhabitants of different nations, and gave it the name of Messana, we must next inquire at what time this Anaxilas lived.

If we had those books of Diodorus Siculus which are lost, we might be able to fix the date of the taking of Zancle by Anaxilas; but as fate has deprived us of them, we must draw what information we can from those that are left. We find from this author<sup>5</sup>, that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium and of Zancle, died in the first year of the 76th Olympiad, after a reign of eighteen years. He therefore began to reign over Zancle in the third year of the 71st Olympiad. As to the commencement of his reign at Rhegium, we are not informed. We can scarcely doubt, however, that he was tyrant of that city at the time when the Samians took possession of Zancle.

2. Many circumstances concur in proving the epoch of these events. 1. When the Samians invaded Zancle, Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, acted a very conspicuous part<sup>6</sup>: he betrayed the Zancleans, though they were his allies, and shared their spoils with the Samians. Now we know the time when this Hippocrates lived. Gelon, who was afterwards tyrant of Syracuse, was then<sup>7</sup> one of his guards, and general<sup>8</sup> of his cavalry, *ἀπάντων τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνῳ (Γέλωνι) παρέδωκε*. It was this same Gelon who beat the Carthaginians commanded by Hamilcar, at the same time that the Greeks defeated Xerxes. 2. Anaxilas married Cydippe, the daughter of Terillus, tyrant of Himera, who, being driven from that city by Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, demanded assistance of the Carthaginians; and it was this auxiliary army that Gelon defeated at Himera.

3. This same Anaxilas<sup>9</sup> wished entirely to destroy the Locrians; but he was prevented by Hiero, as Epicharmus relates in one of his pieces called The Islands, *ὅτι δὲ Ἀναξίλαος Λοκρούς ἐθέλησεν ἄρδην ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ἐκωλύθη πρὸς Ἰέρωνος, ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Νάσοις*, Epicharmus<sup>1</sup> was contemporary with Hiero, and lived at his court, and Hiero<sup>2</sup> was contemporary with Xerxes; as he succeeded his brother Gelon, when Timosthenes was archon of Athens, that is to say, in the third year of the 75th Olympiad.

4. When Anaxilas instigated the Samians to seize on Zancle, the Zancleans were governed by their tyrant<sup>3</sup> Scythes. Now we know the time when this Scythes lived, and consequently the time of Anaxilas

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. VI. v. p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xlviii. vol. I. p. 440.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VI. xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Id. VII. cliv.

<sup>8</sup> Timæus apud Schol. Pindari, Nem. Od. IX. 95. p. 404, col. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Pindari Schol. ad Pyth. Od. I. 99. p. 172, col. 2, lin. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. 56. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxxviii. vol. I. p. 434.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. VI. xxiii.

his contemporary. Herodotus relates<sup>4</sup>, that having escaped from the city of Inycum, whither Hippocrates had sent him prisoner, he retired into Asia, and took shelter at the court of Darius.

I have expatiated on these facts, and have adduced several synchronisms, because Pausanias dates the taking of Zancle by Anaxilas nearly two centuries earlier; a gross error, which neither Sylburgius nor Kühnius, who have published editions of that author, nor the Abbé Gedoy, who has translated his works, have corrected. The substance of the passage of Pausanias is this.

“Messena<sup>5</sup> being taken by the Lacedæmonians, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, sent to invite the Messenians into Sicily. When they arrived there, he proposed to them the conquest of Zancle. Having accepted the proposal, Anaxilas defeated the Zancleans at sea, whilst the Messenians beat them by land. Zancle was afterwards besieged and taken, and the spoil shared between the conquerors, as was the city, which took the name of Messena. This occurred in the 30th Olympiad, in the year that Chionis the Lacedæmonian gained the prize for the third time, Miltiades being then archon of Athens.”

I have proved by several synchronisms, the period at which Anaxilas lived, so as to remove every doubt from the mind of the reader; but as it may be suggested that there were perhaps two tyrants of Rhegium of the name of Anaxilas<sup>6</sup>, I will now show that the Anaxilas of Pausanias is the same spoken of by Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, &c.

1. The Anaxilas of Pausanias was tyrant of Rhegium; he besieged Zancle<sup>7</sup>, and having taken it, he changed its name to Messena. The one mentioned by Thucydides<sup>8</sup> was tyrant of Rhegium; he took Zancle, and named it Messena, from the name of the country of his ancestors.

These circumstances prove that Pausanias and Thucydides speak of the same person. For if it be difficult for us to believe that there were two tyrants of Rhegium of the name of Anaxilas who took Zancle, we may pronounce it impossible that they should both have changed its name to that of Messena.

2. The Anaxilas of Herodotus is the same with that of Pausanias and Thucydides. That of Thucydides took Zancle<sup>9</sup> shortly after the Samians who fled from the Medes had established themselves there. Now that of Herodotus was tyrant of Rhegium, when the Samians, after escaping from the Medes, came into Sicily, and it was he who counselled them to settle at Zancle. Moreover, the Anaxilas of Herodotus<sup>1</sup> had a minister named Micythus, son of Choïros; Pausanias, in

<sup>4</sup> Herod. VI. xxiv.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. IV. xxiii. pp. 336, 337.

<sup>6</sup> This has been done by M. Fréret. See Mém. Acad. Bell. Lett. vol. VII. p. 300.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. IV. xxiii. p. 337.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. VI. v. p. 380.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. VI. v. p. 380.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VII. clxx.

another place<sup>2</sup>, speaks of Miccythus, the servant and steward of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, and he even cites Herodotus in proof of it; which shows clearly that in both the passages where he names Anaxilas he means the person spoken of by Herodotus.

3. The Anaxilas of Diodorus Siculus is the same with that of Pausanias and of Herodotus, as he was tyrant both of Rhegium and of Zancle<sup>3</sup>, and as his steward Miccythus was the tutor of his children, and governed the state during their minority.

4. Macrobius also says, that Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, founded the city of Messena in Sicily, and that, at his death, he committed his children<sup>4</sup> to the care of his servant Miccythus, who discharged this trust with the utmost fidelity.

Having first proved that Anaxilas was contemporary with Darius and with Xerxes, and consequently that he could not have lived in the 38th Olympiad, as Pausanias asserts, and that the Anaxilas of this author is the same with that of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus Siculus, I will prove from his own works that Anaxilas lived at the time which I and the other historians have assigned to him.

Miccythus<sup>5</sup>, says Pausanias, the servant and steward of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made a present to Olympia of several statues, which were the work of Dionysius and of Glaucus of Argos. We may reckon the time in which they lived, says he, by that of Miccythus who employed them.

If this inference is just, the converse of it is equally so, and we may discover the time of Miccythus from that of the two statuaries. Now Pausanias himself informs us<sup>6</sup>, that Dionysius, one of them, cast a statue of a horse in bronze for Phormis, the general of Gelon and of Hiero; and he also says, that Gelon and Hiero lived at the<sup>7</sup> time of the expedition of Xerxes, which I have proved to be the same with that of the tyranny of Anaxilas.

I have expatiated at great length on the time when the city of Zancle took the name of Messena, because Pausanias having dated this event more than 150 years earlier than the other historians, has led into the same error the most celebrated writers, such as Scaliger<sup>8</sup>, Simson<sup>9</sup>, Petavius<sup>1</sup>, Riccioli<sup>2</sup>, Corsini<sup>3</sup>, &c. The opinion of men like these was to be refuted only with the utmost care.

CLXV. 210. Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου. *Theron, the son of Ænesidemus.* The second and third of the Olympics of Pindar are written in

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. V. xxvi. p. 447.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xlviii. and lxvi. vol. I. pp. 440. 454.

<sup>4</sup> Macrobi. Saturn. I. xl. p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. pp. 446, 447.

<sup>6</sup> Id. IV. xxvii. pp. 447, 448.

<sup>7</sup> Id. VIII. xlii. p. 687.

<sup>8</sup> Ὀλυμπιάδ. ἀναγραφὴ, p. 315.

<sup>9</sup> Chronicon Hist. Cath. complectens. ad Olymp. XXIX. p. 549.

<sup>1</sup> De Doctr. Temp. vol. II. XIII. p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Chronol. Reform. vol. II. p. 13. ad ann. 671.

<sup>3</sup> Fast. Att. vol. III. p. 46.

celebration of this Theron, and are addressed to him. The lyric poet traces his descent<sup>4</sup> from Laius, and the Scholiast, in his remarks on that verse<sup>5</sup>, thus gives his genealogy: Laius, Œdipus, Polynices, Thersander, Tisamenes, Autesion, Theras, Samus. This last had two sons, Telemachus and Clytius. Clytius remained in the isle of Thera; but Telemachus passed into Sicily with some forces which he had assembled, and took possession of the country. Telemachus had Chalciopeus, and the latter Ænesidemus, father of Theron. There is certainly a chasm in this genealogical chart of the scholiast; for Theron appears six generations after Theras, that is to say, 200 years, whereas there are about seven centuries between Theras and Theron.

211. Καρχηδονίων έόντα βασιλῆα. *King of the Carthaginians.* This title was frequently given to the generals of the Carthaginians and to their chief magistrates. Examples are to be found in Polyænus<sup>6</sup>, and in Cornelius Nepos<sup>7</sup>.

It may appear surprising to many, that Herodotus, who has alluded to the Carthaginians in more places than one, and who in IV. clxviii. has enumerated the different nations of Libya, has been silent as to that people, and gives us no account of their empire, their power, or their commerce. But this surprise will cease, when we reflect that he could not speak of the Carthaginians in a suitable manner without departing from his plan, and causing his readers to lose sight of the subject of which he had proposed to treat. The Greeks, moreover, had too little connexion with the Carthaginians to take much interest in such a digression, as no people then had much intercourse with that nation but the Sicilians.

212. Έπηγέ μιν έπὶ τὴν Συκελίην. *Urged him to come into Sicily.* Diodorus Siculus<sup>8</sup> relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in virtue of that treaty that they carried the war into Sicily.

CLXVI. 213. Τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης καὶ νικᾶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Έλληνας τὸν Πέρσην. *The same day that the Greeks beat the Persian at Salamis.* Diodorus Siculus relates<sup>9</sup>, that Gelon obtained the victory on the same day that Leonidas fought with the 300 Lacedæmonians at the pass of Thermopylæ against the army of Xerxes. These two authors therefore agree as to the year in which this battle was fought, and differ only by some months; Herodotus placing it in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad, and Diodorus Siculus some months later.

This victory was very creditable to Gelon; but what in my opinion did him still greater honour was, that on concluding peace with the Carthaginians, he made it a condition<sup>1</sup> that for the future they should

<sup>4</sup> Pindar. Olymp. II. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pindari, p. 27. col. 1, lin. ult.

<sup>6</sup> Polyæni Strateg. I. xxvii. § ii. p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Corn. Nepos in Hannibale, VII. iv. p. 586.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. i. vol. I. pp. 403, 404.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. xxiv. vol. I. p. 422.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Apophth. p. 175, A. de

Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, p. 552, B.

sacrifice no more children to Saturn. Diodorus Siculus<sup>2</sup>, however, who quotes the treaty, does not mention this condition; and it appears from the same author, that this barbarous practice continued down to the time of Agathocles<sup>3</sup>, that is to say, till the 117th Olympiad.

214. Τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα. *Though Gelon caused him to be sought after, &c.* If we may believe Polyænus, Gelon was perfectly aware of the manner in which Hamilcar perished. He thus relates it: "Gelon, the tyrant of Sicily," says he<sup>4</sup>, "being encamped opposite to Himilco, king of Carthage, who had come into Sicily, dared not to give him battle. But having clothed in his royal garments Pediarchus, commander of his archers, and who strongly resembled him, he ordered him to advance beyond the camp and to sacrifice upon the altars. He also ordered a body of archers to accompany him clothed in white, with branches of myrtle in their hands, and their bows concealed behind these branches, and that, when they should see Himilco advance in like manner from his camp to sacrifice, they should draw their arrows on him. Pediarchus, having executed this order, Himilco, who had not the slightest suspicion, came out of his camp to offer up victims. Whilst he was occupied in sacrificing and pouring libations, a shower of arrows poured suddenly upon him, and thus he perished."

CLXVIII. 215. Οὔτοι μὲν οὕτω διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας. *Thus they cheated the Greeks.* Διακρούω in the middle voice often signifies 'to deceive;' this is its meaning in the present instance.

The insidious conduct of the Corcyreans had well nigh cost them dear. The Greeks<sup>5</sup>, at the end of the war, wished totally to destroy them. Themistocles dissuaded them, by representing to them that if they destroyed all the cities that had not made common cause with them, Greece would suffer greater injury than if the Persians were to conquer it.

CLXIX. 216. Ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων. *Because of the assistance you gave Menelaus.* The Cretans sent troops to the siege of Troy, under the command of Idomeneus and Merion<sup>6</sup>; Μενέλεω τιμωρήματα are the succours given to Menelaus. See the note of M. Valckenaer. But perhaps it would be better to translate, 'because of the assistance you gave to avenge Menelaus.' Mention is made of vengeance lower down.

CLXX. 217. Δαιδάλον. *Dædalus.* Dædalus<sup>7</sup> was an Athenian, and great-grandson of Erechtheus. He was an excellent sculptor, and invented many things which contributed to the perfection of his art.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxvi. vol. I. p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. XX. xiv. vol. II. p. 415.

<sup>4</sup> Polyæni Strat. I. xxvii. § ii. pp. 53, 54.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad I. cxxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> Homer. Iliad. II. 645, et seq.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxvi. vol. I. p. 319, &c.



He was the first who expressed the looks, and gave to statues the appearance of animation. Before him they had always been represented with the eyes closed, the hands hanging down and fixed to the sides. Talus, a nephew on his sister's side, was his pupil. This latter distinguished himself by several inventions, the potter's wheel, the saw, the turning-lathe, &c. But Dædalus, jealous of his talents, and fearful of being outdone by him, put him to death. He was for this crime condemned to death by the senate of the Areopagus. He escaped to Crete, where his talents procured him fame and the friendship of Minos the king. But not being able to maintain his influence, he fled with his son Icarus in a vessel with which the queen furnished him. Icarus having fallen into the sea, in an attempt to leap on shore on an island, was drowned, and gave his name both to the island and the sea.

Dædalus then went to Sicily, where he was received by Cocalus, who reigned over that part of the island where he landed. Minos, having heard of the flight of Dædalus into Sicily, repaired thither with a considerable fleet, and landed on the territory of Agrigentum, at a town which from him was called Minoa. He disembarked his troops, and demanded Dædalus of Cocalus. The latter having invited Minos to a conference, promised to give up Dædalus, and at the same time offered hospitality to the prince, but, instead of keeping his promise, had him drowned in a bath of excessive heat.

Aristotle, or the author, whoever he may be, of the work entitled 'de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus,' asserts (p. 100, edit. Sylburg.), that Dædalus having fled to the islands of the Electrides, which, he says, are situate near the bottom of the Adriatic gulf, placed in one of them a statue of bronze, and in the other a statue of tin. This account appears unworthy of credit: but if there be any ground for believing that there ever was a statue of pewter or tin in one of those islands, I imagine it must be because they were supposed to be near the Eridanus, and that this river was considered to be in the neighbourhood of the Cassiterides, now the Scilly islands. But ignorance is at once the mother and the offspring of fables.

218. Ἀποθανεῖν βίαιῳ θανάτῳ. *He died a violent death.* Zenobius<sup>8</sup> asserts that whilst he was in the bath, the daughters of Cocalus killed him by pouring boiling pitch on him. Diodorus Siculus says<sup>9</sup>, that Cocalus having promised him all he wished, and having offered him hospitality, put him to death by immersing him in a bath of boiling-hot water. Pausanias does not speak of the manner of the prince's death. He contents himself with saying<sup>1</sup>, that the daughters of Cocalus esteemed Dædalus so highly on account of his talents, that, to oblige him, they resolved to put Minos to death.

The violent death of this prince suggested to Sophocles his tragedy of 'Minos,' as we read in St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>2</sup>, or 'the Camici,' as

<sup>8</sup> Zenob. Cent. IV. 92, p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxix. vol. 1. p. 322.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. VII. iv. p. 531.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. VI. p. 741.



Athenæus has it<sup>3</sup>, though I suspect that the word must have been altered. For Camicos is the name of the city in Sicily over which Cocalus reigned, and the chorus of the piece must have consisted of the inhabitants of that city, who were called 'Camicii,' the Camicians. But this name is still more disfigured in Suidas, where we read<sup>4</sup>, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Κωμικοῖς. Sophocles wrote both tragedies and satiric pieces; but I am not aware that he ever wrote comedies. The sequel of the article in Suidas proves that he meant to speak of the tragedy of Minos, which was also called 'the Camicians,' and that we must alter the text to ἐν Καμικοῖς, or perhaps ἐν Καμικίοις<sup>5</sup>.

219. Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων. *The Polichnitæ and the Præsii*. The Polichnitæ were the inhabitants of Polichna, and the Præsii those of Præsus.

220. Κάμικον. *Camicus*. This city took its name from the river<sup>6</sup> Camicus, the current of which was so rapid, that its waters did not mix with the sea, if we may believe Lycus of Rhegium<sup>7</sup>.

221. Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους. *Messapian Iapygians*. These Cretans established themselves in Italy under the name of Iapygo-Messapii, in the third generation before the siege of Troy, as we learn from Herodotus in the following paragraph, that is to say, a little less than a hundred years before that war, according to the calculation of our historian<sup>8</sup>. M. Mazochi<sup>9</sup>, however, says that it was three hundred years before. "Cretenses qui postea Iapyges vocati, tribus generationibus, hoc est, annis trecentis Trojæ excidium præcessisse."

The chronologists reckon only about forty-five years between the death of Minos the Second and the taking of Troy; but our author is more to be depended on.

[Iapygia, in the south of Italy, was divided into three districts, viz. Daunia, Peucetia, and towards the east, Messapia.]

222. Προέπταισαν μεγάλως. *Received a powerful check*. "Coeval<sup>1</sup> with the archontate of Menon<sup>2</sup> at Athens, the Romans elected for their consuls, Lucius Æmilius Mamercus and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. A war broke out at that time in Italy, between the Tarentines and the Iapyges, on the subject of their boundaries. For some time none but slight battles were fought, and the belligerents occupied themselves only in pillaging each other; but their enmity, fomented by the frequent murders which occurred, continued to increase, till at length the whole of their forces were engaged in carrying on the war. The Iapyges having armed all their citizens, and called in their neighbours to

<sup>3</sup> Athen. IX. x. p. 388, F.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, voc. Πέρδικος ἱερόν. vol. III. p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Brunck in *Catalogo deperditorum dramatum Sophoclis*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Steph. Byz. voc. Ἀκράγαντες.

<sup>7</sup> Antig. Caryst. Hist. Mirab. cxlviii.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. II. cxlii.

<sup>9</sup> Comment. ad Æneas Tabulas Heraclenses, p. 537.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lii. vol. I. p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> The fourth year of the 76th Olympiad. Id. ibid.

their assistance, collected an army of more than 20,000 men. The Tarentines, learning the strength of this army, assembled all their citizens who were capable of bearing arms, and obtained considerable succours from Rhegium, with which city they were allied. A violent combat ensued, and there was great slaughter on both sides; but the Iapyges at length obtained the victory. The vanquished in their flight separated into two bodies, one of which took the road to Tarentum, and the other that of Rhegium. The Iapyges likewise divided themselves into two bodies, one of which went in pursuit of the Tarentines, and the other after the Rhegians. Those who were in pursuit of the Tarentines, being separated from them only by a short distance, killed a great number of them. The corps which pursued the Rhegians did it with so much ardour, that they entered the city with the flying enemy, and made themselves masters of it."

223. Οὗτος ὅσπερ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ 'Ρηγίου. *He being obliged to quit Rhegium.* Pausanias relates that he went and settled at Tegæa after the death of Anaxilas. The capture of Rhegium by the Iapyges was sufficient to induce Miccythus to repair to Tegæa. Herodotus, by placing the departure of Miccythus immediately after the taking of Rhegium, shows that he considers it as the consequence of that event.

This does not agree with the account of Diodorus Siculus, which is as follows:

"Hiero<sup>3</sup>, king of Syracuse, having drawn to his court<sup>4</sup>, by means of rich presents, the children of Anaxilas, who had been tyrant of Zancle, he reminded them of the benefits conferred by Gelon on their father, and advised them, as they were then of mature age, to call to account Miccythus, who had administered their property, and to take the reins of government into their own hands. On their return to Rhegium, they demanded of Miccythus his accounts. He, being a man of probity, assembled the friends of their father, and in their presence explained his accounts with so much clearness, that all present admired his justice and his fidelity. The young men, repenting of what they had done, entreated him to resume the government, and to continue in possession of the same authority which their father had enjoyed. But Miccythus, instead of yielding to their persuasions, after handing over to them the whole of their property, embarked his own on board a vessel, and left Rhegium amidst the acclamations of the people, who wished him all kinds of prosperity. Having landed in Greece, he went to reside at Tegæa in Arcadia, where he lived greatly respected."

224. Ἀνέθηκε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. *Consecrated a great number of statues.* "I have met with<sup>5</sup> a great number of the offerings of Miccy-

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lxvi. vol. I. p. 454.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus dates this in the second year of the 78th Olympiad; but Anaxilas having died in the first year of the 76th,

it is very probable that it was in that or the succeeding year that Hiero drew to his court the children of Anaxilas.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. V. xxvi. p. 446.

thus, but they were not in succession. Near the statues of Iphitus, of Elea<sup>6</sup> and Ecechiria crowning Iphitus, we observe the following gifts of Miccythus: Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, which are the works of Glaucus of Argos. On the left of the great chapel, we find the statues of Proserpine, daughter of Ceres, of Venus, of Ganymede, and of Diana: those of the poets Homer and Hesiod; and, moreover, of the gods Æsculapius and Hygeia. Among the gifts of this Miccythus, there is an Agon or combatant who holds counter-weights. These are oblong semi-circles, made in such a manner that they may be held in the hands as a buckler is held. Near the statue of Agon are seen one of Bacchus, one of Orpheus of Thrace, and one of Jupiter, which I have mentioned a little before. These are the work of Dionysius of Argos. They say that this Miccythus made other offerings likewise, but that Nero took them away. The masters of Dionysius and of Glaucus, who made these works, are not named. The period at which they lived, however, may be collected from the time of Miccythus, who dedicated their works at Olympia: for Herodotus relates in his history, that this Miccythus was slave and steward to Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, after whose death he went to live at Tegæa. The inscriptions which we read on these statues, show that his father's name was Chœrus, that Rhegium was the place of his birth, and Messena that of his abode. The inscriptions suppose him at the time at Tegæa. The offerings which he made at Olympia were votive gifts for the recovery of his son, who was suffering under an attack of phthisis."

CLXXII. 225. Ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων. *One of the Polemarchi.* The Polemarchus<sup>7</sup> was a general officer, who in time of war received the orders of the king. He then passed them to the Lochagi, the Lochagi to the Pentecontateres, the Pentecontateres to the Enomotarchi, and the latter to their Enomotii. Each Polemarchus<sup>8</sup> commanded a Mora.

In time of peace the Polemarchi presided over the Syssitia, and sent to the absentees their portion of the repast, if their absence was properly accounted for. Thus much we learn from Plutarch. The king Agis<sup>9</sup>, on his return from a war in which he had conquered the Athenians, wished to sup with his wife; the Polemarchi refused him his portion, which he had sent to demand. It appears from this passage of Herodotus, that the Polemarchi were for the most part of the blood royal.

[CLXXIII. 226. Ἐπλεε δι' Εὐρίπου. *He sailed through Euripus.* This was the strait between Eubœa and the main land. In the corruption of the Greek language, Euripus became Egripos, and this again gave rise to the Italian Negroponte, which is now the commonly received name of Eubœa.]

<sup>6</sup> A goddess who presides over truces and armistices.

<sup>7</sup> Thucyd. V. lxvi. p. 357.

<sup>8</sup> Xen. Laced. Respubl. xi. § iv. p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. in Lycurgo, p. 46, c.

CLXXV. 227. Ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίον. *Into Artemisium.* The Artemisium is a branch of the sea. The Athenians<sup>1</sup>, alarmed at the arrival of the Barbarians at the Artemisium, sent Agesilaus, the brother of Themistocles, to collect information, though his father, in a dream, had seen him without his hands. Having reached the camp of the Barbarians in a Persian habit, he killed Mardonius, one of the guards of Xerxes, whom he took for that prince. He was immediately seized, bound, and led before the king. That prince was then on the point of sacrificing an ox on the altar of the sun. Agesilaus thrust forth his hand into the flames, and suffered it to be burned, without uttering a sigh or groan. His fetters were then removed; on which he said: "Whilst we are Athenians, we are all such as you have beheld. If you doubt it, I will put my left hand in the fire." Xerxes, struck with terror, ordered him to be well guarded, as is related by Agatharchides, in the second book of his History of Persia.

This anecdote calls to mind one of Mutius Scaevola, with regard to Porsenna, king of the Etruscans, which Plutarch relates immediately afterwards. Though the firmness of this Greek and this Roman may merit praise, we must yet abhor the base assassination which they meditated.

CLXXVI. 228. Τὰ Χύτροις καλέουσι. *Which they call chytri.* They were called χύτροι γυναικεῖοι, or bathing-tubs of the women. The bluest water that I have seen, says Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, is that of Thermopylae. The whole of it, however, is not so, but only that which runs into the reservoir, called by the people of the country 'the women's bathing-tub.'

CLXXVIII. 229. Τῆς Κηφισσοῦ θυγατρὸς Θυίης. *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus.* "Others<sup>3</sup> say that Castalius, originally of this country<sup>4</sup>, had a daughter called Thyia. She was priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated the orgies in honour of that god. The name of Thyiadæ has since been given to all those priestesses who become furious in honour of the god. They think also that Delphus was the offspring of this Thyia by Apollo; but others contend, that the mother of this Delphus was Melæna, daughter of Cephissus."

CLXXXI. 230. Ἐπιβατεύοντες. *One of those who defended it.* Ἐπιβατεύειν is said of the soldiers who are placed in a vessel to defend it. Ἐπιβάται was the name given to these soldiers at Athens, as is remarked by Porphyrius<sup>5</sup>, as Homer<sup>6</sup> terms παραβάται those who fought in chariots. Lysias<sup>7</sup> also says, οὐδεπώπορ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔστρα-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Parallel. Hist. Græc. p. 305, D.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. IV. xxxv. p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Id. X. vi. p. 812.

<sup>4</sup> The environs of Parnassus.

<sup>5</sup> Homeric. Quæst. I. p. lxxxiii.

<sup>6</sup> Homer. Iliad. XXIII. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Lysias, De Calliæ Sacril. p. 107, lin. 17. It is not the oration for Callias, but that against Andocides.

τεύσατο, οὔτε ἰππεὺς, οὔτε ὀπλίτης, οὔτε τριήραρχος, οὔτ' ἐπιβάτης. 'He never quitted the city to go to the wars, either as a horseman, or as a heavy-armed soldier; he never commanded a trireme, nor fought in one to defend it.'

231. Σινδόνος βυσσίνης. *Cotton*. I have endeavoured to prove elsewhere that<sup>8</sup> the byssus was cotton. A critic of the first order has objected that the shrub which bears the cotton not being known in Egypt in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily have been still more scarce in the time of Herodotus, and he is led to believe, with Hardouin, that it is a species of very fine linen. But this reasoning does not appear to me at all conclusive. It may have happened that this plant was in a great measure destroyed by inundations, especially after Egypt became barbarous. This may have been one of the reasons of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, but, I think, is far from proving that it was scarce either in the time of our historian, or anterior to it.

According to my interpretation, the Persians bound up the wounds of Pythes with cotton. We, in like cases, make use of linen. But the Egyptians, to this day, use cotton lint for wounds and ulcers. "Utuntur<sup>9</sup> gossipii lanugine Ægyptii, linearum petiarum loco, quibus nostri tantum utuntur ad ulcera vulneraque omnia sananda."

We find the word byssus more than fifty times in the Septuagint, and in the French translations it is always rendered either 'linen' or 'fine linen.' However, as the translators might have observed that the word 'linum' is also mentioned in the Bible, they should have inferred that there was a distinction between them.

CLXXXII. 232. Τοῦ μὲν σκάφους. *Of the ship's hull*. Ναῦς is properly a vessel with her rigging; σκάφος a vessel without it. Let us see what the learned Coray says<sup>1</sup>: "When the Greeks join the words σκάφη νεῶν, there is no periphrasis; but the first word signifies only the hull of the vessel, without masts, sails, cordage, &c. just as we see them on the stocks, or as they sometimes appear, when disabled, after a battle. It is in this sense that the words are used by Æschylus:

Ὑπτιοῦτο δὴ  
Σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν  
Ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.—Persæ, 416.

Neither need we seek for any periphrasis in the Rhesus of Euripides (392), καὶ νεῶν πρήσων σκάφη. It is actually the hulls of the vessels that Rhesus wishes to burn, because he has no sailors, and they are useless to him. But there is a passage of Herodotus which decides this question positively. In speaking of a naval action between the

<sup>8</sup> Note 11. on § lxxxvi. of bk. II. p. 396;  
and note 1. on § cvi. of bk. III. p. 597.

<sup>9</sup> Prosp. Alp. de Plantis Ægypti, p. 69.

<sup>1</sup> Notes on M. Levesque's translation  
of Thucydides, vol. I. p. 382.

Athenians and the Persians, he says, αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν, κ.τ.λ. Is it not clear that he applies ναῦς to the two vessels taken with their equipage and all their rigging; that he gives the same name to the third, ἡ δὲ τρίτη, as long as it was pursued; and that he afterwards, when it had struck near the mouth of the Peneus, and lost all its rigging, calls it σκάφος?"

233. Παρὰ πυρσῶν. *By signal fires.* Torches of wood<sup>2</sup> were elevated upon the walls, to announce the arrival of an enemy, or even of friends. When they were held steady, it indicated friends; but when waved about, an enemy.

234. Ἡμεροσκόπους. *Hemeroscopi.* Those who kept watch during the day. These Hemeroscopi<sup>3</sup> left the city before day-break, repaired to the place where they were to keep watch, and returned to the city at night-fall. They sometimes remained out all night, and then made their signals to the citizens by fires, which in the day-time was done by smoke.

The Hemeroscopi<sup>4</sup> were required to be swift runners, in order that, if any thing occurred which they could not communicate by signals, they might carry the intelligence themselves. Their various functions are given in detail by Æneas, an ancient author who wrote on Tactics, in his 6th and 7th paragraphs.

CLXXXIII. 235. Στήλην λίθον. *A column of stone.* This rock was probably level with the surface of the water, and a column was erected on it, to warn ships to avoid it. Herodotus no doubt alludes to this, when he says, a little lower down, that the fleet set sail as soon as all impediments were removed.

CLXXXIV. 236. Τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον. *Ancient troops.* He understands the contingent furnished by the different Asiatic nations, exclusive of the Persians, the Medes, and the Saci, in contradistinction to those raised in Europe, in the countries through which the army passed.

CLXXXV. 237. Βοττιαῖοι. *The Bottiæi.* The Bottiæi were Athenians by origin, and were descended, according to Aristotle<sup>5</sup>, in his Republic of the Bottiæi, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew up in that island, earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. The Cretans, in fulfilment of a vow, sent to Delphi the flower of their citizens, to whom the descendants of these Athenians were added. As they could not subsist in that place, they went first into Italy, and settled in the neighbourhood of Iapygia; they thence passed into Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæi. Hence the burden of the song of the young girls, in their solemn sacrifices, 'Let us go to Athens,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, voc. φρυκτοί, vol. III. p. 636.

<sup>3</sup> Turneb. Advers. XXVII. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Æneas Poliorcet. vi. p. 1651.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 6, F; 7, A.



CLXXXVII. 238. Χοίνικα. *A chœnix*. The chœnix, says Philemon in a work that has never been printed<sup>6</sup>, signifies both the measure and the thing measured.

239. Ἐνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελομένας . . . καὶ πρὸς, τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. *One hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni*. There are forty-eight chœnices in one medimnus. The 110,340 medimni give us to understand that there were 5,294,320 men in the Persian army. This army, however, did not amount to so many by 1,300,000. There is, therefore, an error either in the number of medimni, or in that of the army: but wherever it may be, is not of much consequence.

CLXXXVIII. 240. Πρόκροσαι ἐς πόντον. *The prow turned towards the sea*. These vessels were arranged one behind the other, like the steps of an amphitheatre, their prows all turned towards the sea. This is what is signified by πρόκροσαι. See the Ionic Lexicon of Æmilius Portus. The expression is similar in Homer, τῷ ῥα προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν. They drew their vessels on shore, one a little behind the other, with their heads turned towards the sea.

241. Πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης. *A strong east wind*. This wind coming from the Hellespont, should be north-north-east; and yet Herodotus calls it Apeliotes, which is certainly the east wind. The more I reflect on this expression, the more I am impressed with its impropriety. When our ancestors were describing the boundaries of their possessions, they were more precise. They would say, for instance, this faces the sun-rise in summer, and that his rising in winter. Had they simply said the sun's rising, without specifying whether it was in winter or summer, such want of precision would have led to incessant disputes. I am therefore obliged to conclude, that though the eight principal points of the wind might be known in the time of our historian, their various names were not become familiar.

The ancients at first knew but four winds. Eight others were afterwards added; but that appearing too minute a distinction, they contented themselves with retaining only four of these. Pliny thus speaks of them:

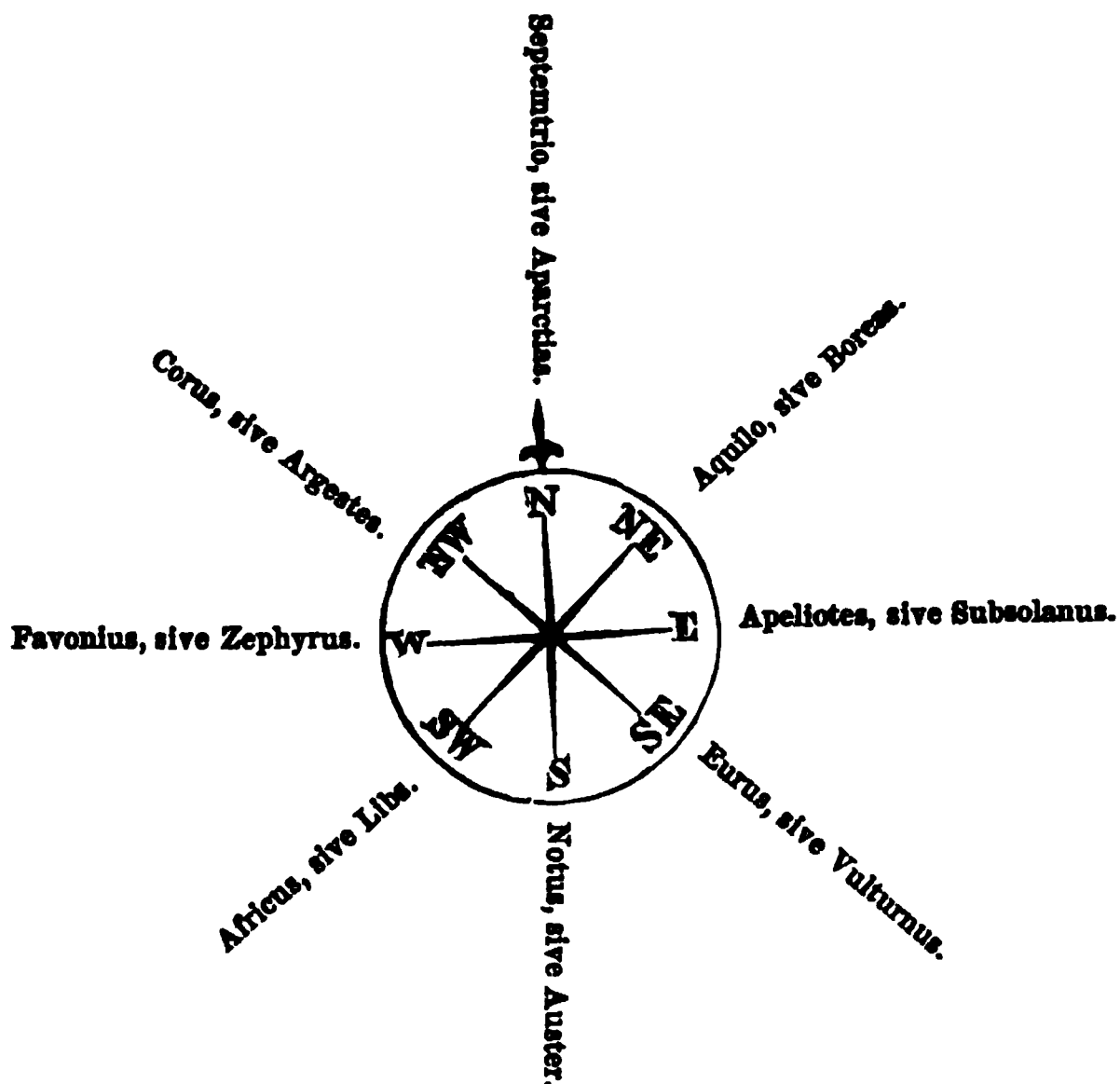
“Veteres<sup>7</sup> quatuor omnino servavere, per totidem mundi partes (ideo nec Homerus plures nominat); hebeti, ut modo judicatum est, ratione. Secuta ætas octo addidit, nimis subtili et concisâ: proximis inter utramque media placuit, ad brevem ex numerosâ additis quatuor. Sunt ergo bini in quatuor cœli partibus: ab Oriente æquinoctiali Subsolanus, ab Oriente brumali Vulturnus: illum Apelioten, hunc Corum Græci appellant. A meridie Auster, et ab occasu brumali Africus: Noton et Liba nominant. Ab occasu æquinoctiali Favonius, ab occasu solsti-

<sup>6</sup> See the Lexicon of Apollonius, p. 859, note 7, col. 1, lin. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xlvii. vol. I. p. 96. See also XVIII. xxxiv. vol. II. p. 145.



tiali Corus; Zephyrum et Argesten vocant. A Septemtrionibus, Septemtrio: *interque eum et exortum solstitialem*, Aquilo; Aparctias et Boreas dicti."



The words in Italic characters appear to me corrupt. Pliny says that the 'Aquilo' is between the north and the summer rising. The summer rising being the north-east, it should follow that the 'Aquilo' is the north-north-east. But Pliny here speaks only of eight winds; and if he here intended the north-north-east, he would be anticipating what he has to say afterwards. We know, moreover, from Aulus Gellius, that the 'Aquilo' is the north-east, which<sup>9</sup> "*ab æstivâ et solstitiali Orientis metâ venit; Latine Aquilo, Boreas Græce dicitur.*" I therefore read in the passage of Pliny, "*juxtaque eum ad exortum solstitialem*" . . . The Hellespontias is the same with the Cæcias, that is to say, the north-east, as Hardouin, in his notes on Pliny, calls it; but I am rather for calling it the north-north-east. "*Numerosior ratio<sup>1</sup> interjecerat . . . . Cæciam, media inter Aquilonem et exortum æquinoc-tialem, ab ortu solstitiali . . . . Cæciam aliqui vocant Hellespontiam.*"

[Pliny may be easily justified for placing Aquilo (N. E.) between the north and the summer rising; for the last-named point is not, as Larcher says, the N. E., but strictly, the E. N. E. The division of the compass into only eight winds, left room for much inaccuracy and latitude of expression.]

<sup>9</sup> Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. II. xxii. p. 161.

<sup>1</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xlvii. vol. I. p. 96, lin. 23.

242. Ἀνασπᾶσαντες. *Drawing them on shore.* It was the custom of those times to drag the vessels on shore, when either a tempest or an enemy was apprehended. Ἀνασπάω signifies, 'I draw up.' The proof that they had drawn them on shore is, that they surrounded them with a high palisade, to secure them from the attacks of the Thessalians; and to express their re-launching them, Herodotus uses the verb κατασπᾶσαντες τὰς νέας, which shows that they drew them down, that they drew them from off the shore into the sea. Ἀνασπᾶσαντες τὰς νέας is the same as ἐπ' ἡπείρουιο ἔρυσαν, which Homer uses on a similar occasion. Herodotus uses also ἀνελκύσαι and καθελκύσαι.

CLXXXIX. 243. Βορῆς ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικήν. *Boreas married an Athenian.* Astræus had<sup>2</sup> by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas, who carried off Orithyia, says Hesagoras, in his Megarica<sup>3</sup>, was not the wind, but the son of Strymon. Most people, however, confound one with the other, and make of Boreas, sometimes a prince, sometimes a wind.

This Boreas went from Thrace to Attica, whence he carried off Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, sixth king of Athens; he took her to Thrace and married her. By this marriage, he became the son-in-law of Erechtheus, and the Athenians considered him as an ally, because he was the son-in-law of one of their kings.

We can scarcely comprehend how men so enlightened could have believed that the daughter of one of their kings should have inspired a wind with a passion, and should have had children by it, viz. Zetes and Calais, who joined Jason in his expedition in search of the Golden Fleece. In not believing this fable, says Socrates<sup>4</sup>, I should imitate wise men, and withhold my sanction from an absurdity. I should then explain it, by saying that Orithyia, playing with Pharmacia, was driven violently against the rocks by Boreas (the north-east wind), and that dying in consequence, she was said to have been carried off by this wind.

However absurd this fable may be, it was not confined to the city of Athens. The inhabitants of Thurium testified their devotion to this wind, and reckoned no less than those of Athens on its assistance. Delivered from<sup>5</sup> a great danger by a wind which destroyed the fleet of Dionysius the tyrant, with whom they were at war, they offered sacrifices to this wind, conferred on it the right of citizenship, assigned it a chapel with a fixed revenue, and annually celebrated a festival in honour of it. The Megalopolitans did nearly<sup>6</sup> the same thing.

244. Ἰρὸν παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. *A chapel on the banks of the Ilissus.* Festivals<sup>7</sup> were celebrated in honour of Boreas, and the people

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod. Theogon. 378.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Apollonii ad Argonaut. I. 211. p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Plato in Phædro, vol. III. p. 229, c.

<sup>5</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. XII. lxi. vol. II.

p. 827, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VIII. xxxvi. p. 673.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. voc. Βορεασμοί.

regaled on those days. These festivals were called Βορραιοί. On the banks of the Ilissus, and near<sup>8</sup> the temple of Diana Agræa (the huntress) was an altar of Boreas.

CXC. 245. Παιδοφόρος. *Child-slayer*. The expression of Herodotus is somewhat ambiguous. Plutarch understands it to mean, that Aminocles<sup>9</sup> had killed his children, and hence takes occasion to reproach Herodotus for his ill-nature, in dragging Aminocles on the stage, merely for the purpose of imputing to him the murder of his children. But we cannot absolutely say that Herodotus meant this<sup>1</sup>.

CXCI. 246. Ἔντομα ποιεῦντες. *By sacrificing victims*, Ἐντέμνω signifies 'I sacrifice,' and is most frequently followed by the thing sacrificed, in the accusative. Ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι τῷ φονικωτάτῳ θεῶν Ἐνναλίῳ σκύλακας ἐντέμνουσι<sup>2</sup>. 'At Lacedæmon little dogs are sacrificed to Mars, the most sanguinary of all the gods.' Hence ἐντομή generally signifies a sacrifice in which the victim is slain, and ἔντομος the victim sacrificed.

Καί μιν κυδαίνοντες, ὑπὸ κνέφας ἔντομα μῆλων  
Κεῖαν, ὀρινομένης ἀλὸς οἴδατι<sup>3</sup>.

'Towards night, they burned in honour of Dolops the sheep which they had sacrificed on the shores of the stormy sea.'

Ἔντομος cannot therefore be said of human victims, unless some peculiar circumstances affix that meaning to it. Ἔντομα is properly<sup>4</sup> applied to sacrifices made in honour of the infernal gods, or of the dead, because the victim was slain in a pit: whereas, when an animal was sacrificed to the celestial gods, the head of the animal was drawn back, αὐτὸ ἔρυσαν, as Homer expresses it, so that it might look up to heaven, and in that position it was slaughtered.

247. Ἀπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιάς ἐκείνης. *The coast of Sepias was consecrated to her*. This coast<sup>5</sup> was consecrated to Thetis, because that goddess, when endeavouring to escape from the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself on the spot, into a cuttle-fish, in Greek Σηπία. This fable conferred the name of Sepias on this coast and its promontory.

CXCIII. 248. Κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην. *Having doubled the promontory*. Κάμψαι τὴν ἄκρην, to double the promontory, or pass round it without damaging the vessel. Κάμψαι τὴν νύσσαν means, to turn round the winning-post without damaging the chariot. Horace has expressed this in his first Ode, "Metaque fervidis evitata rotis."

Hence the term is used metaphorically<sup>6</sup>, Πόλεις τ' ἔχουσαι διὰ λόγου

<sup>8</sup> Plato in Phædro, vol. III. p. 229, c.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. de Herodoti Malignitate, p. 871, b.

<sup>1</sup> Palmerius, Exerc. in Opt. Auct. Græc. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. 290, d.

<sup>3</sup> Apollon. Rhod. I. 24. p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Apollonii, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Apol. Rhod. I. 582. p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Eurip. Suppl. 748.

κάμψαι κακά. 'States having it in their power by conference to go clear of misunderstandings.'

249. Καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων. *And his comrades.* The association of the Argonauts occasioned the Magnesians to celebrate a festival which is spoken of by Hegesander. "I know<sup>7</sup> the festival celebrated in Magnesia, and which is called Hetæridia:" this name is not derived from ἐταῖραι, courtesans, but from another source, as mentioned by Hegesander in his memoirs, in the following terms. "The Magnesians celebrate the festival of the Hetæridia. They relate that Jason, the son of Æson, having assembled the Argonauts, was the first who sacrificed to Jupiter Hetærius, and who gave to this festival the name of Hetæridia. The kings of Macedon celebrate a festival under this name."

250. Τῆς Ἀργούης. *The ship Argo.* This, according to the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius<sup>8</sup>, was the first long-shaped vessel that was ever constructed. Navigation must have been known to the Greeks before this time; but as the expedition to Colchis was the first voyage of any importance which they undertook, and as the vessel constructed for the purpose was the largest that had been then seen in Greece, the origin of navigation was by some referred to this epoch. The Tyrians, however, had before performed voyages of considerable length, and the invention of navigation is commonly attributed to them.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

TIBULL. I. Eleg. viii. 7.

Two centuries before the expedition of Jason, Cadmus of Tyre had arrived in Greece; and Danaus had gone thither twenty years before in a vessel called, from his name, Danaïs. The vessel of the Argonauts took its name from Argus, the son of Phrixus, as Pherecydes<sup>9</sup> has it, but the son of Arestor, according to Apollonius Rhodius<sup>1</sup>. This vessel appeared to the Greeks so wonderful, that they were persuaded that Argus had been instructed by Minerva herself, and that he had worked under her direction.

Ἀργος τε θεᾶς ὑποεργὸς Ἀθήνης<sup>2</sup>.

Catullus also attributes the construction of it to that goddess.

Diva quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces  
Ipsa levi fecit volitantem flamine currum,  
Pinea conjungens inflexæ texta carinæ<sup>3</sup>.

251. Ἡρακλῆα καταλειφθῆναι. *Hercules was left behind.* Different opinions prevail as to the place where Hercules was left. That of Herodotus appears the most ancient, and was also that of Hesiod<sup>4</sup>, as we

<sup>7</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIII. iv. p. 572, D, E.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 4. p. 106, lin. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. Rhod. I. 2. p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. 23. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Catull. de Nuptiis Pel. et Thet. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1290. p. 145.

find in his poem called 'the Wedding of Ceyx.' Apollonius Rhodius<sup>5</sup> says, he was put on shore at Cios in Mysia; Dionysius of Mitylene, that he went on to Colchis, and distinguished himself there; Antimachus, that he was landed in Lydia, because he was too heavy for the vessel; Ephorus, that he remained voluntarily in Lydia with the queen Omphale, &c.

CXCVII. 252. Τὸ ἱρόν. *The consecrated place.* The term here used by Herodotus usually signifies a place consecrated to some divinity. In the same paragraph he calls it ἄλσος, a sacred wood, and τέμενος, a portion of consecrated ground. Pausanias<sup>6</sup> also calls it τέμενος.

253. Λαφυστίου Διός. *Jupiter Laphystius.* It was to this god<sup>7</sup> that Phrixus sacrificed the ram on which he had escaped; and even to this day, says the scholiast<sup>8</sup> of Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the Prytaneum, agreeably to the law, and offers sacrifices to this god. This place, consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius, was either in Achaia or Phthiotis.

At the distance of twenty stadia<sup>9</sup> from Coronea was the mount Laphystius, where there was a spot consecrated to Jupiter. A statue of the god in stone is seen there. Phrixus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed on this spot by Athamas, it is said that Jupiter sent them a ram, whose fleece was of gold, and upon which they escaped.

Jupiter, surnamed Laphystius, was, according to Kühn<sup>1</sup>, the protector of fugitives. Λαφύστιος signifies one who is in a hurry. Λαφύσσει· Σπεύδει, says Hesychius. But I rather think that the god obtained this name from mount Laphystius, in Bœotia, where he was adored. The Etymologicum Magnum remarks<sup>2</sup>, that this mountain gave to Bacchus likewise the name of Laphystius.

254. Κυτισώρου. *Cytissorus.* Phrixus had two sons, Cytissorus and Phrontis, mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius<sup>3</sup>. But in all the editions of that author, the name is written Cytisorus, though contrary to the measure of the verse. M. Brunck was the first who restored the true reading from a MS.

CXCVIII. 255. Τῷ ὄννομα Δύρας. *Which is called Dyras.* Κεῖμαι signifies here, and very often elsewhere, 'sum,' I am. "Ἐως μὲν οὖν γῆς ὅρθ' ἔκειθ' ὀρίσματα<sup>4</sup> . . . . 'Whilst the walls of the city were whole, whilst they were standing.' Τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἥρωσι κειμένοις<sup>5</sup>. 'Heroes raised to honours.'

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 1290. p. 145, lin. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. xxxiv. p. 778.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, ibid. I. xxiv. p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Ad Argonaut. II. p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. IX. xxxiv. p. 778.

<sup>1</sup> In notis ad Pausan. Attic. p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Etymol. Magn. 557, lin. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Apoll. Rhod. II. 1159, or edit. Brunck. 1155.

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. Hecub. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Athen. Deipnos. I. xi. init. p. 13, c.

CC. 256. *Δήμητρος Ἀμφικτυονίδος. Ceres Amphictyonis.* The assemblies of the Amphictyons were held twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. That in the spring was held at Delphi<sup>6</sup>, as is mentioned in two decrees preserved by Demosthenes, and by Strabo<sup>7</sup>. That of the autumn was held near<sup>8</sup> Anthela, in the temple of Ceres Amphictyonis. This religious assembly was the most solemn in all Greece. The Pylagori<sup>9</sup> at its opening offered sacrifices to Ceres; and hence probably the name given to this temple.

257. *Ἀμφικτυόνος. Of Amphictyon.* Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, as we learn from Apollodorus<sup>1</sup>, from Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, and from the Oxford Marbles<sup>3</sup>, and not of Hellen, as we find in Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>4</sup>, reigned first<sup>5</sup> at Thermopylæ. Having shortly afterwards passed into Attica, he married a daughter of Cranaüs<sup>6</sup>. The ambitious prince then drove out his father-in law, and reigned in his place twelve years. It was during his reign in Attica and Thermopylæ that he conceived and executed<sup>7</sup> the project of assembling the people bordering upon Thermopylæ, and giving them the name of Amphictyons. "This prince," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>8</sup>, "finding the Hellenic nation weak and incapable of resisting the Barbarians by whom it was surrounded, obliged it to have a peculiar council, and to hold a solemn assembly, called, from his name, Amphictyonic."

The temple dedicated to this prince shows that, at the time of Herodotus, he was considered as the institutor of the assembly of the Amphictyons. Strabo<sup>9</sup>, however, attributes the merit of it to Acrisius. But the scholiast of Euripides, who, no doubt, had some sources of information which have not reached us, proposes a middle course, which appears to me to obviate the difficulty. "The inhabitants of Delphi<sup>1</sup>," says he, "being at war with their neighbours, caused Acrisius to come from Argos . . . who, in imitation of the Amphictyonic council established by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, at Thermopylæ, instituted another at Delphi."

This historical fact, which we find no where else, reconciles Strabo with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and with the author of the Oxford Marbles. These two assemblies were in the sequel merged into one, which was held alternately at Thermopylæ and at Delphi.

Or it may be, that there was originally but one assembly of the Amphictyons, established by Amphictyon, and that having degenerated,

<sup>6</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 165. segm. 275, 276.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 643, c.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. Bibl. I. vii. § ii. ; III. xiii. § vi.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. X. viii. p. 815.

<sup>3</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. v. et viii.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. IV. xxv.

p. 220, lin. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. Bibl. III. xiii. § vi. p. 225 ; Marmora Oxon. Epoch. V.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. I. ii. p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Marmora Oxon. Epoch. V.

<sup>8</sup> Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. IV. xxv. p. 220.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 643.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Eurip. ad Orest. 1094. p. 90.

Acrisius restored it to its former consequence : hence he may have been considered the institutor.

CCII. 258. Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι, καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. *Seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.* Pausanias<sup>2</sup> says that the Boeotians furnished 700 men, Thebes and Thespiæ 400.

The author of the Oration against Neæra, which is placed among those of Demosthenes, attributes<sup>3</sup> to the Platæans what all other authors unanimously say of the Thespians. What he says of them is the less probable, as the Platæans, being under the protection of Athens, would naturally follow the standards of Themistocles, rather than those of Leonidas.

CCIII. 259. Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι. *The Locrian-Opuntians.* Pausanias thinks that we may arrive at the number of troops furnished by this people by conjecture. "The Athenians," says he<sup>4</sup>, "at the battle of Marathon, did not amount to more than 9000 men, including the slaves, and even such as were scarcely of a fit age to bear arms. The troops of the Locrians who came to Thermopylæ, could not therefore exceed 6000 men." This reasoning appears to me far from conclusive. Diodorus Siculus reckons only 1000 Locrians<sup>5</sup>, which is the more likely.

CCV. 260. Ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας. *The fixed and permanent corps.* M. Wesseling thought that κατεστεῶτας was equivalent to the οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ of Demosthenes<sup>6</sup>, 'those who had attained to manhood, or the age of bearing arms.' I know that καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία bears this meaning; but I doubt greatly whether it can be given to οἱ κατεστεῶτες, which appears to me to indicate a fixed and permanent body; and if I mistake not, this body was that of the 300 knights. If we admit the explanation of M. Wesseling, τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους would signify, on account of the article prefixed, the 300 men of age to carry arms. But did Sparta produce no greater number of men capable of bearing arms?

261. Ἀλλοφρονέοντες. *Though in inclination alienated.* The Greek literally is, 'though they thought differently.' In fact, they thought one thing and did another. They leaned to the Persians, yet gave assistance to the Greeks. Diodorus Siculus says<sup>7</sup>, that there were two parties at Thebes, one of which sent 400 men to Thermopylæ.

CCVI. 262. Κάρνεια. *The festival of the Carnia.* The Carnia were

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. X. xx. p. 845.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. p. 740. segm. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. X. xx. p. 846.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. 4. vol. I. p. 407,

lin. 89, 90.

<sup>6</sup> Demosth. pro Coron. p. 170. segm. 315.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. iv. vol. I. p. 407.



celebrated at Sparta<sup>8</sup> for the space of nine days, in honour of Apollo. This festival, according to the Chronicle of Sosimus, cited by<sup>9</sup> Athenæus, was instituted in the 26th Olympiad. "All the<sup>1</sup> Dorians had a peculiar veneration for Apollo Carnius. It was occasioned by the circumstance of Carnus of Acarnania having received from that god the gift of divination. The diviner being killed by Hippotes, the son of Phylas<sup>2</sup>, Apollo inflicted vengeance on the whole camp of the Dorians. Hippotes was banished for this murder. And from that time the Dorians resolved to appease the manes of the prophet of Acarnania. This Apollo is not the same who is surnamed 'Carnius Domesticus.' The latter was adored in the house of the soothsayer Crius<sup>3</sup>, at the time when Sparta was in the hands of the Achæans. We find, from the poetry of Praxilla, that Carnus was the son of Europa, and that he was brought up by Apollo and Latona. Another reason is assigned for this surname of the god<sup>4</sup>. The Greeks cut, upon Mount Ida in the Troad, some cornel-trees (κράνειοι) from a wood sacred to Apollo, for the purpose of constructing the wooden horse. Hearing that the god was incensed against them, they endeavoured to appease him by sacrifices, and by a slight alteration, or metathesis, surnamed him Carnius."

The worship of Apollo Carnius<sup>5</sup> passed from the Spartans to the Theræans, and from them to the Cyrenæans and Asbysti.

The scholiast of Theocritus affirms that the colonies of the Peloponnesus celebrated this festival on account of the plague. The Argians had given to Carnus the surname of Hegetor, that is to say, the conductor, because that diviner marched at the head of the army of the Heraclidæ. This honour was conferred on soothsayers in the earliest ages of Greece. We know that Calchas was at the head of the expeditions of the Greeks against Troy. There are still other reasons assigned for the institution of this festival, which I have not thought it worth while to detail here.

CCIX. 263. Τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεῖονται. *They dress their hair.* Long hair distinguished a free man from a slave. When the Lacedæmonians were about to encounter the greatest dangers in defence of their liberty, they paid attention to their hair; but it was very different from that effeminate care which occupies the time of so many persons and constitutes so large a portion of their merit. Plutarch agrees with Herodotus on this point. He adds, that Lycurgus<sup>6</sup> used to say that long hair added grace to a fine man, and rendered such as were ugly still more frightful.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. IV. ix. p. 141, F.

<sup>9</sup> Id. XIV. ix. p. 635 F.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. III. xiii. pp. 238, 239.

<sup>2</sup> One of the Heraclidæ. See the Scholiast of Theocritus ad Idyll. V. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Before the return of the Heraclidæ,

as Pausanias says, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> The Scholiast of Theocritus says nearly the same.

<sup>5</sup> Callim. Hymn. in Apoll. 72, et s.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 53, D, E.

The Lacedæmonians suffered their hair to grow only from the time of their victory over the Argians<sup>7</sup>.

CCX. 264. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. *The combat lasted the whole day.* Δι' ἡμέρης is the whole day, δι' ἔτεος the whole year. In like manner as δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ, which is explained by Harpocration διὰ ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

CCXIII. 265. Ἐπιάλτης. *Ephialtes.* Calliades<sup>8</sup> and Timaphernes, the most powerful men among the Trachinians, had joined their forces to the troops of Xerxes. We therefore cannot be surprised that a Trachinian should point out to that prince a path known only to the people of the country. The action of Ephialtes, properly speaking, was not treason. Epialtes is an Ionism. "The Ionians," says Gregory<sup>9</sup>, archbishop of Corinth, "prefer the soft to the hard breathing. They say ἀπιγμένοι, ἀπίκοντο, ἀπηλιώτης, &c." This is perfectly correct, and accordingly all those who used the common dialect, have always written Ephialtes. "A Trachinian<sup>1</sup>, named Ephialtes, pointed out to the Persians a narrow path of the mountain."

266. Τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος φέρουσιν. *The path leading across the mountain.* The Greeks term a narrow path ἀτραπός, and it is thus that Herodotus always calls the path which the traitor Ephialtes pointed out to Xerxes. This name, common to all footpaths, became afterwards proper to this peculiar one. Appian, speaking of the victory obtained by the Romans over Antiochus at Thermopylæ, thus expresses himself: "Antiochus caused the summit of the mountains to be occupied by the Ætolians, lest the Romans, taking the path named Atrapos, should turn his flank before he was aware of it<sup>2</sup>."

The Gauls<sup>3</sup>, wishing to penetrate into Greece in order to plunder the temple of Delphi, found themselves stopped at the pass of Thermopylæ. This defile was defended by the Athenians, who had hastened thither to save Greece, notwithstanding the state of weakness to which they were reduced by their reverses in the wars with the Macedonians. They were commanded by Callippus, son of that Olbiades whose portrait had been placed, on account of his merit<sup>4</sup>, in the senate of Five Hundred, among those of the Thesmothetæ or legislators, which were the work of Protogenes. The Athenians<sup>5</sup> repulsed the Barbarians; but the latter being acquainted with the narrow path which Ephialtes of Trachin had pointed out to the Persians 201 years before, broke through the Phocians, who were charged with the defence of it, and having passed Mount Ceta before the Greeks perceived them, surrounded the Athenians. The

<sup>7</sup> Herod. I. lxxxii.

<sup>8</sup> Ctesias, Persic. xxiv.

<sup>9</sup> Gregorius de Dialectis, p. 185.

<sup>1</sup> Polyæni Strateg. VII. xv. §. v. p. 637. Conf. Strabo, I. p. 20, A; Pau-

san. I. iv. p. 11, lin. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Appiani Hist. Syriac. p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. iv. p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. I. iii. p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. I. iv. 11.

latter showed themselves, on this occasion, worthy of their ancestors; they sustained with firmness the shock of the Barbarians; but, after many heroic actions, they were compelled to take to their ships. The Barbarians marched immediately to Delphi, where the greater part of them perished. Brennus, their commander, died of his wounds a few days afterwards.

It is remarkable that the Phocidians on this occasion proved themselves as deficient in courage as their ancestors had done two centuries before.

267. Τῶν Πυλαγόρων. *The Pylagori.* The Pylagori were not the principals of the Amphictyonic council, as Hesychius asserts. The Hieromnemons, as charged with the concerns of religion, took precedence of them. The term Amphictyons is more general. It includes the Pylagori, the Hieromnemons, in a word, all those who composed this council. Those who would be more particularly informed on these points, will do well to consult Potter's *Archæologia Græca*. It must be remarked, however, that he considers the words Pylagori and Amphictyones as meaning the same thing, which is not exactly the case. All the Pylagori were Amphictyons, but all the Amphictyons were not Pylagori.

268. Τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημαίνω. *Of which I shall speak afterwards.* He does not, however, mention them in any other place, that I am aware of. This therefore is a promise which Herodotus has not kept, or else the whole of his writings have not reached us.

CCXIV. 269. Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ. *Of Ephialtes the Trachinian.* Herodotus here calls him a Trachinian, as do most of the authors; in the preceding paragraph, he had called him a Melian. Trachin was not far from the district of Melitæa.

CCXVI. 270. Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον. *The rock called Melampygyus.* Thia<sup>6</sup>, the daughter of the Ocean, had two sons, who insulted passengers. Their mother advised them to wrong no one, for fear of falling into the hands of some man with black buttocks (some Melampygyus), and being punished for their insolence. Hercules having one day met them, tied them together by the feet, and took them up on his shoulders with their heads downwards, under his lion's skin. These two brothers remarking that Hercules had hairy buttocks, burst into a fit of laughter. Hercules, on learning the cause of their mirth, untied them and let them go.

Suidas relates the same story, with some variations, which make it less probable.

271. Κερκώπων. *The Cercopes.* The Cercopes were banditti. There

<sup>6</sup> Zenob. Adag. Centur. V. x. p. 116; Suidas, voc. Μελαμπύγου τύχοις.

were some of them at Ephesus, in the time of Hercules, according to Suidas, (under the word ἀγορὰ Κερκώπων). That hero also defeated some of their body<sup>7</sup> in Lydia. This appellation was probably extended to robbers of all sorts; and there were doubtless such at this part of Mount Œta. There is a poem on the Cercopes, of which Homer is the reputed author. Herodotus<sup>8</sup> speaks of it in the life of that poet, ascribed to him; as also do Proclus<sup>9</sup> and Suidas, at the word Ὀμηρος. It appears from Plutarch, that they were drolls who sought to flatter Hercules. "I am indignant," said Agis of Argos to Alexander<sup>1</sup>, "to see you, who esteem yourself the son of Jupiter, taking pleasure in flatterers and buffoons. Hercules was delighted with the Cercopes, Bacchus with the Sileni, and similar persons are honoured by you."

272. Αὐτόμολοι. *Deserters*. Diodorus Siculus mentions only one<sup>2</sup>. "There was in the army," says he, "a certain Tyrastiadas of the city of Cyme. As he was a person of honour and probity, he fled from the camp during the night, came to Leonidas and his band, and imparted to them the machinations of Ephialtes."

CCXXII. 273. Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι. *The Thebans and the Thespians*. Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup> speaks only of the Thespians; Pausanias<sup>4</sup> says that the Mycenians sent to Thermopylæ eighty men who shared in that glorious action; and in another place<sup>5</sup>, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and the Mycenians.

CCXXIII. 274. Ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην. *When the market-place is usually full of people*. That is to say, about the third hour of the day. The division of the day commenced with sun-rise, and ended with sun-set. The space before noon was divided into six hours, and that after mid-day into as many. The summer hours were therefore longer than those of winter; and although both in summer and winter the market-place began to fill only about the third hour of the day, yet, considering the difference in the length of the summer and the winter hours, the people assembled much earlier in summer than in winter. In the long days, for example, when the sun rises at four o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning, the market-place would be full about eight o'clock; but when the sun did not rise till eight o'clock, as in the short days of winter, the third hour of the day and that of the market would be about ten o'clock. It should be remembered, however, that in Greece the sun rises neither so early in summer, nor so late in winter, as in our latitude.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. xxxi. vol. I. p. 276.

<sup>8</sup> Vita Homeri Herodoto tributa, xxiv.

<sup>9</sup> Proclus in Vita Homeri, sub finem.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. de Adulatoris et Amici Discrimine, p. 60, B, C.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. viii. vol. I. p. 410, lin. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, ibid. ix. p. 410, lin. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. II. xvi. p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Id. X. xx. p. 846.

CCXXV. 275. Λεωνίδεω. *Leonidas*. "Whilst the Lacedæmonians were taking their repast," says<sup>6</sup> the author of the Lesser Parallels attributed to Plutarch, "the Barbarians attacked them in a body. Leonidas seeing them approach, said to his companions, 'Dine on; for we shall sup in the halls of Pluto.' He rushed upon the Barbarians, and, though pierced by several pikes, he reached Xerxes, from whom he snatched his diadem. After he was dead, the king had his heart taken out, which was found hairy, as Aristides asserts in the first book of his History of Persia."

276. Ὁ λίθινος λέων. *The lion of stone*. In the following epigram of Simonides, this lion is supposed to speak, as follows<sup>7</sup>:

"I am the most courageous of animals; he whom I guard, and upon whose tomb I recline, was the most valiant of men. Had he not possessed my courage, as well as my name, I should not be seen on this tomb."

We find another, from the pen of Lollius Bassus, who lived under Tiberius<sup>8</sup>:

"Behold, near the rock of Phocis, this tomb. It is the monument of the 300 conquerors of the Medes, who, far from Sparta, have eclipsed the glory of the Medes and of the Lacedæmonians. If you perceive the figure of the full-maned animal, say this is the monument of king Leonidas."

It will gratify the reader to see with what fidelity and elegance Grotius has translated these inscriptions.

#### SIMONIDÆ.

##### *De Leonidâ.*

Quantum vinco feras ego robore, vicerat ille  
Tantum homines, cujus sub pede busta premo.  
Hunc tumulum nollem pede tangere, nomine si me  
Æquasset non et viribus iste Leo.

#### BASSI.

Quem spectas tumulum sub Phocide rupe, trecentos,  
Vi quorum Medi tot periere, tego.  
Occubuere procul Lacedæmone, præ quibus omnis  
Spartæ et Persarum gloria Martis hebet.  
Forte Ducem quæris? situs ipse Leonida magnus  
Isto designat quem fera fulva loco.

277. Ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. *In honour of Leonidas*. Such is the true meaning of the words, ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ, as in the following passage of St. Clement of Alexandria<sup>9</sup>: Φανοκλῆς ἐν Ἑρωσιν ἢ Καλοῖς, Ἀγαμέμ-

<sup>6</sup> Pseudo-Plut. Parall. Min. p. 306, D.

<sup>7</sup> Analecta Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 132. No. xxxv.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. vol. II. p. 162. No. viii.

<sup>9</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes, vol. I. p. 32, lin. 20.

νονα τὸν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα Ἀργυρινίδος νεὼν Ἀφροδίτης ἵστασθαι ἐπ' Ἀργύννῳ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ. "Phanocles, in his work on the Loves, says, that Agamemnon erected a temple to Venus Argynnis in honour of Argynnus, whom he had loved." It might, however, be translated, 'erected on the tomb of Leonidas;' and the epigram of Simonides, quoted in the last note, leads us to this meaning.

The bones<sup>1</sup> of Leonidas were brought to Sparta by Pausanias forty years after his death. They were deposited in a tomb opposite the theatre, and every year a funeral oration was pronounced at this place, and games were celebrated, in which none but Spartans were allowed to contend.

If this Pausanias be the same who gained the battle of Plataea, there is an error in the figures, and we should read '*four* years after his death:' for it is certain that Pausanias died in the year 477 before the vulgar era, and that the battle of Thermopylae was fought 480 years before the same era. If this Pausanias were a different person from him who gained the battle of Plataea, our author should have mentioned it.

278. Καὶ στόμασι. *And with their mouths.* "What shall we say to this hyperbole?" asks Longinus<sup>2</sup>. "How could men defend themselves with their hands and their teeth against armed soldiers?"

This anecdote, which appears hyperbolical to Longinus, does not strike me in that light.

This mode of fighting was not uncommon with the Lacedaemonians. For want of arms, they used their nails and teeth. Cicero himself had been a witness of this. "Adolescentium<sup>3</sup> greges Lacedaemone vidimus ipsi, incredibili contentione certantes pugnīs, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique."

279. Οἱ βάρβαροι. *The Barbarians.* Diodorus Siculus relates these circumstances differently. "The Persians," says he<sup>4</sup>, "having made a circuit and overcome the difficulties of the mountain road, immediately enclosed Leonidas and his troops. Though the Greeks had no hope of escape, they all panted for glory, and unanimously implored their general to lead them against the enemy, before the Persians could be aware that part of their troops had effected the passage. Leonidas, delighted with their ardour, counselled them to take their repast in haste, as men who were resolved to sup in the halls of Pluto. He himself set them the example. And in this he was right, as it was the only way to keep his forces together, and to inspire firmness to meet the danger. When they had taken a hasty meal and were all ready, Leonidas ordered them to rush on the camp of the enemy, to kill all who should oppose their passage, and to penetrate even to the tent of the king.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. III. xiv. p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Longin. De Sublim. xxxviii. p. 204, ex edit. Tollii.

<sup>3</sup> Tuscul. Quæst. V. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. ix. x. vol. I. pp. 410, 411.

" Having fallen into close order, they attacked the Persian camp in the night, according to the orders they had received. Leonidas marched at their head. The Barbarians, astonished at this unforeseen attack, ran out of their tents in tumult and disorder. They imagined that the troops conducted by the Trachinian had been destroyed, and that they were engaged with the whole force of Greeks. Leonidas and his soldiers slew a great number of them, and many more perished by the hands of their own troops, being taken in the confusion for enemies. The darkness of the night, which concealed the real state of things, together with the terror that pervaded the whole camp, occasioned a dreadful carnage. Not having any opportunity of distinguishing friend from foe, the Persians killed one another. Their minds were in too great disorder to wait for orders from the general, or even to ask the pass-word. Had Xerxes remained in his tent, the Greeks might easily have killed him, and thus promptly have ended the war. But Xerxes had hastily left it, on the first alarm. The Greeks having entered it, killed nearly all they found there; and so long as night continued, they ranged from one end of the camp to the other, seeking the king. But when day appeared, and discovered the actual state of things, the Persians, perceiving that the Greeks were few in number, despised them; still they dared not attack them in front, for they dreaded their courage; but having completely surrounded them, they killed them all, with their arrows and javelins. Such was the end of Leonidas and of the troops who guarded with him the pass of Thermopylæ."

CCXXVI. 280. Πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων. *Having heard from some Trachinian:* Cicero<sup>5</sup>, from a failure of memory, has attributed this saying of the Trachinian to a Persian, as M. Wesseling observes in his note.

CCXXVIII. 281. Τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι. *Their precepts.* Thus the original must be translated; although it is well known that the laws of Lycurgus were called ῥήτραι. Cicero has rendered this passage in his Quæst. Tusculanæ, "Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur." M. Wesseling thinks that the orator had rather in view the epigram of Simonides of Ceos, in which we read πειθόμενοι νομίμοις. But in the MSS. of the Palatine Library, whence the learned Salmasius borrowed his various readings<sup>6</sup>, we find ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι, and thus M. Brunck has printed it<sup>7</sup>.

It is because the laws of Lycurgus were not written, that Simonides calls them ῥήματα, 'oral laws.' The term ῥήτραι, which is the proper word for these laws, comes from the same root as ῥήματα: but he could

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, Tusc. Disp. I. xlii.

<sup>7</sup> Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I.

<sup>6</sup> Remarques sur Cicéron, par. M. le Président Bouhier, p. 240. p. 131. No. xxx.



not bring it into his verse. I give the Latin version of these two inscriptions by Grotius :

## SIMONIDÆ.

*De iis qui mortui sunt ad Thermopylas.*

Ter decies centum pugnarunt millibus istis  
Ex Pelopis terrâ corpora mille quatuor.

## EJUSDEM.

*De iisdem.*

Nos hic esse sitos Spartæ dic, quæsumus, hospes,  
Dum facimus prompto corde quod ipsa jubet.

282. Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος. *Simonides, son of Leoprepes.* There were several poets of the name of Simonides. The one above mentioned has composed many works, the titles of which may be seen in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius. M. Brunck, in his *Analecta*, has collected all that remain of the verses attributed to Simonides. He of whom Herodotus speaks was born in the third year of the 55th Olympiad, as Suidas informs us that he died in the 78th Olympiad, aged 89. M. Reiske<sup>8</sup>, in his *Anthologia* of Constantine Cephalas, expressly denies the correctness of this date, and tries to prove, by two inscriptions of the same Simonides, that that poet was alive in the third year of the 82nd Olympiad. The first, which is quoted by Diodorus Siculus<sup>9</sup>, and by Aristides, mentions the victories of the Athenians near the river Eurymedon, and belongs to the third year of the 77th Olympiad, as may be seen by a reference to that author. It is found also in the 1st vol. of the *Analecta*, p. 134, No. xlvi. The second, which is in p. 135 of the *Analecta*, No. li., contains nothing to indicate on what occasion it was composed. These two latter inscriptions are from another Simonides, posterior to the poet above mentioned. I am therefore led to conclude, that in the absence of other proofs we must adopt the opinion of Suidas, and the rather, as it is in conformity with the Oxford Marbles, Epoch. lviii.

CCXXX. 283. Ἀγγελὸν πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. *The army having deputed him.* This was the little army posted at Thermopylæ. I make this remark, because M. Reiske thought it was that of the Isthmus: but Aristodemus was one of the 300.

CCXXXII. 284. Ὡς ἠτίμωτο. *Finding himself dishonoured.* He might have answered Leonidas, as another prince did on a similar occasion: "I followed you in order to fight<sup>1</sup>, and not to carry your messages."

<sup>8</sup> In *Notitiâ Poëtarum*, p. 260.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lxii. vol. I. p. 451.

<sup>1</sup> Plut. de Malign. Herod. p. 866, c.

CCXXXIII. 285. Ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες. *The inhabitants of Plataea killed him.* This happened at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. The Thebans<sup>2</sup> caused rather more than 300 men to enter Plataea in the night, with the view of taking possession of it. The Plateans at first surrendered, but, perceiving afterwards how<sup>3</sup> few the enemy were, they attacked them, killed the greater part of them, and then put to death the prisoners, to the number of 180, among whom was Eurymachus.

CCXXXV. 286. Πάντα ὁμοίως στόλον. *Every naval armament.* What Chilo dreaded happened in the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians<sup>4</sup> took possession of the island of Cythera, and greatly annoyed the Lacedæmonians.

CCXXXVII. 287. Συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα. *Would give the best advice to one consulting.* There is a very sensible difference between the active and the middle verbs; a difference which most of the lexicons have omitted to point out, but which has been noticed by Stephens. Συμβουλεύω signifies to give advice, συμβουλεύομαι to take advice, or to consult.

CCXXXVIII. 288. Ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. *He ordered the head of Leonidas to be cut off and set on a stake.* The bones of Leonidas<sup>5</sup> were brought from Thermopylæ some years after his death; and games were celebrated at his tomb, in which Spartans alone were permitted to contend.

The Abbé Gedoyn in his Pausanias, has 'Lacedæmonians' instead of Spartans, which is a proof that he translated from the Latin. It is, however, a gross error. Lacedæmonian is a generic term, embracing the whole nation, not only the inhabitants of Sparta, but also of the territory of that city. Spartan is a specific term, which designates the inhabitants of that city in particular. All the Spartans were Lacedæmonians, but all the Lacedæmonians were not Spartans; and the latter enjoyed privileges which were not shared by the former.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. II. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* iii. iv. v.

<sup>4</sup> Id. IV. liii.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. III. xiv. p. 240.

## URANIA. BOOK VIII.

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I. 1. Ἀθηναῖοι. *The Athenians.* The Athenians had 180 vessels in all, as we find hereafter, xliv. Fifty-three others had joined them. See xiv. Diodorus Siculus assigns<sup>1</sup> them 200; but perhaps he meant only to speak in round numbers.

2. Πλαταιέες συνεπλήρουν. *The Plateans joined to complete the equipment.* The Plateans furnished the troops conjointly with the Athenians, συνεπλήρουν. "The Plateans," says the author of the oration against Neæra<sup>2</sup>, "having no vessels of their own, embarked in our triremes, and fought with us at Artemisium and Salamis."

III. 3. Τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν. *The arrogance of Pausanias.* The pride<sup>3</sup> of Pausanias, who endeavoured by his pomp to imitate the Persians, irritated the allies. But the equity of Aristides contributed not a little to induce the Greeks to commit the authority to the Athenians. This occurred three years afterwards, i. e. in the fourth year of the 75th Olympiad.

V. 4. Ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο. *As he was gained over.* "Eurybiades<sup>4</sup>, astonished at the multitude of the triremes of Barbarians, some of which attacked him in front, whilst others rounded Eubœa, thought of giving up the combat; not that he hoped for any greater advantage from the future, but that he was anxious to avoid the present danger, as is common in like cases, and because he was turning his views towards the Peloponnesus. Themistocles appeared on a sudden, like one of the gods of ancient poetry, stretched forth his hand, and prevented the total ruin of affairs, which had begun to take so disastrous a turn; and finding that he could not persuade Eurybiades by his eloquence, he bought him." He whom the Eubœans deputed to Themistocles to engage him to<sup>5</sup> remain, and who gave him money from them, was named Pelagon.

5. Ἀδείμαντος. *Adimantus.* Adimantus, alarmed at the impending danger, wished to abandon the allies, but being gained over by the money of Themistocles, he consented to remain. We cannot therefore be surprised that a man who was to be urged to his duty only by so sordid a motive, should have behaved like a coward afterwards. Such

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. XV. lxxviii. vol. II. p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. p. 740, segm. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xlv. p. 438; xlv. p. 439.

<sup>4</sup> Aristid. p. 139, lin. 5 a fine.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 115, c.

at least was the opinion of the Athenians; although the rest of Greece did not coincide with them.

The following epitaph, from the pen of Simonides, was engraved on the tomb of Adimantus<sup>6</sup>: "This is the tomb of Adimantus, whose counsels procured for Greece the crown of liberty."

6. Ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων. *He kept secretly the rest of the money.* If we believe Phanias of Lesbos, he likewise gave a talent to Architeles of Athens, under the following circumstances. This Architeles commanded the sacred vessel. Not having wherewithal to pay his sailors, he was hastening to return. Themistocles hereupon stirred up his fellow-citizens against him. They rushed instantaneously upon his vessel, and carried off his supper. Architeles was at once astonished, and indignant; but Themistocles sent him some bread and meat in a hamper, at the bottom of which he placed a talent (225*l.*), and sent him word that he might sup at his ease that night, and in the morning pay his sailors, otherwise he would denounce him to the Athenians as a traitor, who had received money from the enemy<sup>7</sup>.

VI. 7. Μηδὲ πυρφόρον ἐκφυγόντα. *Not even the torch-bearer escaping.* Before the use of trumpets<sup>8</sup> in armies, the signal for combat was given by a torch, or flambeau. Those who carried them were consecrated to the god Mars. They advanced at the head of the army, and in the space which was between the two armies waved their torches, and retired without receiving the slightest harm. If even a whole army perished in battle, the torch-bearer was always spared, because he was consecrated to Mars. Hence it became a proverbial expression to signify the entire destruction of an army, that "not even the torch-bearer escaped." Herodotus is the earliest author in whom this expression is found, which afterwards became so familiar as to pass into a proverb.

VIII. 8. Σκυλλίης. *Scyllias.* The name of this skilful diver and swimmer is variously written. In an epigram of Apollonidas<sup>9</sup> we find it Scyllos; in Pliny and Pausanias, Scyllis; and M. Brunck has also Scyllis<sup>1</sup>, no doubt on the authority of the two last-mentioned writers. Androtius painted him<sup>2</sup> cutting the anchors of the Persian fleet. This Scyllias had his daughter Cyana taught<sup>3</sup> the art of diving. During the tempest which overtook the Persians off Mount Pelion, they both plunged under water, tore up the anchors which held the Persian vessels, and thus occasioned considerable damage to their fleet. Statues were erected both to the father and the daughter, in the temple of

<sup>6</sup> Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. I. p. 133, No. xli.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 115, D.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. Eurip. ad Phœniss. 1386.

<sup>9</sup> Anthol. I. lxix. p. 97.

<sup>1</sup> Analect. Vet. Poët. Græc. vol. II. p. 136, No. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. xi. vol. II. p. 706, lin. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. X. xix. p. 842.

Apollo at Delphi, by order of the Amphictyons. The statue of Cyana was among those which Nero carried to Rome.

9. Τήν τε ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο. *The shipwreck, how it happened.* They are the particulars of the shipwreck off Mount Pelion, mentioned in VII. clxxxviii. Nobody was better able to communicate them to the Greeks than Scyllias, as the Persians had employed him to bring up some valuable effects from the bottom of the sea. With regard to the loss of the 200 vessels which had passed Eubœa, it was not possible to have intelligence of them so early.

The admirers of the Greek language should remark in this sentence the words ἐσήμνηε ναυηγίην, ὥς γένοιτο. The particle, joined to γένοιτο, indicates the particulars of the shipwreck. This mode of expression is familiar to all the good writers<sup>4</sup>.

IX. 10. Ὡς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε. *Since no one came against them.* This passage rather perplexed me; but M. Brunck has removed every difficulty. The Greeks set sail at midnight to meet the detachment of the Persians sent to turn Eubœa, and seeing no one come against them, i. e. not seeing this detachment, they went in the afternoon to attack the fleet which was at Aphetæ.

11. Δείλην ὀψίην. *At three o'clock in the afternoon.* Hesychius<sup>5</sup>, with some other grammarians, understands this of the time near sun-set; but in another place he explains it, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μέχρι δύσεως, the time from noon to sun-set. Dio Chrysostom<sup>6</sup> is more precise. After having compared glory to the shadow which sometimes increases and sometimes diminishes, he says that the vain-glorious man is no wiser than Margites, who was gay and sad in the same day. On this occasion, the rhetorician very clearly distinguishes the four parts of the day: πρωὶ, περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν, μεσημβρία, δείλη, ἑσπέρα. Πρωὶ is the dawn of day, πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰ is the interval between sun-rise and noon; δείλη then must be the space between noon and sun-set. Another proof that δείλη ὀψίη is to be taken in the sense which I have given to it is, that the Greeks at this hour went against the Persians, an action took place, the Greeks retired, and were not overtaken by night till they were returning to their anchorage at Artemisium. The grammarians say, that this expression is peculiar to the Attic authors, and that in the ordinary language, δείλη alone was said in this sense. But Xenophon has frequently used δείλη alone in this sense; which proves that the decisions of the ancient grammarians are to be received with some degree of hesitation.

X. 12. Ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γιγνόμενον. *Those, on the contrary, who were charmed.* Our author might have said, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ

<sup>4</sup> Wyttenbach, Selecta Princ. Historic. p. 358.

<sup>6</sup> Dio Chrysost. de Gloriâ, Orat. II. p. 614.

<sup>5</sup> Hesychius, voc. δείλη ὀψία, p. 903.

ἡδόμενοι ἔσαν τῷ γιγνομένῳ. But as he had before said, ὅσοι μὲν νυν ἔσαν εὖνοιο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, he has used this expression for the sake of variety. The scholiast of Thucydides<sup>1</sup> remarks, that this syntax is peculiar to Herodotus. It is true that he frequently employs it; but all the Attic authors do the same, and it is commonly found in Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. This turn of phrase is not unusual with Latin authors. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, has said<sup>2</sup>, "Quibus bellum volentibus erat."

XIII. 13. Τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. *Their end was miserable.* This expression has been censured by Longinus<sup>3</sup> as weak. Ἀχαρις, in Herodotus, signifies all that is most distressing. We have seen (I. xli.) συμφορῇ ἄχαρις applied to the murder of a brother; and he uses (VII. cxc.) the same expression of the murder of a son. To translate 'a misfortune not over agreeable' would be ridiculous, and would not convey the meaning of Herodotus, though sufficiently literal. Antoninus Liberalis<sup>4</sup> terms the incest of a father with his daughter ἄχαρι καὶ ἄθεσμον ἔργον, a horrible action, and contrary to the laws; or if the same strict adherence to the letter be observed, an action 'unpleasant,' and contrary to the laws. This mode of speaking has passed from the Greeks to the Latins. The first verses of the third book of Virgil's Georgics are familiar enough:

Quis aut Eurysthea durum,  
Aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?

on which, see the note of the learned and ingenious Heyne.

XVI. 14. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. *In that sea-fight they had equal forces.* It appears to me that the Latin translator has ill rendered this passage, 'quâ in pugnâ pari marte pugnatum est.' If, in fact, the advantage had been equal on both sides, how could Herodotus, a few lines lower down, have said that the Persians lost many more vessels and men than the Greeks? M. Bellanger has interpreted it in the same manner. The Persians were embarrassed by the multitude of their vessels, which could not manœuvre freely in so narrow a space. Their superiority of numbers was therefore of no advantage, and the amount of effective combatants was nearly equal on both sides.

15. Διέστησαν. *They parted.* The Athenians distinguished themselves<sup>5</sup> the most on the side of the Greeks, and the men of Sidon on the side of the Barbarians. "Beautiful Artemisium," says Pindar<sup>6</sup>, in an

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. IV. lxxxv. p. 288, col. 1, lin. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. Vit. Agricolaë, § xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Longin. de Sublim. xlii. p. 222, ex ed. Tollii.

<sup>4</sup> Metamorph. xxxiv. p. 174, Lugd. Bat. 1674.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xiii. vol. I. p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. de his qui sero a Numine puniuntur, p. 552, B.

ode which has not reached us, "beautiful Artemisium, where the Athenians laid the glorious foundation of liberty'."

XVII. 16. Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew. *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.* Clinias, son of Alcibiades, and father of the celebrated Alcibiades, of one of the most illustrious houses of Athens, was descended from Eurysaces<sup>8</sup>, the son of Ajax. He had married Dinomacha, the daughter of Megacles, whose grandmother Agarista<sup>9</sup> was the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. He counted among his ancestors, Alcmaeon, the grandfather of him who was enriched by Croesus<sup>1</sup>. Clinias distinguished himself at the battle of Artemisium, and fell<sup>2</sup> in the battle of Coronea, against the Bœotians. He left one son, a minor, who was the famous Alcibiades. It is not known how old he was when his father died; but he certainly was not born in the second year of the 84th Olympiad, as Simson says<sup>3</sup>, because his father died in the second year of the 83rd<sup>4</sup>. See the learned note of Valckenaer, who has corrected Simson's mistake, and given some curious details as to this Alcibiades.

XX. 17. Τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμόν. *The oracle of Bacis.* There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleon in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia, as we find in the scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>5</sup>. This last was called also Cydus and Aletes, as we learn from Philetas of Ephesus. Theopompus, in the 9th Book of his Philippics, relates many wonderful things of this Bacis, and among others, that he purified and cured the Lacedæmonian women who were mad, Apollo having told them to apply to him for purification. Clement of Alexandria<sup>6</sup> reckons but two of this name, one a Bœotian, the other an Arcadian.

Aristophanes speaks very lightly of the oracles of Bacis and of Bacis himself, for he puts into the mouth of Hierocles<sup>7</sup>, "That is true . . . if the nymphs have not deceived Bacis, and if Bacis has not imposed on mortals."

XXV. 18. Ἐπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπίας. *They thought that all who lay there were Lacedæmonians and Thespians.* Although the Helots were dressed differently from the Lacedæmonians, the troops of Xerxes could not distinguish them, and took all the dead for so many Spartans and Thespians.

XXVI. 19. Ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας. *Some Arcadians.* I do not

<sup>7</sup> See on this fragment, 'Pindari Carminum Fragmenta,' xlvii. p. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. in Alcibiad. p. 191, E.

<sup>9</sup> Herod. VI. cxxx.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. cxv.

<sup>2</sup> Plat. in Alcibiade, vol. II. p. 112, c; Plutarch. in Alcibiade, p. 191, E.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Hist. Cathol. p. 755.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XII. vi. vol. I. p. 481.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Pacem, 1071, p. 368, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 398, lin. 19, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Aristoph. Pax, 1070.



think that any author has mentioned the name of the people of Arcadia who passed over to the side of the Persians. I conjecture, with M. Heringa<sup>8</sup>, on the authority of a passage of Vitruvius, that they were the Caryates. "Carya<sup>9</sup> civitas Peloponnesi, cum Persis hostibus contra Græciam consensit; postea Græci per victoriam gloriose bello liberati, communi concilio Caryatibus bellum indixerunt. . . . . Ideo qui tunc architecti fuerunt, ædificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferundo collocatas, ut etiam posteris nota pœna peccati Caryatium memoriæ traderetur." There were in the Peloponnesus two places known by the name of Carya, one in Laconia, the other in Arcadia. The latter was a town of the Pheneatæ. Herodotus, in enumerating the cities and states which took part with the Persians, does not name any city of the Peloponnesus. The anecdote related by Vitruvius agrees very well with what Herodotus says of these Arcadian deserters, and it is of them that we must understand it. It is therefore very probable that Vitruvius has confounded the two cities of the same name; or else it is an error of the copyists, who have written 'civitas Peloponnesi,' instead of 'civitas Pheneatarum.'

20. Ὀλύμπια ἄγαιεν, καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. *They were celebrating the Olympic festival, and seeing the gymnastic and equestrian game.* I shall not undertake to give an account of the Olympic games. Many learned men have done so before me. I refer the reader principally to the Dissertation on the Olympic Games, by Gilbert West; the first dissertation of Father Corsini, in the work entitled, 'Edw. Corsini Dissertationes IV. Agonisticæ;' the Travels in Greece of the younger Anacharsis, by the Abbé Barthélemy. I shall not therefore repeat what these learned men have said of them; but will content myself with adding, that these games, instituted by Píus<sup>1</sup>, Pelops, and Hercules, having been interrupted, were renewed by Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, of the race of Hercules; by Iphitus, sovereign of a small province of Elis, a relation of the Heraclidæ<sup>2</sup>, and by Cleosthenes of Pisa, twenty-seven Olympiads before that in which Corœbus of Elea gained the prize. The names of the conquerors in these games were not inscribed in the registers. They began to be so only in the Olympiad which answers to the year 776 before our era, the Olympiad in which Corœbus obtained the prize. This Olympiad is considered as the first, and is that from which the Greeks compute their dates.

These games were celebrated at the summer solstice. Such at least is the unanimous opinion of the ancient writers, and of the most learned of the moderns; as Scaliger, de Emendatione Temporum, IV. p. 242; Petavius, de Doctrinâ Temporum, IX. xlviii. vol. II. p. 58, wherein he refutes the opinion of an anonymous writer, who maintained that these

<sup>8</sup> Adr. Heringæ Obs. Crit. xix. p. 166.

<sup>9</sup> Vitruv. I. i. p. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Phlegontis Tralliani de Olympiis Fragm. p. 126. Eusebii Chron. I. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Iphitus was descended from Oxylyus. (Pausan. V. iv.) He was a kinsman of the Heraclidæ. (Pausan. ibid. iii.)

games were celebrated in autumn; Father Corsini, in the work entitled, 'Dissertationes Agonisticæ IV. ;' Dodwell de Cyclis Veterum, Dissertat. IV. sect. 14, p. 225. During these games, and even for some time before them and after them, there was a suspension of arms among the different people of Greece, that they might all be at liberty to attend the games at Olympia, and return in safety to their countries. This armistice, which was called ἐκεχειρία<sup>3</sup>, was represented by the sculptors under the form of a woman crowning Iphitus, for the purpose of expressing the honour which accrued to him from the institution of them, as we see in Pausanias<sup>4</sup>. The same writer had before said<sup>5</sup>, that Iphitus was crowned by the woman Ecechiria. Hence the author of the Index has said, under the word Ecechiria, that she was the wife of Iphitus, and the Abbé Gedoyne has therefore<sup>6</sup> translated, "On entering, you see on the right a column, against which Iphitus has his back, *together with his wife Ecechiria*, who is placing a crown upon his head." We cannot be surprised at this mistake of the Abbé's, whilst his translation abounds with errors infinitely more gross. But what shall we say to M. Gillies, who, in his History of Ancient Greece, has made the same blunder<sup>7</sup>: "After passing the brass gates, you discovered Iphitus crowned by his spouse Ecechiria." Gilbert West has avoided this error, and expressed himself thus<sup>8</sup>: "The Eleans thought proper to distinguish Iphitus, by erecting a statue to him, even in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, with another emblematical figure (for so I take it to have been) of a woman named Ecechiria (a Greek word, signifying a cessation of arms), placing a crown upon his head."

[21. Δειλίην ὄφλεε πρὸς βασιλέος. *He incurred the imputation of cowardice from the king.* There are many examples of this phraseology. Thus in Thucydides (V. ci.) we have αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν: in Plato (Alcib. I. p. 121), γέλωτα ὀφλεῖν<sup>9</sup>.]

22. Τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὼν στέφανον. *That the prize was a wreath.* It was the wild olive-tree, which the Greeks, in their language, term<sup>1</sup> κότινος, 'oleaster.' As the conquerors in the Olympic games were crowned with it, it was called ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος, the olive of the beauteous crowns.

XXVII. 23. Ἄτε σφι ἐνέχοντες αἰεὶ χόλου. *As they always had an antipathy to them.* The Thessalians<sup>2</sup>, originally of Thesprotia, having taken possession of Æolia<sup>3</sup>, afterwards called Thessaly, endeavoured to penetrate into Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ; but the Phocidians had built a wall there which prevented their incursions. Hence the

<sup>3</sup> Plut. in Lycurgo, vol. I. p. 39, n.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. V. xxvi. p. 446.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. x. p. 400.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, ou Voyage Historique de la Grèce, vol. I. p. 432.

<sup>7</sup> The History of Ancient Greece, &c. vol. I. p. 442.

<sup>8</sup> A Dissertation on the Olympic Games, p. 34.

<sup>9</sup> See Koerner ad Eurip. Androm. 188.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. V. xv. p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. clxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxvii. vol. I. p. 311.

origin of the hatred between these two nations. It became in time so inveterate, that the Thessalians in one day massacred all the magistrates and tyrants of the Phocidians, and the latter<sup>4</sup> beat to death with sticks 250 hostages whom they had in their power<sup>5</sup>.

24. Τελλίην τὸν Ἡλεῖον. *Tellias of Elis*. Tellias was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the gift of divination was hereditary. A little further on (IX. xxxvii.) we find mention made of Hegesistratus, a diviner, of the family of the Telliadæ. As the Phocidians were indebted to him for gaining the<sup>6</sup> battle, they caused a statue of him to be made by Aristomedon of Argos, and sent it to Delphi, with those of the chieftains and heroes of their country.

This action of the Phocidians might be termed, though not very properly, a *camisado*. I say not properly, because the Phocidians, in whitening themselves and their arms, had no other object than to terrify their enemies, whereas we moderns have no other object in such devices than to recognise each other in the dark. The Phocidians appeared like so many phantoms, and nothing more was necessary to operate on the lively and ardent imaginations of those they had to do with. On a dull and phlegmatic people, such an expedient would have been without effect; more dismal and terrific images would have been necessary to affect them. Thus we see that the Aarii, a people who inhabited that part of Germany now called Silesia, added to the impression produced by their natural ferocity, by art and by the time of their attack, staining their shields, their bodies, and their faces black, and choosing the darkest night for their onset<sup>7</sup>.

25. Τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν. *Killed four thousand of them*. "No distinguished writer," says Plutarch<sup>8</sup>, "has related this action of the Phocian women, though in point of courage it is surpassed by none that ever exalted the female character. It is attested by the sacrifices to this day offered by the Phocians near Hyampolis, and by the ancient decrees. I have given all the particulars of the transaction in the Life of Daïphantus; but will now advert to what concerns the women. A cruel war existed between the Thessalians and the Phocians. The former massacred in a single day, in the various cities of Phocis, all the magistrates and all the tyrants; the latter beat to death with sticks 250 hostages who were left in their hands: the Thessalians afterwards entered the territory of Phocis, through the country of the Locrians, with their whole force, after having by a public decree forbidden any quarter to be shown to the men capable of bearing arms, and commanding that the women and children should be reduced to slavery. Daïphantus, the son of Bathyllus, one of the three archons, persuaded the Phocians to march against the Thessalians and give them battle; and he likewise persuaded them to collect in one place all the women and children of

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. de Virt. Mulier. p. 244, B.

<sup>5</sup> Æschines de Falsâ Leg. p. 46, lin. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. X. i. p. 801.

<sup>7</sup> Tacit. de Mor. German. xliii.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. de Virt. Mulier. p. 244, A.

Phocis, and to surround that spot with wood, leaving guards there with orders to set it on fire, in<sup>9</sup> case their army should be defeated. This measure met with unanimous approbation, except from one man, who said that it was but just to obtain the consent of the women first, or, if that was impossible, to abandon the measure. This decree coming to the knowledge of the women, they assembled, approved it, and crowned Daïphantus for having suggested the measure most conducive to the honour of the country. The children came to the same resolution, in an assembly which they held separately. These matters decided, the Phocians gave battle near Cleonæ, and gained a victory. The Greeks gave to this decree of the Phocians the name of Aponoia, or despair. In commemoration of this victory, the Phocians still celebrate at Hyampolis a festival in honour of Diana, which is the most remarkable of any of their festivals, and is called Elaphebolia." This is a compound word, signifying the action of killing stags with arrows.

XXXI. 26. Τὴν Δωρίδα. *Doris*. The pronoun ἥπερ might seem to relate to τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, Phocis, of which Herodotus had just been speaking; but Phocis never having borne the name of Doris, it is clear that this pronoun must relate to the Doris which is mentioned above. The Dorians formerly inhabited the district Dryopis, whence a part of them passed into the Peloponnesus.

XXXII. 27. Τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ. *The summits of Parnassus*. This mountain has two principal summits, Nauplia and Hyampia<sup>1</sup>. These two summits conceal the others. They are seen from the spot, now called Castri, where Delphi formerly stood, or a little above it. These two summits so celebrated by the poets, obtained for Parnassus the name of 'biceps.'

Nec in *bicipiti* somniasse Parnasso  
Memini.—Pers. Prolog.

Parnassus *gemino* petit *Æthera colle*,  
Mons Phœbo Bromioque Sacer.—Lucan. V. 72.

Mons ibi *verticibus* petit arduus astra *duobus*,  
Nomine Parnassus, superatque cacumine nubes.  
Ovid. Metam. I. 346.

Servius<sup>2</sup> places this mountain in Thessaly, and divides it into Cithæron and Helicon, though it was situate in Phocis, and Cithæron and Helicon were in Bœotia.

28. Ἡ κορυφὴ κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς. *The summit which lies apart at the town of Neon*. We learn from Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, that

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. X. i. p. 800.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VIII. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* vii. 641.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. X. xxxii. p. 878.

the city of Neon was built on this summit; and from Plutarch<sup>4</sup>, that there was in this place a castle situate on a craggy eminence, the name of which he does not mention, and to which the Phocians retired on the invasion of Xerxes. M. Valckenaer reads *κειμένην ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς*, a city governed by its own laws. [*Ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς* means 'by itself,' i. e. 'apart.']

29. Πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. *A city situate above the plain of Crissa.* M. Bellanger observes, in a note, that Amphissa was above Crissa, only with respect to a person placed in the Peloponnesus, who, looking northwards, would see Crissa between him and Amphissa, and not in reference to a person looking from Asia Minor, or from the south of Italy. Hence he concludes, that when Herodotus wrote this passage, he was in the Peloponnesus, attending the Olympic games. But wherever Herodotus might have been when he wrote this, Amphissa was necessarily more elevated than Crissa, as it was much further from the sea.

XXXIII. 30. Κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Νέωνα. *They burnt down Neon.* The Phocians had taken refuge at Neon, as we have just seen. This city, therefore, which was burned by the Persians, could not be the same. There may have been two cities of the name in that country; but I think it more likely that the text is corrupt, and that we should read Κλεωνάς. There was in Phocis the city of Cleonæ near<sup>5</sup> Hyampolis, which was always so particularised, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name.

[The Phocians took refuge, not at Neon, but on the ridge of Parnassus, in the direction of that town, κατὰ Νέωνα κειμένη: there is, therefore, no contradiction in the narrative, and no need of changing the text.]

XXXIV. 31. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι. *After having passed through the country of the Parapotamii.* It should seem from this, that Panopæa is beyond Parapotamia. M. D'Anville, in his map of Greece, has reversed this order.

XXXV. 32. Ἠγεμόνας. *Guides.* I think that the expression here signifies guides, as we have seen in xxxi. ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ. Why was it necessary to remark that this army had its generals? An army never marches without general officers to command it.

33. Καὶ Αἰολιδέων. *And of the Æolians.* We do not hear in any other place of this city of the Æolians. MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling read Λιλαιέων, the city of the Lilæi, or Lilæa. This conjecture, at the first glance, seems probable; but a closer examination discovers objections to it. The Persians are marching from Panopæa to Delphi. Lilæa should therefore lie in the road; but it is in fact<sup>6</sup> 180 stadia, or

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Sylla, p. 461, D, E.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. X. xxxiii. p. 882.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de Virt. Mulier. p. 244, D.

a short day's journey, beyond Delphi, and near the source of the Cephissus. But it appears from the narration of Herodotus, that the Persians did not advance beyond Delphi. Our knowledge of ancient geography is too imperfect to authorise us to decide that *Αἰολιδέων* is corrupt. We find in Apollodorus<sup>7</sup>, that Endymion, the son of Aethlius and Calyce, led a number of Æolians from Thessaly, and with them founded the city Elis, in the Peloponnesus. Might he not have left on the road some Æolians, who built a city, which, like many others, may have attained very little celebrity?

XXXVI. 34. *Τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον. The Corycian cave.* "In going<sup>8</sup> from Delphi to the summit of Parnassus, at about sixty stadia from that city, is a statue of bronze. There the path to the Corycian cavern becomes more easy for persons on foot, for mules, and for horses. It takes its name from the nymph Corycia. It is the most remarkable of all the caverns I have ever seen . . . It greatly surpasses every other<sup>9</sup> in size, and can be penetrated for a considerable distance without the assistance of a torch. The roof is sufficiently high. The springs that are found in it yield water; but a still greater quantity filters through the roof, and drops of it are seen on the ground all over the cavern. The inhabitants of Parnassus believe that this cavern is consecrated to the Corycian nymphs and to Pan."

"The Castalian spring issues<sup>1</sup> from the hollow between the two summits of Parnassus . . . . At the bottom of this space between the rocks we perceived, at the height of about thirty feet above our heads, an opening in the rock, through which we threw stones. It was a grotto in which there was water, and we conceived it to be the cave which the poets call 'Antrum Corycium;' at least we found no other corresponding to the situation of it."

The inhabitants of Delphi, according to Antigonus Carystius<sup>2</sup>, affirm that the Corycian cave appears at certain times of the year as if made of gold. Philoxenus therefore cannot be blamed, he adds, for having said, "At Parnassus we see the palaces of the nymphs, the roofs of which are gilt<sup>3</sup>."

35. *Τοῦ προφήτεω. The prophet.* As the Pythoness pronounced the oracles in a confused and unintelligible tone of voice, a sacred interpreter was employed, who collected them, and delivered them to those who consulted the god. This interpreter was called the 'prophet.' There was only one of them in the time of Herodotus. But as superstition increased with the fame of the oracle, it became necessary to have more of them. They were chosen by lot from the Delphians of the first distinction, because it was not thought proper to confide so impor-

<sup>7</sup> Apollodor. I. vii. § v. p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. X. xxxii. p. 877.

<sup>9</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 878.

<sup>1</sup> Travels in Greece, by Spon and

Wheeler, vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Histor. Mirabil.* cxli.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. II.

pp. 30, 31.



tant an office to any but those who were interested in keeping the secret.

Δελφῶν ἀριστεῖς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος<sup>4</sup>.

The term 'prophet' properly signifies, he who speaks to one person on the behalf of another. Hence it has been used for those who represent to the divinity the wants or the requests of a people or of an individual, and who report to the people or to the individual the answer of the god. We find an example of it in the first sense, in the first oration of Dio Chrysostom<sup>5</sup>, entitled 'Venator.' Οὕτως ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συνηγόρους, τοὺς ποιητάς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἴωμεν. 'We must therefore have recourse to the poets, who are their interpreters and their advocates.' We find another, in Sextus Empiricus against the Grammarians, liii. p. 227, on which consult the note of Fabricius.

XXXVII. 36. Ὅπλα ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνευγμένα ἱρά. *The sacred armour carried out of the temple.* "A little before the battle of Leuctra<sup>6</sup>, it was given out that the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the arms kept in the temple of Hercules had disappeared, as though Hercules were gone to the battle. *But many say that these prodigies were impostures of the magistrates.*"

37. Ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον. *The same moment lightnings fell on them from heaven.* "Those' who had been sent to pillage the temple of Apollo advanced as far as that of Minerva. Suddenly there arose a violent storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning; and fragments of the rock, struck down by the tempest, fell on the Barbarians, and crushed numbers of them. The rest, frightened at what they considered as an interposition of the god, took to flight. Thus did the providence of the gods preserve this temple from pillage. The Delphians wishing to leave to posterity an eternal monument of the protection of the gods, erected a trophy near the temple of Minerva Pronæa, with the following inscription:

" 'The Delphians, filled with gratitude towards Jupiter and Apollo, for having checked the battalions of the Persians, and having protected the temple, have erected me, to perpetuate the memory of this battle and of this victory.' "

The Greeks, who were great lovers of the marvellous, magnified natural effects into prodigies. Had the temple been burned, as Plutarch says it was<sup>7</sup>, how could they have preserved the gifts and offerings of Croesus? And yet Herodotus (I. l. li. lii.) speaks of them as an eyewitness.

XXXIX. 38. Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον. *Phylacus and Autonoüs.*

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. Ion, 416.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Chrysost. Venator, p. 118, D.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. Hellen. VI. iv. § vii. p. 393.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xiv. vol. I. p. 415.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Numæ, p. 66, c.



When<sup>o</sup> the Gauls came to pillage the temple of Delphi, the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus, came to its assistance; some also reckon Phylacus of the number. Justin<sup>1</sup> has metamorphosed the two first into virgins of extraordinary beauty.

39. Ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. *Under the summit of Hyampia.* The Delphians<sup>2</sup> precipitated those who had been guilty of sacrilege from the latter summit. But having unjustly put Æsop to death, the rock Hyampia was no longer used for that purpose, and offenders were thrown from the top of Nauplia.

XLI. 40. Κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο. *They caused to be proclaimed.* It was a crime at Athens for any one to abandon his country in time of danger, or even to withdraw his wife and children from the perils with which the city was threatened, before permission had been given by a decree. Leocrates<sup>3</sup> having retired to Rhodes and to Megara some time after the battle of Cheronæa, on his return to Athens was accused by Lycurgus of having betrayed his country, and of having, as for his part, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μέρος, given it up to the enemy. The votes were equal, as we learn from Æschines<sup>4</sup>; and had there been but one more against him, he would have been put to death, or banished. This orator does not, it is true, name Leocrates; but the scholiast says that Æschines alludes to Leocrates, who was accused by Lycurgus, whose oration is extant to this day. Another individual<sup>5</sup>, who in similar circumstances endeavoured to escape from Samos, was not so fortunate. The senate of the Areopagus punished him with death the same day, as a traitor to his country. Autolycus<sup>6</sup> also was punished, though he had not himself abandoned his country in time of danger, but for having withdrawn his wife and children.

41. Ἐς Τροιζῆνα. *To Træzen.* The greater part<sup>7</sup> of them conveyed their fathers, mothers, and wives to Træzen. The Træzenians received them with humanity, and ordained that they should be maintained at the public expense, assigning<sup>8</sup> two oboli per day to each person. They also permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and paid masters to instruct them.

42. Τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. *In the temple of the citadel.* The temple of Minerva Polias, or protectress of the citadel, which was properly called πόλις. See note 263 bk. I. clx. To the examples quoted in that note, I shall add another from Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, Τὸν δὲ ἐν πόλει βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος ἀνάθημα εἶναι λέγουσι Μετοίκων.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. X. xxiii. p. 854.

<sup>1</sup> Justin. XXIV. viii. vol. I. p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. de his qui sero a Numine puniuntur, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> See the Oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates.

<sup>4</sup> Æsch. contra Ctesiphont. p. 469, A.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. p. 468, F.

<sup>6</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. p. 154, lin. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 116, F; 117, A.

<sup>8</sup> Three pence of our money.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xxx. p. 75.

'It is said that the altar of Anteros, which we see in the citadel, was erected by the Metœci.'

43. Προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον. *More cheerfully abandoned.* The people<sup>1</sup> not appearing disposed to abandon the temples of the gods and the monuments of their fathers, and Themistocles not being able to persuade them to do this by arguments, had recourse to prodigies and oracles. For a few days previous, the serpent which usually lived in the temple had not been observed, and the priests finding the offerings they made to him untouched, they gave out, with the permission of Themistocles, that the goddess had abandoned the city, and had taken to the sea.

XLIII. 44. Ἐξαναστάντες. *Having been removed, &c.* Hercules having driven the Dryopes from Dryopis, conveyed them to Phocis, in the neighbourhood of Parnassus and of the Lycoreans. Thence, on the answer of the god, he conducted them to the Peloponnesus, where they occupied Asine, near Hermione<sup>2</sup>.

XLIV. 45. Νῆας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. *A hundred and eighty vessels.* The Greeks had 380 vessels, as we see in xlviii. Thucydides, wishing to speak in round numbers, says 400; and adds, that the Athenians furnished something less than half of them<sup>3</sup>. Ναῦς μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς τετρακοσίας, ὀλίγῃ ἐλάσσονος τῶν δύο μοιρῶν. Such is the meaning of the sentence, which has been well understood by the scholiast.

46. Τῶν οἰκετέων. *Their wives and families.* Herodotus has expressed this in a single word, οἰκετέων. Οἰκέται, very properly observes Hesychius, οἱ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πάντες, all the members of the household. Οἰκέται comprises not only the servants, but the wife and children, as we see in Suidas.

47. Κραναιοί. *Cranai.* Many authors reproach Herodotus with having introduced confusion into chronology, by maintaining that the Pelasgi of Attica had been called Cranai before they took the name of Cecropidæ, although Cranaüs was posterior to Cecrops. This criticism is founded on an idea that the name Cranai was derived from that of king Cranaüs, who did not reign till after Cecrops. But in this they are mistaken. The name of Cranai was given to the Athenians on account of the sterility of their<sup>4</sup> country, the greater part of which consists of mountains. I know that many of the ancients derive this name from Cranaüs; but the account of Herodotus shows that they are in error. Herodotus, however, was himself mistaken, in saying that the Athenians were Pelasgi by origin.

48. Κέκροπος. *Cecrops.* This prince lived a little before Deucalion.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 116, D, E.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Dryopes, see Heyne ad Apollodorum, p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. I. lxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Eustath. in Dion. Perieg. 423, p. 78, col. 1, lin. 21.

The Athenians were not then civilized, and had their women in common. He established marriages, and ordained that each man should have but one wife. Hence the name διφυής, 'biformis,' which was given him. "Ante<sup>6</sup> Deucalionis tempora regem habuere Cecropem : quem, ut omnis antiquitas fabulosa est, biformem tradidere ; quia primus marem foeminæ matrimonio junxit." See also Suidas, at the word Cecrops. Others hold that this name was given to him on account of his knowledge of the Egyptian as well as the Greek language<sup>6</sup>.

XLVI. 49. Τριήκοντα. *Thirty vessels.* I would propose to alter this to forty-two : 1. Because Pausanias, who had read our historian with care, affirms that next to the Athenians the Æginetæ<sup>7</sup> furnished the greatest number of vessels. The Corinthians having furnished forty, the Æginetæ must have sent more. 2. To find the number of their vessels, we must add together all those which were at Salamis. This addition gives 366. Yet Herodotus asserts that they amounted to 378<sup>8</sup> or 380, including the two vessels which joined the Greeks a little before the battle. Twelve therefore are wanting, and these we must assign to the Æginetæ.

50. Δημοκρίτου σπένσαντος. *At the solicitation of Democritus.* Simonides has written an inscription, in which he celebrates the glory acquired by Democritus at the battle of Salamis. Plutarch<sup>9</sup> has preserved it for us.

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ Σαλαμίνα  
 Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβalon ἐν πελάγει.  
 Πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δηῖων, ἕκτην δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν  
 ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῶν Δωρίδ' ἀλισκομένην<sup>1</sup>.

The translation of it is as follows : "Democritus was the third who joined in the combat, when the Greeks attacked the Medes by sea near Salamis. He took five vessels from the enemy, and recaptured a sixth, which was Dorian." The Naxians, who recollected the burning of their city by Datis, sent these vessels to the Persians from fear. Democritus, more generous and more courageous than his fellow-citizens, gave them up to the Greeks.

51. Κύθνιοι. *The Cythnians.* These islanders were very weak. Demosthenes says to the Athenians : "If I took you for<sup>2</sup> Siphnians, Cythnians, or such like, I would not advise you to adopt ideas so elevated."

XLVII. 52. Νηὶ μιῇ. *One vessel.* It is scarcely probable that the most powerful settlement which the Greeks then possessed in Italy,

<sup>6</sup> Justin. II. vi. vol. I. p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> See Scaliger on the Chronology of Eusebius, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. II. xxix. p. 178.

<sup>9</sup> The error cannot be in this number,

as it is repeated in lxxxii.

<sup>9</sup> De Malign. Herod. p. 869, c.

<sup>1</sup> See Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. I. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. De Vestigali, p. 102, 52.

should have sent but a single vessel to the battle of Salamis. It is more likely that Phayllus, full of gratitude towards the country which had three times crowned him at the Pythian games, equipped a vessel at his own expense, and joined their fleet at Salamis. Pausanias, who usually copies Herodotus, relates<sup>3</sup> that he fought against the Persians with a vessel which he had built and fitted out at his own expense, and on which he embarked all the Crotonians who were then travelling in Greece.

"Alexander<sup>4</sup> admitted the Crotonians to a share in the spoils of the Persians, in consideration of the zeal and courage of Phayllus, who, with a vessel equipped at his own expense, had gone to Salamis to share the dangers of the Greeks, at a time when the safety of Græcia Magna was in a critical state."

A statue was erected in honour of Phayllus at Delphi<sup>5</sup>:

53. Ἀνὴρ τρίς πνθιονίκης. *Three times victorious in the games.* He twice obtained the victory<sup>6</sup> of the Pentathlon, and once that of the Course. It is in vain that Mosé Du Soul<sup>7</sup> would recommend us to correct the text of Herodotus, and to read Astylus instead of Phayllus. Astylus obtained the victory at the Olympic games in the 73d, 74th, and 75th Olympiads, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus<sup>8</sup>, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>9</sup>; whereas Phayllus was crowned at the Pythian games. We do not know the date of the victories of Phayllus.

54. Ἀχαιοί. *Achæans.* "The god<sup>1</sup> having ordered the Achæans to found Crotona, Myscellus repaired to the place to examine it. Perceiving that Sybaris was built near the river of that name, he considered the situation preferable, and returned to the oracle, to inquire whether it would not be better to found Sybaris than Crotona. 'Depart hence, thou hump-back (Myscellus was rather so), and instead of seeking to appropriate to yourself what belongs to others, be grateful for what is given you.' Having returned, he founded Crotona, with the assistance of Archias, who by chance landed at that place, on his way to found Syracuse."

LI. 55. Ταμίαι τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ. *Treasurers of the temple.* This was the temple of Minerva in the citadel. These treasurers<sup>2</sup> had under their care the statues of Minerva and of Victory, the riches of the temple, and the public treasury, which were committed to them in the presence of the senate.

Οὐχ ἄς σποδᾶς γ' ἔχωντι τὰ τριήρεις,  
Καὶ τὰργύριον τῷβυσσον ἢ παρὰ τῇ Σιῶ<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. X. ix. p. 818.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand. p. 685, c.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. X. ix. p. 818.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. Vit. parall. in Alexandro, vol. IV. p. 51, et ibi notas Mosé Du Soul.

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. i. vol. I. p. 403.

<sup>9</sup> Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. VIII. init. p. 463; ibid. lxxvii. p. 522.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VI. p. 402. B, c; p. 403, A.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. VIII. ix. § xcvi. vol. II. p. 915. Harpocration, voc. Ταμίαι, p. 169. Suid. voc. Ταμίαι.

<sup>3</sup> Aristoph. Lysist. 173, 174.

'No, never will you persuade the Athenians to make peace, whilst they testify so much ardour in the construction of triremes, and whilst they possess, in the temple of Minerva, so vast a treasure.' These treasurers were chosen by lot from among those citizens who possessed a yearly income of 500 medimni. They were ten in number.

56. 'Υπ' ἀσθενίης βίου. *Through poverty.* The Greeks used ἀσθενίης for 'poor,' as opposed to πλούσιος, 'rich.'

Γεγραμμένων δὲ τῶν νόμων, ὃ τ' ἀσθενὴς  
'Ο πλούσιός τε τὴν δίκην ἴσην ἔχει'.

'When there are written laws, the poor and the rich have equal rights.'

See also the *Electra* of Euripides, 267, &c. The passage of our historian shows that there is an ellipsis, and that we must understand βίου, τροφῆς, or some other equivalent genitive.

57. Τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος. *The wooden wall.* The citadel was no longer enclosed only by a palisade, or at least but little of it remained. The Pelasgi had built the wall which was called, after them, the Pelasgic wall.

LII. 58. Ἀρήϊον πάγον. *Areopagus.* The situation of the Areopagus, or hill of Mars, is so clearly pointed out by our historian, that one is surprised to find Hesychius<sup>4</sup> and other authors place it in the citadel. Meursius<sup>6</sup> accuses Maximus of having said, in his prologue to Dionysius the Areopagite, that the tribunal of the Areopagus was without the city, ἔξω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦν τὸ κατὰ Ἀρειον Πάγον δικαστήριον. Meursius does not appear to have understood Maximus: ἔξω τῆς πόλεως does not signify without the city, but without the citadel. Mars submitted to this tribunal<sup>7</sup> the judgment of the gods, for the murder of the son of Neptune, and hence it took the name of 'the hill of Mars.' Such was the opinion of the authors whom I have cited, and of some others too numerous to refer to; but Æschylus, more ancient than any of them, informs us<sup>8</sup>, that the Amazons having come to attack Theseus, encamped on this hill, and having there offered a sacrifice to Mars, it thence took the name of 'the hill of Mars.' The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, under the word Ἀρειος πάγος, says nearly the same thing.

The precise date of the origin of this tribunal, the most venerable in Athens, is not known. Meursius<sup>9</sup> makes Cicero say, that it was instituted by Solon; but he mistook the meaning of that orator. 'Constituit'<sup>1</sup> does not signify 'he instituted,' but 'that he gave permanency, or stability.' Eusebius refers it to the 41st year of Cecrops;

<sup>4</sup> Euripid. Suppl. 433.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. voc. Ἀρειος Πάγος.

<sup>6</sup> Meursius in Areopago, I.

<sup>7</sup> Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 413, § ciii.; Pausan. I. xxviii. p. 68; Aristid. in

Panathen. p. 6 à fine.

<sup>8</sup> Æschyl. Eumenid. 688—693.

<sup>9</sup> Meursius in Areopago, III.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero de Officiis, I. xxii.

but that its origin was unknown even to the ancients, appears from what Demosthenes says<sup>2</sup>.

The number of the judges was not fixed<sup>3</sup>. The nine Archons were so by right, after having given an account of their administration during the period of their archontate; but some writers pretend that they were confined to the six Thesmothetæ. The first Archon was called Archon Eponymus, and gave his name to the year; the second was termed the King, the third the Polemarchus, and the six others the Thesmothetæ. They took cognizance<sup>4</sup> of murders, of wounds maliciously inflicted, of burnings, of poisonings, of all that concerned religion<sup>5</sup>, and it was for this reason that Socrates was condemned by this tribunal, and that St. Paul was taken before it.

LIII. 59. Τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου. *The chapel of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops.* The craggy acclivity by which some of the Persians gained the citadel was on the south-west, near a ruined mosque, which Mr. Stuart imagined to have been formerly a church. See the plan of the citadel of Athens in the excellent work entitled, "The Antiquities of Athens, by James Stuart."

The name of the daughter of Cecrops is written Aglauros in all the editions of Herodotus; and one would therefore be led to suppose that it was correct, as we find it the same in Pausanias<sup>6</sup>, and in Ovid<sup>7</sup>. I have, however, decided for Agraulos, on the authority of Apollodorus<sup>8</sup>, and of Stephanus of Byzantium, who observes that Agraulos, a village of the tribe Erechtheis, took its name from Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops. This name is also written Agraulos by Ulpian<sup>9</sup>, the scholiast of Demosthenes. "Agraulos, Erse, and Pandrosos," says he, "were daughters of Cecrops, according to Philochorus. Eumolpus having made war on the Athenians and on Erechtheus, and its long duration occasioning great evils, the oracle answered the citizens, that they should be delivered from it, if any one would voluntarily suffer death for the city. Agraulos came forward, and threw herself from the top of the wall. The war having ceased, a temple was erected to her memory near the Propylæa of the citadel."

Ulpian appears to have confounded Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops, with the daughter of Erechtheus: on which subject see the latter part of the succeeding note. In fact, the Thracians, commanded by Eumolpus, attacked Attica in the year 3312 of the Julian period, 1402 years before our era<sup>1</sup>. Cecrops having died at a very advanced age, in the

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 413, § cix.

<sup>3</sup> Alter. Argument. Orat. Demosth. contra Androt. p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. contra Aristocr. p. 406. § xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Id. contra Neæram, p. 738, § cxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. I. xviii. p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Metamorph. II. 739.

<sup>8</sup> Apollodori Biblioth. XIII. iii. § ii. p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> Ulpiani Enarratio in Demosthenis Orat. de Falsâ Legatione, p. 391, c. d. Apollodorus also makes Agraulos, Erse, and Pandrosos, daughters of Cecrops, III. xiii. § ii. p. 222.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. I. xxxvii. p. 92.

year 3194 of the Julian period, 1520 years before our era (even if we should admit, contrary to all probability, that his daughter was born in the same year), it would follow that she was 118 years old when Eumolpus came to the assistance of the Eleusinians, and attacked Attica. It is certain that if Agraulos devoted herself for the good of her country, and that for such an action altars were erected to her memory, it yet cannot be for the same that is related by Ulpian.

A temple was erected to Agraulos<sup>2</sup>, the daughter of Cecrops, at Salamis, in the island of Cyprus; and every year, in the month Aphrodisius, a man was sacrificed in honour of her. She had also a temple in the citadel of Athens.

"Above the temple of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux)," says Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, "is the place consecrated to Aglauros (read, Agraulos). It is said that Minerva confided to her and her sisters Erse and Pandrosos a chest in which was Erichthonius, forbidding them to examine it. Pandrosos obeyed, but her sisters opened the chest. As soon as they beheld Erichthonius, they became mad, and threw themselves from the highest precipice of the citadel. It was at this same side that the Persians afterwards ascended, and put to death such of the Athenians as, believing themselves to understand the answer of the oracle better than Themistocles, had fortified the citadel with palisades."

LV. 60. *Ἐρεχθῆος. Erechtheus.* It is very probable that he was called 'son of the earth,' because his origin was unknown. This inclines me towards the opinion of the Egyptians, who asserted him to be of their nation. A great drought having occasioned a famine<sup>4</sup> and great mortality throughout the earth, except in Egypt, Erechtheus brought from that country a quantity of corn to Athens, because of the connexion which subsisted between the Egyptians<sup>5</sup> and the people of that city. This action obtained for him the crown. I have, however, in my Essay on Chronology, followed the opinion<sup>6</sup> of Apollodorus, who states him to have been the son of Pandion, king of Athens.

This was also the opinion of Homer, who, in speaking of Erechtheus, observes<sup>7</sup> that the fertile earth had engendered him, by which he means that he was originally of Attica, and not a foreigner; at least so Eustathius<sup>8</sup> has understood it.

A temple had been raised to him in the citadel, as appears by this passage of Herodotus; and sacrifices were offered to him, as we have seen, (V. lxxxii.). I am of opinion that the following verses of Homer allude to sacrifices offered to Erechtheus:

<sup>2</sup> Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, II. liv. vol. I. p. 33.  
p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. xviii. p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. I. xxix. vol. I. p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> The Egyptians considered Athens as a colony from Saïs. Diod. Sic. I. xxviii.

<sup>6</sup> Apollodori Bibl. III. xiii. § vii. p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> Homeri Iliad. II. p. 548.

<sup>8</sup> Eustath. ad Iliad. II. p. 283, lin. 11.



Ἐνθάδε μιν ταύροις καὶ ἀρνείοις ἱλάονται  
Κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων<sup>9</sup>.

‘The Athenians propitiate him, by sacrificing bulls and lambs in honour of him.’ I understand *μιν*, with Pseudo-Didymus and the scholiast of Venice, of Erechtheus, though Eustathius applies it to Minerva.

In this temple of Erechtheus were three altars. The first was<sup>1</sup> consecrated to Neptune and to Erechtheus; which occasioned Neptune to be surnamed Erechtheus<sup>2</sup>. Ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει. ‘The Athenian sacrifices to Neptune Erechtheus.’ Hesychius, at the word Ἐρεχθεύς, observes, that with the Athenians Erechtheus signifies Neptune, and it is found with that signification in the poem of Lycophron, 158.

The second altar was erected in honour<sup>3</sup> of Butes, and the third to Vulcan. Butes was the first who held the priesthood of Minerva and Erechtheus, and the Butadæ and Eteobutadæ, two families descended from him, retained that honour.

Altars were no doubt erected to Erechtheus, because he had sacrificed his daughter for the good of his country. The tradition is thus recorded by Lycurgus.

“They say<sup>4</sup> that Eumolpus, the son of Neptune and of Chione, came at the head of a body of Thracians to claim this country. Erechtheus was then our king; he had married Praxithea<sup>5</sup>, the daughter of Cephisa. This great army being on the point of entering Attica, Erechtheus repaired to Delphi, and consulted the god upon the means of gaining a victory. The god having answered him that he would defeat the enemy, if he sacrificed his daughter before the two armies came to action, he obeyed the god, sacrificed his daughter, and drove from Attica those who had come to attack it.”

We are led to suppose that there were two of the name of Eumolpus, both of Thrace, who attacked Attica; the one under Cecrops, and the other under Erechtheus; that to quell the first storm, Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops, leaped from the top of the citadel; and that to avert the second, Aglauros, daughter of Erechtheus, was sacrificed by her father. The identity of the names and circumstances of the two wars, and the similarity of the means employed to obtain a successful issue, lead to the conclusion that the Athenians possessed only confused traditional records of these ancient events, some referring the arrival of Eumolpus to the time of Cecrops, and others to that of Erechtheus. They knew that the daughter of the prince had devoted herself for the safety of her country. Those who placed the expedition of Eumolpus

<sup>9</sup> Iliad. II. 550.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. I. xxvi. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Athenagoræ Legat. pro Christian. pp. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. loco laudato.

<sup>4</sup> Lycurg. contra Leæm. p. 160, lin. 9 ;

ex ed. Taylor, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> According to Apollodorus, Praxithea was grand-daughter of Cephisa, and the daughter of Diogenia and of Phrasimus. See Apollodor. II. xiv. p. 229.

under the reign of Cecrops I., thought that it was his daughter Agraulos who had killed herself; whilst those who dated it under Erechtheus, asserted that it was Aglauros who had been sacrificed. It was in point of fact the same transaction, but varied as to the date.

61. Ἑλαιή. *An olive-tree.* Pliny relates that in his time this olive-tree was said still to subsist. "Athenis<sup>6</sup> quoque olea durare traditur in certamine edita à Minervâ." It was in the citadel; and because the goat destroys the olive-tree, and prevents it from bearing, goats were forbidden to be taken<sup>7</sup> into the citadel, except once a year, for a customary sacrifice.

The sacred olive-tree, if we may believe Pausanias<sup>8</sup>, was in the temple of Minerva. Meursius<sup>9</sup> hereupon unhesitatingly condemns Herodotus. But can we suppose that our historian, who had lived many years at Athens, could have been mistaken as to the spot where this olive-tree was situated? A few lines farther on, however, he (Meursius) finds means of reconciling the two authors, by observing that in the same temple there were two chapels, one dedicated to Neptune Erechtheus, and the other to Minerva Polias<sup>1</sup>. This olive-tree was called Μορία, Ἀστὴ ἐλαία, and Πάγκυφος<sup>2</sup>. Apollodorus<sup>3</sup> says that this olive-tree was seen in the Pandrosium; but it is easy to reconcile this opinion with the two others. "The temple<sup>4</sup> of Pandrosos," says Pausanias, "was contiguous to that of Minerva." Hence, some place the olive-tree in the temple of Erechtheus, others in that of Minerva, and others again in that of Pandrosos.

62. Θάλασσα. *A sea.* This sea was nothing more than a well, into which water flowed from the sea by subterranean channels. "A circumstance which is not very wonderful," adds Pausanias<sup>5</sup>, "and yet which deserves to be remarked is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard in it, similar to the roaring of the waves; and that on the stone of this well is the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the contest between Neptune and Minerva on the subject of Attica."

Sea-water sprung up also in the temple of Neptune Hippias<sup>6</sup>, near Mantinea, and at Mylassa, a city of Caria, though the port of that city was eighty stadia distant from the sea, and though Mantinea is so wholly inland, that the sea could come there only by a miracle, as Pausanias says. [Water impregnated with salt is not necessarily seawater.]

63. Ἐπίσταντας. *Having contested.* Cecrops<sup>7</sup> reigned over Attica. It

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XVI. xlv. vol. II. p. 40, lin. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Varro de Re Rust. I. ii. § xx.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. I. xxvii. p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> Meursius in Cecropia, xx.

<sup>1</sup> See Heyne ad Apollodorum, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See the scholiast of Aristophanes on verse 1001 of the Nubes, Eustathius on

Homer's Odyssey, p. 1383, line 6, and Hesychius under the words Ἀστὴ ἐλαία and Πάγκυφος.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodor. Bibl. III. xiii. § i. p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxvii. p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. I. xxvi. pp. 62, 63.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. VIII. x. p. 619.

<sup>7</sup> Apollod. III. xiii. § i. p. 221.

had been formerly called Actæa; but he named it, after himself, Cecropia. It is said, that under his reign the gods appointed the cities in which they required to be honoured by a particular worship. Neptune first came to Attica, and having struck the ground with his trident, near the middle of the citadel, he caused a sea to spring up, which to this day is called the Erechtheïs. After him came Minerva, who produced an olive-tree, now seen in the Pandrosium. Jupiter adjudged the city to Minerva, after whom it was named, that goddess being called Athena in Greek.

64. Βλαστόν. *A shoot.* "Sunt<sup>8</sup> et miracula fortuita. Nam et oliva in totum ambusta revixit: et in Bœotiâ derosæ à locustis ficus germi-navere."

65. Πηχναῖον. *Measuring a cubit.* According to Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, two cubits. But the marvellous seldom loses any thing by time.

LVII. 66. Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος. *Mnesiphilus of Athens.* This Mnesiphilus was, as well as Themistocles, of the hamlet of Phrear. "He was neither an orator," says Plutarch<sup>1</sup>, "nor one of those who were called natural philosophers; but he applied himself entirely to that study which then bore the name of wisdom, and which was simply the science of good government, which renders prudence vigorous and active; and he attached himself to it as to a sect established by Solon, and which had continued in existence down to his time." Themistocles had been his disciple, and thence arose the deference he paid to his opinions; but, as at the same time he was a man of little repute, Themistocles thought it better to take his advice without naming its author.

LIX. 67. Οἱ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι. *Those who are left behind.* That is, those who are conquered in the race.

This expression was peculiar to the games, and applied to the race of chariots, as well as to the foot-race. Hence it is taken to signify metaphorically those who are conquered, those who lose the advantage in any respect.

Ἄλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ἢ κακοῖς βαλεῖτέ πον  
Ἦ ξὺν δόλῳ κεντήσεθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι<sup>2</sup>.

'But you always attack us by contumelious words, or endeavour to bite us in secret, because you have lost your cause.'

It is surprising that Herodotus should suppress an instance of moderation, which does infinite honour to Themistocles. This general represented to the council of the Greeks, how advantageous it would be to give battle at Salamis, and that by going further they would incur the

<sup>8</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. III. xvii. vol. II. p. 87, lin. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xxvii. p. 64.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 112, D.

<sup>2</sup> Sophocl. Ajax, 1244.

risk of being completely surrounded by the Persians, who would then have room to employ their whole force. The Greeks, who wished to get nearer to the Peloponnesus, revolted against this proposal of the general, and, without giving him time to assign his reasons, they proceeded to insulting observations, and Eurybiades even came up to him with his cane raised. Themistocles, without suffering himself to be moved, said, "Strike, but listen." This<sup>3</sup> magnanimity disconcerted the Spartan.

LXI. 68. Μέζων. *More powerful.* Æschylus, in his tragedy entitled 'Persæ,' has emphatically said<sup>4</sup>: "Athens is indestructible; whilst its citizens live, it cannot be overthrown."

69. Διηκόσιαι νῆες. *Two hundred vessels.* Aristotle, according to Plutarch<sup>5</sup>, writes that the senate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ<sup>6</sup> a day to each soldier, and that by this means they succeeded in completing the equipment of the vessels. Clidemus, adds Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, affirms that this money was obtained by an artifice of Themistocles. For whilst the Athenians, says he, repaired to the Piræus to embark, the Ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles, under colour of a general search for it, found amongst the baggage an immense sum of money, which being distributed in common, secured abundance to the fleet.

LXIV. 70. Ἐς Αἴγιναν. *At Ægina.* Jupiter<sup>8</sup> being enamoured of Ægina, the daughter of Asopus, conveyed her to the island which was then called CEnone, but which received from her the name of Ægina. He here had a son by her, named Æacus. And this latter had three sons, viz. Peleus, Telamon, and Phocus. Æacus was a very pious prince. Greece being afflicted by a terrible drought, the oracle of Delphi was consulted on the cause and the remedy. The Pythia answered that the wrath of Jupiter must be appeased, and for this purpose the intercession of Æacus be employed.

Upon this answer, all the cities sent deputations to that prince, who complied with their entreaties by offering up sacrifices and vows to Jupiter Panhellenius, and obtained rain.

In the most conspicuous quarter<sup>9</sup> of the city of Ægina was seen the Æaceion, or temple of Æacus: it was a square enclosure of white marble, at the entrance to which were the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus on behalf of the different states of Greece. Such, no doubt, was the origin of the veneration of the Greeks for Æacus and the Æacides.

Phocus was killed by Telamon<sup>1</sup>; others say by Peleus and Tela-

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Æschyl. in Pers. 346, 347.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 117, A.

<sup>6</sup> Six shillings sterling.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 117, A.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. II. xxix. pp. 177. 179; Apollodor. III. xi. § vi. pp. 213, 214, 215.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. II. xxix. p. 179.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Vit. Parallel. p. 311, r.

mon<sup>2</sup>. Peleus<sup>3</sup> retired to Phthia, and Telamon<sup>4</sup> to the island of Salamis, where he reigned. Ajax, the son of Telamon, distinguished himself at the siege of Troy; but after the death of Achilles, having contested with Ulysses for the arms of the deceased hero, and Ulysses having obtained them, he killed himself in despair. Homer in his *Odyssey* places him in the Elysian fields; and at this I am not surprised, for there were many points of morality which at that time of day were not well understood, insomuch that they did not consider suicide as infringing on its principles, but even authorised the act. But I have always been astonished that Fénélon, the pious and learned Archbishop of Cambray, should, in his *Telemachus*, have placed Ajax in the regions of the blessed.

LXV. 71. Τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν. *The mystic Iacchus*. On the 20th<sup>5</sup> of the month<sup>6</sup> Boëdromion, which was the sixth day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, a figure of Iacchus or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle<sup>7</sup>, and holding in his hand a torch<sup>8</sup>, was carried from the Ceramicus<sup>9</sup> to Eleusis. During the march a hymn was sung in honour of the god, which hymn was termed the<sup>1</sup> Mystic Iacchus, and in it the invocation 'Iacche' was frequently repeated. It was this hymn Dicæus said he had heard.

The hymn was sung, not in honour of Bacchus Thebanus, the<sup>2</sup> son of Jupiter and Semele, but of Bacchus the son of Jupiter and Proserpine. The latter was, according to Cicero<sup>3</sup>, the first of the five Bacchuses, among whom he does not include the son of Semele.

72. Καὶ αὐτέων τε ὁ βουλόμενος μνεῖται. *And whoever chooses is initiated into these mysteries*. On these mysteries, see Meursius's treatise entitled 'Eleusinia,' and likewise Dr. Warburton's work called 'The Divine Legation of Moses.' That learned bishop, however, appears to me to be mistaken, in maintaining that the unity of the Deity was taught to the initiated. Perhaps this might be done with respect to those who manifested a disposition to receive this dogma; but I am persuaded it was never hinted at to the mass of the initiated, and that atheism was preached to a very small number, who seemed oppositely disposed. The same may be said of the mysteries of Samothracia and of Lemnos. I appeal to Cicero<sup>4</sup>: "Omitto Eleusinam sanctam illam et augustam,

Ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ.

Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque, quæ

Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur,

Silvestribus sæpibus densa;

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. II. xxix. p. 179; Apollodor. XII. xi. § vi. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodor. III. iii. § i. p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. xi. § vii. p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> It answers to the 30th September.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Camillo, p. 138, D.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Aristoph. in Ran. 402.

<sup>8</sup> Aristoph. in Ran. 331, et seq.

<sup>9</sup> Id. 343, et seq.

<sup>1</sup> Arriani Exp. Alexandr. II. xvi.; Hesych. voc. Ἰακχόν.

<sup>2</sup> Arrianus, ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deorum, III. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deorum, I. xlii.

quibus explicatis ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam Deorum."

As to the assertion of Herodotus, that not only the Athenians, but all other Greeks who desired it, were initiated into these mysteries, it is to be observed that this was not always the case. Hercules and <sup>5</sup> the Dioscuri were initiated; but they were first adopted by an Athenian. Anacharsis<sup>6</sup>, though a barbarian, was admitted to them; but he also was first adopted. The Athenians afterwards became less particular in this matter, not only with regard to the Greeks, as this passage of Herodotus proves, but also with regard to the Barbarians; as Sylla, Pomponius Atticus, Augustus, &c. were initiated.

73. Ἐχ' ἡσυχος. *Be quiet.* The Athenians, and the Ionians who were originally of Athens, frequently employ the adjective in this manner. Euripides says, in like manner, in his *Medea*, 553, ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἡσυχος, and in *Orestes*, 1275 of Brunck's edition, ἀφοβος ἔχε. The other Greeks more commonly use, in such a case, the adverb, ἔχ' ἡσυχως.

74. Καταπτόμενος. *Vouching.* Eustathius<sup>7</sup> remarks, that Herodotus takes κατάπτεσθαι in an unusual sense; and he explains it, by 'calling as witness,' μάρτυρας προφέρων. He then quotes this passage of our author. Herodotus has made use of the same expression, VI. lxxviii.

LXVI. 75. Τῶν πέντε πόλιων. *Of the five cities.* As all the islands of the Ægean Sea contained cities of the same name with themselves, it became common to use the words πόλις and νῆσος, island and city, on such occasions, as synonymous. Herodotus, III. cxxxix., calls Samos the first of all the cities; Eupolis calls Chios<sup>8</sup> a beautiful city, and Thucydides terms it a very large city<sup>9</sup>. See also Harpocration at the word Κεῖροι.

These five islands were Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphos, and Cythnos, of which Herodotus has spoken above, xlv.

LXVIII. 76. Τῶν ὄφελός ἐστι οὐδέν. *Good for nothing people.* The late M. Hemsterhuis<sup>1</sup>, with his usual acuteness, has remarked, that ὁ, τι περ ὄφελος is used to indicate whatever is most excellent of its kind. With the negation it means the very reverse.

LXXI. 77. Τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν. *The road to Sciron.* This road<sup>2</sup> led from Megaris to the Isthmus over the mountain of Sciron, famous for being the resort of the robber whose name it bore. This robber threw travellers into the sea, or fastened their limbs to pine-branches which he had bent down, and which afterwards springing up again, dashed them to pieces. Theseus rid the country of him.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 16, A; Diod. Sic. IV. xiv. p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> Luciani Scytha, viii. vol. I. p. 868.

<sup>7</sup> Eustath. ad Hom. Iliad. I. 582, 155, lin. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Schol. ad Aristoph. Aves, 881.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. VIII. xv.

<sup>1</sup> Lucian. Timon. vol. I. p. 171, note

<sup>5</sup> See also M. Valckenaer's note.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 600, A.

LXXII. 78. Ἡλεῖοι. *The Eleans.* Pausanias<sup>3</sup> also says that they took part in the war between the Greeks and Xerxes. Diodorus Siculus denies this. As the Eleans, says he<sup>4</sup>, increased greatly, and governed their republic with eminent wisdom, the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to induce them to relax the strictness of their discipline, and to lead a more ordinary life, in order that, from enjoying the sweets of peace, they might be destitute of experience in military affairs. With this view, and with the consent of the other Greeks, they were dedicated to the god (Jupiter): they did not march with the troops of the nation against Xerxes; as being devoted exclusively to the service of the god, they were exempted from carrying arms. But after a lapse of many generations, the Eleans engaged in war, as well for the common good, as for their own particular interests<sup>5</sup>.

LXXIII. 79. Ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε. *It never left the Peloponnesus.* The Achæans having been driven from Laconia and Argolis by the Heraclidæ, took possession of the country then occupied by the Ionians, and which from them took the name of Achaia; therefore they never did leave the Peloponnesus.

80. Αἰτωλοί. *The Ætolians.* Pausanias also relates<sup>6</sup> that Elis had been peopled by Ætolians who came from Calydon, and other parts of Ætolia; but in enumerating the antiquities of that nation, he does not mention them. It should seem, on the contrary, that it was Ætolus, brother of Epeius, who, being obliged to fly on account of a murder, retired towards the borders<sup>7</sup> of the Acheloüs in Curetis, and gave his name to the inhabitants. Eleius having succeeded his brother Epeius, gave the name of Eleans<sup>8</sup> to the people, who under the preceding reign had been called Epeians.

I cannot find, therefore, that the Ætolians at any time came to settle at Elis; but I find that Endymion<sup>9</sup>, son of Aethlius and Calyce, took certain Æolians<sup>1</sup> with him from Thessaly, and was the founder of Elis.

If we adopt the first tradition related by Pausanias, these Ætolians were not properly Ætolians, but Æolians. Calydon was formerly called Æolis<sup>2</sup>. I should therefore be inclined to substitute 'the Æolians' for 'the Ætolians,' on the supposition that the copyists may have written one for the other, as in VI. cxxvii., where we find Αἰτωλίδος in some MSS. and Αἰολίδος in others.

81. Πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ. *Towards Cardamyla.* He adds 'of Laconia,' to distinguish it from the city of Cardamyla in Argolis. Xenophon, whose clearness and accuracy are well known, speaking of Asine in

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. V. iv. p. 383.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. vol. II. p. 547.

<sup>5</sup> Polybius, IV. lxxiii. p. 468.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. V. i. p. 375.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. V. i. p. 376; Apollodor. I.

vii. § vi. p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Apollodor. I. vii. § vi. p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. v. p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> That is, descendants of Æolus.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, III. cii.



**Laconia, says:** The Thebans<sup>3</sup>, having led their army against Asine in Laconia, defeated the Lacedæmonian garrison.

82. *Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῖται πάντες.* *The Paroreatæ are all Lemnians.* The Minyæ, or descendants of the Argonauts, having been<sup>4</sup> driven from the island of Lemnos by the Pelasgi, came into the Peloponnesus. Having<sup>5</sup> shortly afterwards taken possession of the country of the Paroreatæ, and of that of the Caucones, they drove out the ancient inhabitants, and built six cities. This event is of the same date with the foundation of Thera, as we find from Herodotus, and consequently of the year 3564 of the Julian period, 1150 years before our era. At the time of the battle of Salamis, therefore, the Minyæ had for 670 years borne the name of Paroreatæ.

83. *Δοκέουσι μῶνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες.* *They alone are thought to be Ionians.* Herodotus had just said that the Cynurii were Autochthones; he could therefore scarcely say immediately afterwards that they were Ionians. The text, therefore, must be corrupt. Pausanias says<sup>6</sup> that the Cynurii were considered by some as being originally of Argolis, and that the colony had been under the conduct of Cynurus, son of Perseus; but as this founder was more than two centuries anterior to the establishment of the Dorians, and as the people who then inhabited Argolis appear to have been Autochthones, this account only in part contradicts that of our historian, that the Cynurii were aborigines of the country they then inhabited. The correction, proposed by M. Valckenaer, viz. that *some* considered them to be Ionians, is further supported by a passage of Pausanias, in which it is said that Ornesæ took its origin from<sup>7</sup> Orneus, the son of Erechtheus: for, admitting this tradition, they were Ionians.

LXXVI. 84. *Πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.* *Towards Salamis.* To form a clear idea of the disposition of the enemy's fleet, we must acquire a distinct knowledge of the scene of action, and the design of the Persians. Salamis was an island near Attica, and between Attica and Megaris. On the side of Attica was a strait, and at the entrance of this strait, the little island of Psyttalia [now Lipsicotalia]. On the side of Megaris was another strait. Between Salamis and Mount Ægaleos, the sea was open enough for the Greeks to work their vessels, but too narrow for a fleet so large as that of the Persians. This was the spot chosen by the Greeks to give battle, with the view of rendering useless a large proportion of the Persian fleet. The Persians, who had no idea of the plan of the Greeks, thought that a most favourable opportunity now presented itself to end the war at a blow, by taking the whole maritime force of the Greeks, as in a net. Filled with this idea, they

<sup>3</sup> Xen. Hellen. VII. i. § xiv. p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. IV. cxlv.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. cxlviii.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. III. ii. p. 207.

<sup>7</sup> Id. II. xxv. p. 168.

took possession of the island of Psyttalia, and advanced their right wing, which<sup>8</sup> was to the west, towards Salamis and on the side of Eleusis, with the view of closing the passage against the Greeks; and for the purpose of enclosing them on the side of Piræus, they advanced their left wing, which stretched out to the east round the island of Ceos and the promontory Cynosura; by which they occupied all the strait as far as Munychia. The island of Ceos is at the extremity of Attica, and opposite to the promontory Sunium. Cynosura is another promontory of Attica, opposite to one of the extremities of Eubœa. By this arrangement the Greeks were surrounded on all sides.

LXXVII. 85. Κόρον, "Υβριος υἱόν. *Disdain, son of Insolence.* The oracle, in these words, alludes to Xerxes. Κόρος here signifies, 'satiety,' 'fastidium,' and not 'juvenis.' Pindar<sup>9</sup> says that Insolence is the mother of Disdain.

Ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλεξεῖν Ὑβριν, Κόρον  
Ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

'Wishing to repel audacious Insolence, the mother of Disdain.'

The oracle and Pindar contradict each other only in appearance. If the disgust occasioned by abundance engenders insolence, it may be also said that insolence leads us to undervalue our own riches, and to covet those of others. It is in this sense that Sophocles has said<sup>1</sup> in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*:

Ὑβρις φυτεύει τύραννον.

'Insolence generates the tyrant.' It is not necessary, with the commentators, to have recourse to an enallage to understand this verse.

[A discussion of the passages in which this expression occurs may be found in Dr. Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I. pp. 264. 375.]

86. Χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται. *Brass shall mingle with brass.* This alludes to the brass with which the prows of the vessels were armed, or perhaps to those ancient times, before the discovery of iron, when all weapons were made of brass.

Nam prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus<sup>2</sup>.

LXXIX. 87. Ἐξωστρακισμένος. *Expelled by ostracism.* "Ostracism is a Greek word, which comes from ὄστρακον, a shell or tile. It was a species of judgment in use at Athens, by which those who were thought, either from their wealth or talents, to have become dangerous to the state, were exiled for ten years, or, as Diodorus Siculus says<sup>3</sup>, for five years. Ostracism was devised by the Athenians after they had thrown

<sup>8</sup> They were the vessels which were near Phalera. See lxvi.

<sup>9</sup> Pindari Olymp. XIII. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Sophocl. *Œdipus Tyr.* 873.

<sup>2</sup> Lucret. V. 1286.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lv. vol. I. p. 445.

off the yoke of the Pisistratidæ<sup>4</sup>, as a means of getting rid of those whom they thought capable of overthrowing the popular government.

“ On passing a judgment of this sort, the public place was closed in with boards ; and in the enclosure were left ten avenues. The people entered by tribes, and each person placed in the urn his ‘ostrakon,’ on which was written his vote. If there were 6000 votes against the accused party, he was obliged in ten days to quit the city. No smaller number of votes could condemn him. Ostracism was in use not only amongst the Athenians, but also with the Argians, the Milesians, the Megarians, &c. Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, Alcibiades, &c. were exiled by ostracism. This species of exile differed from banishment in three respects. It was for a fixed time, the place of exile was assigned, and the effects of the condemned were not forfeited: banishment, on the contrary, was perpetual, no place was assigned, and the property of the banished person was confiscated. Ostracism was an honourable kind of exile, which, so far from casting any stain on the person who incurred it, was rather a testimony of his merit.”—  
BELLANGER.

LXXXIII. 88. Οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι. *Having mustered those composing the armament.* As this phrase appeared to M. Wesseling to want connexion, he added ἡγορόωντο: but he seems not to have been aware that it was a nominative absolute for a genitive absolute. From a thousand examples of this mode of expression, I will only adduce the following: Καὶ<sup>5</sup> διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ ἔδοξέ μοι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ . . . ‘ Having discoursed with him, it appeared to me that this man . . . ’

Σωθεὶς δὲ, παῖδας ἐξ ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου  
Κτησαμένος, ἦν ἔδωκά σοι δάμαρτ' ἔχειν,  
Ὅνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν<sup>6</sup>.

‘ If you succeed in escaping and have children by my sister, whom I have given you to wife, my name may be preserved.’ Σωθεὶς δὲ is for σοῦ σωθέντος, as has been remarked by Joshua Barnes. Προσθίγων in the Choëphori<sup>7</sup> is for προσθίγοντός σου. The Latins, in imitation of the Greeks, said, “ ceteræ Philosophorum disciplinæ . . . eas non modo nihil adjuvare arbitror<sup>8</sup>. ”

In like manner Terence<sup>9</sup>.

Nam nos omnes, quibus est alicunde aliquis objectus labos,  
Omne quod est interea tempus, priusquam id rescitum est, lucro est.

LXXXIV. 89. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο,

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lv. vol. I. p. 445.

<sup>5</sup> Plato Socrat. Apolog. vol. I. p. 21, c.

<sup>6</sup> Euripid. Iphig. in Taurid. 695.

<sup>7</sup> Æschyl. Choeph. 1060.

<sup>8</sup> Cic. de Finibus, III. iii., on which

see Davies's note.

<sup>9</sup> Hecyr. act. III. sc. i. 6.

καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας. *The other Greeks were for going astern without putting about and approaching the shore.* Ἐπὶ πρύμναν κρούσασθαι is said of a vessel which draws back, without putting about. This had not the appearance of retreating, and the persons on board were less exposed to the danger of being wounded, than if their backs were turned to the enemy. But when they drew back for the purpose of returning to the attack with greater impetuosity, it was called ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνακρούσασθαι. The distinction between these two expressions is very clearly pointed out by Julius Pollux<sup>1</sup>. Καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς ἐμβολὴν ὑπογαγεῖν εἰς τοῦπίσω τὴν ναῦν, ἀνακρούσασθαι· τὸ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν, πρύμναν κρούσασθαι. “Ἀνακρούσασθαι is said when a vessel draws back, without putting about, to return to the attack; but when it takes to flight, without putting about, they say πρύμναν κρούσασθαι.” This manœuvre was performed by rowing backwards. The same author also, speaking of a horse, says<sup>2</sup>, ἀνάκρουε τῷ χαλινῷ, “make him draw back, by pulling the bridle, that you may afterwards urge him forwards with greater ardour.” See VI. xii. note 9; and likewise the learned note of M. Valckenaer.

LXXXV. 90. Εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη. *He was written down a benefactor of the king.* The names of those who had deserved well of the king were inscribed in registers. See the<sup>3</sup> letter of Xerxes to Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon. Mordecai, who<sup>4</sup> warned Ahasuerus of a conspiracy against his life, was inscribed in these registers, and was afterwards rewarded. The Septuagint here has γράμματα μνημόσυνα τῶν ἡμερῶν; the Vulgate, ‘historias et annales priorum temporum.’

LXXXVI. 91. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐκερατίζετο. *The greater number of the ships were scattered.* At the time of the battle of Salamis a horned comet appeared: “Ceratias<sup>5</sup> cornûs speciem habet, qualis fuit cum Græcia apud Salamina depugnavit.” This battle was fought in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, 480 years B. C., on the 20th of the month Boëdromion, or the 30th of September<sup>6</sup>. Plutarch, who assigns this date in his life of Camillus, is not mistaken, as Dodwell<sup>7</sup> has supposed, when he asserts in the life of Lysander<sup>8</sup>, that the battle of Salamis was fought on the 16th of the month Munychion, or the 20th April. Plutarch, in his life of Camillus, speaks of the battle of Salamis which took place in the first year of the 75th Olympiad; and in the life of Lysander, of the battle of Salamis in the isle of Cyprus, which happened in the third year of the 82nd Olympiad, 450 years before the vulgar era. Plutarch<sup>9</sup> and Diogenes Laertius remark, that Euripides

<sup>1</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. I. ix. § cxxv. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. xi. § ccxi. p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxix. p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Esther, vi. 1, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. II. xxv. vol. I. p. 88, lin. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Camillo, p. 138, B.

<sup>7</sup> Annales Thucydidei, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Lysand. p. 441, D; de Gloria Atheniens. p. 349, F.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. VIII. Quæst. i.

p. 717, c; Diog. Laert. II. xlv.

was born on the very day of the first battle of Salamis, and that he died on the day of the birth of Dionysius Priscus, who was one of the tyrants of Sicily. [This note was perhaps suggested by the verb *κερατίζω*, which signifies, to toss with the horns.]

LXXXVII. 92. *Ἀρτεμισίην. Artemisia.* She was the daughter of Lygdamis, and queen of Caria. She possessed, however, but a small part of it, Halicarnassus the capital, and the three little islands of Cos, Nisyros, and Calydna<sup>1</sup>. We must not therefore confound Calydna with Calynda, a town on the frontiers of Lycia, of which Damasithymus was king. Neither must we confound this princess with another Artemisia, who was likewise queen of Caria, and daughter of Hecatomnus, sister and wife of Mausolus, who died about the 106th Olympiad, 356 years B. C.

LXXXVIII. 93. *Καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρόντων. And that some one of the bystanders said.* If we may rely on<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy the son of Hephæstion, it was Draco, the son of Eupompus of Samos. He had so piercing a sight, that he could distinguish objects at the distance of twenty stadia. Xerxes gave him<sup>3</sup> 1000 talents to accompany him in his expedition. He was seated with Xerxes under the golden plane-tree, and related to him what passed in both fleets.

94. *Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι. Xerxes answered.* This prince<sup>4</sup> sent a complete suit of armour of Grecian make to Artemisia, as a reward for her valour; and to the commander of his fleet, a spindle and distaff. This latter part of the story seems to me scarcely probable, and has most likely arisen out of the speech of Xerxes. The commander of this fleet was the brother of Xerxes; and he fell, fighting valiantly<sup>5</sup>.

LXXXIX. 95. *Ἀριαβίγνης. Ariabignes.* This prince can be no other than he whom our author had before called<sup>6</sup> Artobazanes, and whom Plutarch<sup>7</sup> calls Ariamnes.

XC. 96. *Ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ τὸ καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως. Under the mountain which is called Ægaleus.* The ancients vary as to the place from whence Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus says<sup>8</sup>, that it was above the temple of Hercules, at that part of Attica which is separated from Salamis only by a very narrow strait. Acestorodorus, on the other hand, affirms that it was from the hills called Cerata (the horns), on the confines of the territory of Megaris. These differences are only such in appearance. They fought at Salamis, which, accord-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VII. xcix.

<sup>2</sup> Photii Biblioth. cxc. p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> 225,000*l.* sterling, which is contrary to all probability.

<sup>4</sup> Polyæni Strateg. VIII. liii. § ii. p. 805.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xviii. vol. I. p. 217.

<sup>6</sup> Id. VII. ii.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 119, D; de Fratern. Amore, p. 488, D.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. p. 118, F.

ing to Pausanias<sup>9</sup>, extended as far as Megaris. Thus Mount Ægaleus was on the confines of Attica and Megaris. It appears that it was a part of Mount Corydalus.

This position of Xerxes, who from the top of Mount Ægaleus gave his orders, and animated his troops by his presence, warmed the imagination of a poet, who compares him to Jupiter Νεφεληγερέτης, an epithet which Homer frequently bestows on that god. Suidas has preserved this fragment, under the word Μᾶσσον.

Ἐπιπρὸ δὲ μᾶσσον ἐπ' ἄκρου  
Αἰγαλέω θυόεντος, ἄγων μέγαν ὑετὸν, ἔστη.

‘ Having advanced, he stopped on the summit of the odoriferous Ægaleus, bringing with him a terrific storm.’

[The poet was evidently Chœrilus of Samos, who was a contemporary of Herodotus, or a little later, and who wrote an epic poem on Xerxes' invasion of Greece and his defeat. It is mentioned by Suidas, v. χοίριλος, and cited by Aristotle<sup>1</sup>, Strabo<sup>2</sup>, Josephus<sup>3</sup>, who quotes five verses, and others. His fragments have been collected by Düntzer<sup>4</sup>, and by Dübner, in the epic fragments appended to his edition of Hesiod. (Paris, 1840.)]

XCIII. 97. Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς. *Aminias of Pallene*. This Aminias was the brother of Æschylus<sup>5</sup>, from whose pen we have seven tragedies.

XCIV. 98. Λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι. *The Athenians say*. Dio Chrysostom relates<sup>6</sup> that our historian, not having received from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, the recompense that he expected, related the actions of Adimantus and the Corinthians at the battle of Salamis, in a wholly different manner. Plutarch says that Herodotus has malignantly misrepresented the conduct of the Corinthians in the battle of Salamis; but had the circumstance related by Dio Chrysostom been true, Plutarch would not have failed to make the most of it. But I cannot believe that our historian has been influenced by any such motives; but rather that he wished to gratify the Athenians, who were enemies of the Corinthians. Plutarch opposes to our historian<sup>7</sup>, and with reason, the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and certain epigrams, or rather inscriptions of Simonides and some other poets, with which our historian must have been acquainted. I subjoin one on Adimantus, which is preserved in the Anthologia of Constantine Cephalas:

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xxxv. p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> Rhet. III. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Geogr. VII. p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. c. Apion. I. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> Fragments of the Greek Epic Poets, 871, A, B.

Cologne, 1839.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxvii. vol. I. p. 426.

<sup>6</sup> Dio Chrysost. in Corinth. p. 456, c.

<sup>7</sup> De Herodoti Malign. p. 870, D, E, F;

"This<sup>8</sup> is the tomb of that Adimantus, by whose advice Greece placed upon her head the crown of liberty."

This Adimantus had<sup>9</sup> three daughters and a son. He gave to the first of his daughters the name of Nausinica, to the second that of Acrothynium, and to the third that of Alexibia; and he called his son Aristæas. Aristæas distinguished himself in the Peloponnesian war at the head of the Corinthians<sup>1</sup>. Having been afterwards sent as ambassador to the great king<sup>2</sup>, with Aneristus, Nicolaos, Pratodemus, and Timagoras of Tegea, he was taken with his colleagues in Thrace, when on the point of embarking for Asia. They were conducted to Athens, and put to death.

99. Τὸ ἰπὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκίραδος. *The temple of Minerva Sciras.* The island of Salamis<sup>3</sup> was formerly called Sciras, from a hero of the same name. Minerva was worshipped under that name in this island; and hence also the sacrifice, which at Athens was called Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion, which answered nearly to our month of June.

This hero Sciras<sup>4</sup> was a soothsayer who came from Dodona to seek Erechtheus during the war which the Thracians, who had taken possession of Eleusis, waged against that prince. He erected at Phalera a temple to Minerva Sciras.

XCV. 100. Ἀπέβησε ἄγων. *He carried them over.* "Aristides<sup>5</sup> observing that Psyttalia, a little island close to Salamis and in the strait, was filled with hostile troops, took with him the most zealous and brave of his fellow-citizens, and having embarked them in light vessels, he made a descent on the island. He gave battle to the Barbarians, and put them all to the sword, except the most distinguished, whom he made prisoners. Among this number were three brothers, sons of Sandace, sister of the king. Aristides having sent them to Themistocles, it is said that they were sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes, by order of the prophet Euphrantides, and by virtue of an oracle."

XCVI. 101. Μουσαίω. *Musæus.* There were several persons of this name. The one here mentioned was an Athenian<sup>6</sup>, of Eleusis, and son of Antiphemus, or Antiophemus, as he is called by Pausanias<sup>7</sup>. He wrote some precepts in verse addressed to his son Eumolpus, on which see Pausanias<sup>8</sup>. This author says<sup>9</sup>, however, that there is nothing extant which is certainly from the pen of Musæus, except a hymn in honour of Ceres, which he wrote to be sung by the Lycomedæ. He had also composed oracles, which were ascribed to Onomacritus<sup>1</sup>. He was buried<sup>2</sup> at Athens, upon a hill which is within the boundaries of the

<sup>8</sup> Antholog. Cephalæ, p. 67.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. de Herod. Malign. p. 871, A.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. lxi. et s.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. cxxxvii. Thucyd. II. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 603, A.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 323, F.

<sup>6</sup> Suidas, voc. Μουσαῖος, vol. II. p. 578.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. X. xii. p. 828.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. V. p. 809.

<sup>9</sup> Id. I. xxii. p. 53.

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. I. vol. I. p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. I. xxv. p. 61.



ancient city, opposite the citadel, whither he was accustomed to retire to sing his verses. He had a grandson of the same name, to whom Diogenes Laërtius<sup>3</sup> attributes a Theogony and a Treatise on the Sphere in verse.

The Athenians<sup>4</sup>, whilst digging for the foundation of the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, found a cippus of bronze surrounded with stone, on which was engraven this inscription: "This is the monument of Deiope." Some pretend that Deiope was the wife of Musæus, others that she was the mother of Triptolemus. Pausanias seems to favour the latter opinion<sup>5</sup>.

102. Ἑρετμοῖσι φρίζουσι. *Shall shudder at the oars.* The text is manifestly corrupt. I might easily have misled many of my readers by translating, "the women of Colias shall shudder at the sight of the oars." But a scholar would have perceived that the expression was foreign to the text.

Kühn<sup>6</sup> reads φρύξουσι, and explains it of a board used for drying any thing in the sun. This correction, approved by MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer, appears to me good, but not so his interpretation.

In every country the women had the charge of domestic concerns. Before they had slaves, they themselves ground the barley which served for their nourishment, having previously roasted it. We find an instance in the Letters of Alciphron<sup>7</sup>, κάχρυσ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν φρύγειν ἀναπείσω. 'I will teach you how to roast barley in the country.' It is to this custom that the oracle quoted by Herodotus alludes; an oracle which could not be understood until after its accomplishment.

[The meaning of the oracle, according to the reading Ἑρετμοῖσι φρίζουσι, must be that the women will dry their barley on tables made of the broken oars. This scanty and uncertain sense is perhaps enough for an oracle.]

103. Ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως. *On the departure of the king.* Gorgias, who had counselled the Greeks to put an end to their dissensions, and to unite against the Persians, pronounced<sup>8</sup> at Athens the funeral oration of those who had fallen in the battle of Salamis, and whose obsequies were celebrated at the public expense. There is much art in this oration; for in exciting the Athenians against the Medes and Persians, he follows the course he had laid down in his Olympic oration; but he says nothing of concord, because he was speaking to the Athenians, who aspired to the empire, and who could not attain it but by some brilliant action. He therefore dwells on their trophies, and points out to them that those which have been raised to commemorate their triumph over the Barbarians require hymns, and those erected against the Greeks, lamentations.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laërt. in Proem. III. p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> De Mirab. Auscult. cxliii. p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. xiv. p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> In notis ad Pausaniam, I. p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Alciphronis Epistolæ, III. Epist. XXVII. p. 334. Confer not. Bergleri.

<sup>8</sup> Philostr. de Vit. Sophist. I. ix. 2. p. 493.

XCVII. 104. Τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος. *The calamity that had befallen.* "I learned from a Mede," says Dio Chrysostom<sup>9</sup>, "that the Persians do not admit what is asserted by the Greeks . . . . They will have it that Xerxes defeated the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and killed their king; that he took possession of the city of Athens, totally destroyed it, and reduced to slavery all the Athenians who did not take to flight; and that he returned into Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. This account we know to be false; but it is not only possible, but very probable, that Xerxes sent intelligence of this kind to the Asiatic nations, to prevent their being alarmed."

105. Ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειᾶτο διαχοῦν. *He tried to raise a mound across to Salamis.* The sea<sup>1</sup> was very narrow at this place, not more than about two stadia across. Ctesias says<sup>2</sup> that Xerxes, after having set Athens on fire, came to the temple of Hercules, the narrowest channel in all Attica; that there he commenced a mole or causeway which was intended to reach to Salamis, that he might march his army into that island. He then adds, that by the advice of Themistocles and Aristides, Cretan archers were advanced to the spot, and that then the Persians were obliged to prepare for battle. Thus, according to Ctesias, the design of constructing the mole preceded the battle, whereas, according to Herodotus, it followed it.

XCVIII. 106. Οὐδὲν ὃ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔόν. *There is nothing swifter among mortals.* Θνητὸν ἔόν is in opposition to the gods, who are as swift as thought. M. Valckenaer seems decidedly to disapprove of this expression, and asks whether the pigeons used for the conveyance of letters were not still swifter. To which I answer, that in all probability the conveyance by pigeons was not established on the great roads where there was a regular post by horses, but only for places difficult of access by horses, and remote from the main roads. We may remark, moreover, that at the end of book I. Herodotus calls the horse the swiftest of mortal creatures.

107. Οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. *The invention of the Persians consists in this.* We know likewise of another invention<sup>3</sup>, bearing on the extent of his empire, by means of which Cyrus was apprised of the most distant occurrences. Having ascertained what distance a horse could perform in a day without injury, he had stables built at every such distance, where he had horses kept, and servants to attend them. There was also stationed at each of these places a man competent to receive dispatches, to transmit them to others [as the torch was transmitted in the Lampadophoria of the Greeks<sup>4</sup>], and to supply fresh horses and men in the place of those that were fatigued. This

<sup>9</sup> Dio Chrys. Orat. XI. p. 191, D; 192, A.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 605, A.

<sup>2</sup> Phot. LXXII. p. 118, lin. 36, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Instit. Cyri, VIII. vi. § ix. p. 537.

<sup>4</sup> See bk. VI. note 125.

mode of transmission was practised night and day by a succession of couriers. This then is the origin of the post, which dates as far back as the time of Cyrus.

XCIX. 108. Τοὺς κιθῶνας κατεβόηξαντο. *They tore their garments.* Such was the custom of the eastern nations, as we find in numberless passages of Scripture. See also Æschylus, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, 53, et passim.

CIV. 109. Οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες. *The Pedasians.* The whole of this paragraph, which has got into this place from bk. I. clxxv. appears to M. Valckenaer, and I think justly, to be an interpolation. 1. The style somewhat differs from that of Herodotus. 2. Strabo appears to have read only the passage in the 1st book. 3. It seems to be in its place in that book, and altogether irrelevant here; and had Herodotus considered this story sufficiently important to be here repeated, it would have come in better after xx of bk. VI. M. Valckenaer shows very clearly that the style is altogether different from that of our historian.

CV. 110. Οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πίστιος εἵνεκα. *The eunuchs on account of their fidelity.* Chardin, who resided for a considerable time in Persia, thus speaks of them<sup>5</sup>: "Having no connexion but with the master who has bought them, the eunuchs are devoid of either tenderness or pity; but for this very reason they have a most devoted attachment to their master, and would do for him, what another would do for his dearest friend, his relation, his child, his wife, or his country, for their master is to them all in all. I do not therefore regard the fidelity of the eunuchs, so highly vaunted in history, as deserving of so much praise, but rather as a natural consequence of their miserable condition. Certain it is, that one is more faithfully served by them, and less deceived, than by other men; but then, again, they are very troublesome to govern, because, as I have before observed, they are generally rebellious, vindictive, and cruel."

CVI. 111. Τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται. *Cultivated by inhabitants of Chios.* The Persians had given Atarneia to the inhabitants of Chios, as an equivalent for the surrender of Pactyas.

112. Ὑπήγαγον. *Have seduced you.* Ὑπάγειν signifies properly to lead any one, to draw by a bait, as one draws a sheep after one by holding out grass. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὑπῆγεν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα . . . . δώῃ δίκην<sup>6</sup>. 'The god has drawn him, by deceitful hopes, to the place where he committed the crime, for the purpose of punishing him.'

113. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε. *Thus was Panionius punished.*

<sup>5</sup> Travels of Chardin, vol. II. p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> Lysias contra Andocidem, p. 105.

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit,  
Vulnera quæ fecit, debuit ipse pati.

Ovid. Amor. II. Eleg. iii.

CVII. 114. Ἀγχοῦ Ζωστῆρος. *Near the promontory of Zoster.* "It is said<sup>7</sup> that Latona, being with child by Jupiter, was pursued by the jealous Juno over sea and land; that the pains of child-birth overtaking her in our country, she there unfastened her girdle; and that the spot has from that time been called Zoster (girdle); and that having afterwards passed into the isle of Delos, she brought forth twins, the god Apollo and the goddess Diana."

The young maidens, as soon as they were of a marriageable age, wore a girdle, which the husband alone had the privilege of untying, and he did this on the marriage night. Hence the expression 'solvere zonam.' But the newly married women wore another kind of girdle, which they kept till the first lying-in. It is to this second custom that the manuscript scholiast of Hermogenes, just cited, alludes.

CIX. 115. Καί τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω. *Let each repair his house.* Τίς is here for ἕκαστος. Let us hear what the learned archbishop of Thessalonica says. "Ὅτι δὲ τὸ τινὰ, καὶ ὅλως τὸ τίς, ἔστιν ὅτε τῇ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀοριστία ἰσοδυναμεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἕκαστος, δηλοῖ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν τῷ,

ὦρα τιν' ἤδη κάρα κα-  
λύμμασι κρυψάμενον,

καὶ ἐξῆς. Δηλοῖ γὰρ ὡς καιρὸς ἔστιν ἕκαστον τῶν Σαλαμινίων λαθόντα φυγεῖν. "Sophocles also shows us that τινὰ, and in general τίς, have sometimes, by their own indeterminateness, the same value as ἕκαστος, 'each,' in these verses: 'it is time that each, covering her head with her veil,' &c. For he means to show that it was time that each of the Salaminians privately took to flight."

The ancient Scholiast of Sophocles explains this verse, which is the 245th of Ajax Furiosus, in the same manner.

116. Ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω. *Let him apply himself with ardour.* This expression, which denotes the care or diligence with which we do any thing, appears to me stronger than ἐπιμελείτω. Hence Castor and Pollux are called Ἀνακες, on account of the care they took of the Greeks. The word Ἀναξ, king, comes from the same origin, because kings apply themselves sedulously to promote the welfare of their subjects.

CX. 117. Τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος, ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο. *The slave*

<sup>7</sup> Joan. Siceliotes Comment. MSS. in Hermogenem. Vid. Rühnken. Hist. Crit. p. lxx. <sup>8</sup> Eustathii in Iliad. II. p. 237, lin. 13.

*Sicinnus was likewise of this number.* He had before sent Sicinnus to the Persian generals. See lxxv. Plutarch says that it was an eunuch of the palace that was found amongst the prisoners, who was called Arnaces. Dacier considers this account more probable than that of Herodotus. But I prefer that of our historian. Themistocles was too prudent to send Arnaces, who, being a shrewd man, would have guessed at the intentions of the Greeks in this manœuvre, and have warned Xerxes against becoming the dupe of the fair professions of the Athenian general. Whereas, by sending a trusty person, it was more probable that his design would not be seen through, and that the advice which he gave to Xerxes would appear the effect of his zeal.

118. *Πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Upon the coasts of Attica.* M. Reiske, for want of paying attention to the account of Herodotus, supposes<sup>9</sup>, without any reason, that Xerxes had fled with his fleet towards the Hellespont; and hence he taxes Herodotus with absurdity, because Themistocles sends Sicinnus to look for him on the coast of Attica. The Greeks<sup>1</sup> pursued the Persians as far as the isle of Andros, and not finding them there, held a council amongst themselves. It was on the conclusion of this council that Themistocles dispatched Sicinnus to the king. It does not appear that they had returned to Salamis, or that this happened before they went to Andros.

119. *Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος. Themistocles, the son of Neocles.* Plutarch's account varies a little. He makes Xerxes to be informed from Themistocles, that the Greeks<sup>2</sup> after their victory had resolved to go into the Hellespont, and break the bridge of boats; that Themistocles, anxious for his preservation, advised him to hasten out to the open sea, and back to Asia, whilst he would create amongst the allies perplexities and obstacles, which would retard the pursuit.

CXIV. 120. *Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης. The Heraclidæ of Sparta.* Herodotus thus expresses himself in order to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos and Macedonia, who were also Heraclidæ, i. e. of the race of Hercules.

CXV. 121. *Ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος. Leading off but a very small proportion of his army.* In the Greek, 'no part of his army.' Xerxes had lost so great a number of his troops, and the army which he left with Mardonius was so considerable, that those he took with him could be but a small proportion of the gross number he had brought into the field.

CXVI. 122. *Ἔργον ὑπερφυῆς ἐργάσατο. He did a strong deed.* Ὑπερφυῆς is one of those terms which grammarians call middle or mean

<sup>9</sup> Miscell. Lips. Nova, vol. VIII. p. 501.

<sup>1</sup> See above, cviii.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Themistocle, p. 120, c.

terms, i. e. which may be taken either in a good or bad sense, according to the situation in which they are found. It must here be taken in the bad sense, as is determined by the context.

CXVIII. 123. Ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην. *The north wind.* The ancients understood the north wind, by the words Στρυμονίας, πνοαὶ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος, 'flatus à Strymone,' Θρηϊκίαι πνοαὶ, 'Thracii flatus,' because Thrace was a cold country, and was looked upon as the abode of Boreas.

CXIX. 124. Ἐν μυρίῃσι γνώμησι. *In ten thousand opinions.* A determinate for an indeterminate number. The Greeks in this sense say ten thousand, and the Latins six hundred.

CXXI. 125. Τὴν μὲν, ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι. *One they dedicated to the Isthmus.* This vessel was doubtless consecrated to Neptune, because he was the tutelary god of Corinth and the Isthmus, where stood a beautiful statue of him, which Mummius carried to Rome, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus. It is on this occasion that Dio Chrysostom<sup>3</sup> exclaims against "The ignorance of the Roman general, who, utterly destitute of every idea of beauty or consistency, was so silly as to consecrate to one god the statue of another god, his brother." This reproach is founded on the principle, that one should offer to a god only what is inferior to himself.

CXXII. 126. Τὰ ἀριστήϊα. *The prize of foremost valour.* The Æginetæ actually received the Reward of Valour. "As the victory of Salamis<sup>4</sup> was due apparently to the Athenians, every one expected, that, elated by this advantage, they would dispute the empire of the sea with the Lacedæmonians. The latter, foreseeing what was likely to happen, endeavoured to depreciate the courage of the Athenians; and when the question was agitated, who had best deserved the Prize of Valour, they, by their influence, procured it to be adjudged to the Æginetæ, and to Aminias of Athens, brother of the poet Æschylus. He commanded a vessel, and was the first who attacked the Persian admiral, ran down his vessel, and killed the admiral. As the Athenians were justly indignant at the unfair treatment they experienced on this occasion, the Lacedæmonians, from fear lest Themistocles in his anger should form some scheme hostile to them and to the Greeks, made him presents of double the value of those which had been given to the others. The people of Athens, displeased at his receiving them, took from him the command, and bestowed it on Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron."

CXXIII. 127. Οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους. *The generals*

<sup>3</sup> Dio Chrysost. Corinth. p. 466, A.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxvii. vol. I. p. 426.

*dealt out among themselves the ballots.* These ballots were distributed for the purpose of adjudging the prize of valour to him who should be considered as having merited it. I do not know whether this was a usual practice, or if the present was the first occasion of resorting to it; but it must necessarily have produced a great effect on a people so greedy of glory and distinctions as were the ancient Greeks.

[If διένεμον be here read instead of διενέμοντο, the meaning will be that the generals distributed the ballots among the people.]

128. Οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλῆα κρίνοντες. *The greater part adjudged it to Themistocles.* This is natural. There are few people who do not consider their own merit as the first; but when the second place is to be adjudged to any one, he in whose favour all suffrages unite, may be fairly deemed the first in merit. This was strongly felt by the most eloquent of the Romans, and was a point of which he ingeniously availed himself to prove that the Academicians were the first and most illustrious of all the different sects of philosophers. All the sects, says he, ascribe to themselves the first rank, and concede the second to the Academicians. Hence we may reasonably conclude that that sect is indubitably the first in merit, which all concur in deeming the second. “Academico<sup>5</sup> Sapiienti ab omnibus ceterarum sectarum, qui sibi sapientes viderentur, secundæ partes dantur, cum primas sibi quemque vindicare necesse sit. Ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse judicio suo, qui omnium ceterorum judicio sit secundus.”

CXXIV. 129. Ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῆκετο. *He repaired to Lacedæmon.* Plutarch<sup>6</sup> relates that the Lacedæmonians took him thither themselves, and conferred on him all the honours mentioned by Herodotus, because they feared, no doubt, as Diodorus Siculus observes<sup>7</sup>, that this great general, indignant at the little esteem testified for him, should contrive some measure hostile to them and to the rest of the Greeks.

130. Ἱππῆες. *The knights.* The art of horsemanship formed no part of the Lacedæmonian military education. They seldom employed cavalry, and when they did, it was generally mastered by that of the other Greeks. In the first war with Messenia<sup>8</sup>, they, as well as the Messenians, had very few, and those few achieved no exploit of moment, for the Peloponnesians did not know how to manage their horses. This was<sup>9</sup> about the end of the second year of the 9th Olympiad, 743 years before our era. About ninety-five years afterwards, and in the 33rd Olympiad, horse-races<sup>1</sup> were established at Olympia, as in the 25th Olympiad, chariot-races<sup>2</sup> had been instituted. Crauxidas of Cranon

<sup>5</sup> Cicero ex libro incerto Academico-  
rum apud Divum August. contra Aca-  
dem. III. vii.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Themist. p. 120, n.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxvii. vol. I. p. 426.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. IV. viii. p. 300.

<sup>9</sup> Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol.  
XLVI. p. 64.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. V. viii. p. 394.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ibid. p. 394.



in Thessaly obtained the prize. It is well known that the Thessalian cavalry was excellent, and that the Thessalians had become skilled in the art of horsemanship. The Greeks then began to cultivate this art with greater care. But the Lacedæmonians continued to neglect it. At the battle of Leuctra, which was fought in the second year of the 102nd Olympiad<sup>3</sup>, the Thebans had a corps of cavalry properly equipped and exercised in the wars which they had maintained against the Orchomenians and the Thespians. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, on the contrary, was very bad. Τοῖς<sup>4</sup> δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. Xenophon, from whom I take this passage, adds, in the following paragraph, that none but the richest people among them could keep horses; that when they levied troops, he who was destined to serve in the cavalry, took the horse and the arms given him, and without further preparation took the field. Moreover, they mounted on horseback only the weakest men, and those who were least anxious for glory. The Lacedæmonian cavalry<sup>5</sup> began to acquire reputation only after it admitted foreign horsemen.

The Ephori chose<sup>6</sup> from among the citizens in the flower of their age three men who were called Hippagretæ, and each of these three chose a hundred. But whether the knight served on horseback, or whether his title was only a dignity, without any reference to the horse, does not clearly appear. Strabo<sup>7</sup> tells us, that among the Cretans<sup>8</sup> and Spartans there were knights, that with both it was a mere name of dignity, with this difference, that the knights of Crete had horses, and those of Sparta had none. These Spartan knights formed a body of three hundred men, divided into six companies of fifty men. They served near the king's person in battle<sup>9</sup>, and far from the cavalry, which was always at the wings. From this corps, detachments were chosen for the most perilous enterprises; but they were never seen on horseback; and when the ancients speak of knights, they never mention horses. The three hundred Spartans who fought with Leonidas at Thermopylæ were certainly infantry. I conjecture that they were the three hundred knights; for Herodotus says, VII. ccv., that Leonidas chose τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους. Valla translates, 'trecentos e primoribus viros,' three hundred of the first men in the city; Camerarius has it, 'trecentos constantis ætatis viros,' and Gronovius, 'delectis trecentis compositis viris.' The true meaning of this passage appears to me to be, as I have before remarked, that Leonidas chose as the troops to accompany him the three hundred men, the fixed and permanent corps of Spartan knights, who served<sup>1</sup> near the person of the kings. The article τοὺς, marks a body of troops which subsisted before the choice made by Leonidas, and

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. VIII. xxvii. p. 656.

<sup>4</sup> Xenoph. Hist. Hellen. VI. iv. § x. p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, Hipparch. ix. § iv. p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, Lacedæm. Rep. iv. § iii. p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Strabo, X. p. 738, A.

<sup>8</sup> Remark that Lycurgus had formed his government on the model of that of Crete.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. V. lxxii. p. 361.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid.

this body can be no other than that of the three hundred knights; at least, no other body consisting of this number was known. The Agathoergi were, it is true, a permanent body. They were chosen from among the knights; but as the oldest five of that order<sup>2</sup> went out every year, the number could not be fixed.

CXXV. 131. Ἄν ἐγὼ εἶν Βελβινίτης. *If I were a Belbinite.* This answer of Themistocles supposes that Timodemus was of Belbina; yet Herodotus, at the beginning of the paragraph, says that he was of Aphidnæ. M. Wesseling suspected, with Corn. de Pauw, that this Timodemus was really a Belbinite, and that being afterwards made a citizen of Athens, he had been incorporated amongst those of the quarter or hamlet Aphidnæ, according to the custom of that republic, all the citizens of which were inscribed in the registers of their tribe, and of one of the hamlets belonging to that tribe.

CXXVII. 132. Ἐς λίμνην. *To a marsh.* This marsh was on the south of the city of Olynthus, and near the bottom of the Toronean gulf: it was called Bolyca.

CXXXI. 133. Τοῦ Χαρίλλου. *Charillus.* This prince was not the son of Eunomus, but of Polydectes, and grandson of Eunomus; we must therefore say, Charillus, Polydectes, Eunomus, &c. This is the order followed by Plutarch<sup>3</sup> and Pausanias<sup>4</sup>. It may be also inferred from the circumstance of Polydectes<sup>5</sup> being the elder brother of Lycurgus, and the latter being the guardian of Charillus.

134. Τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος. *Euryphon.* Euryphon was grandson of Procles, and son of Sous<sup>6</sup>, one of the most illustrious of the kings of Sparta, under whose reign the Lacedæmonians reduced the Helots to slavery, and gained a considerable territory from the Arcadians.

135. Τῶν δυνῶν τῶν πρώτων. *The two first named.* Yet as Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratides, Leotychides, Anaxilas, Archidamus, and Anaxandrides, were not kings of Sparta, it is fairly presumable that the number was written in figures, and that the copyists have mistaken a seven for a two<sup>7</sup>.

136. Βασιλείες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. *Had been kings of Sparta.* Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules, were not kings of Sparta; according to all appearance, Herodotus stops at Procles, who was the first king of that family, and who gave to it the name of the house of the Proclidæ.

The genealogy of the family of the Proclidæ is rather perplexed. Herodotus, usually so exact, has suffered greatly from the inattention

<sup>2</sup> Herod. I. lxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 40, B.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. II. xxxvi. p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, X. p. 738, B.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 40. Pausan. III. vii. p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> Palmerii Exerc. in Auct. Græc. p. 39.

of the copyists. Pausanias and Plutarch may assist us in setting him right.

CXXXII. 137. Ἑόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτὰ. *Being originally seven.* Ἑόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτὰ has been ill rendered by the Latin translator, 'hi septem omnino erant.' I know that ἀρχὴν is often used in this sense; but Herodotus here means to say, that the conspirators were at first seven, but that one of them afterwards discovering the plot, they were reduced to six.

138. Δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. *Frightened the Greeks.* The power of the Persians, and the little knowledge which the greater part of the Greeks had of the country, frightened the allies. I say the greater part, because the account of Herodotus is not to be taken strictly. Sigeum, Ephesus, the Chersonesus of Thrace, and consequently the coasts of Asia and of Thrace nearest to the Hellespont, were well known by the Athenians; as Samos and its neighbourhood must have been<sup>8</sup> to the Lacedæmonians.—WESSELING.

CXXXIII. 139. Ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς. *A European, named Mys.* This Mys was probably of Europos in Caria, as the oracle answered in the Carian tongue. The Carians generally understood both Greek and Persian, and served as interpreters to the Persians<sup>9</sup>.

CXXXIV. 140. Παρὰ Τροφώνιον. *Into the cave of Trophonius.* Trophonius was descended from Athamas<sup>1</sup> by Phrixus, Presbon, Clymenus, and Erginus. It is said that he was swallowed up by<sup>2</sup> the earth. Bœotia<sup>3</sup> being afflicted by a great drought, the Bœotians had recourse to the oracle of Delphi, which directed them to go to Lebadea and consult Trophonius. Having arrived at that city, and not being able to find such an oracle, Saon, the oldest of the deputies, perceived a swarm of bees flying towards a cave; he followed them, and thus discovered the oracle. It is said that Trophonius himself instructed him in all the ceremonies necessary to be observed in consulting him.

"He<sup>4</sup> who wishes to descend into this cave, passes a certain number of days in a chapel dedicated to the good Genius and to Fortune, where, among other purifications, he abstains from warm drinks, and bathes in the river Hercynus. He is fed with the flesh of victims which he has offered to Trophonius and his children, to Apollo, to Saturn, to Jupiter Rex, to Juno Heniocha, and to Ceres surnamed Europa, who they say was the nurse of Trophonius. A diviner, who is present at all these sacrifices, examines the entrails of the victim, and from the inspection

<sup>8</sup> Herod. III. xlvi. xlvii.

<sup>9</sup> Thucydides, VIII. lxxxv.; Ælian, Hist. Var. I. xxi.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. IX. xxxiv. pp. 778, 779;

xxxvii. pp. 784, 785.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. xxxvii. p. 786.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ibid. xl. pp. 792, 793.

<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. xxxix. p. 789, &c.

of them foretels, whether Trophonius will receive favourably him who has offered them . . . . On the night that he descends into the cave, a ram is sacrificed, after an invocation to Agamedes<sup>5</sup>; and if the entrails do not exhibit favourable signs, no account is to be taken of the favourable signs exhibited by the other victims.

"After these preparations, he is first conducted, during the night, to the banks of the river Hercynus. There two children, about thirteen years old, called Mercuries, rub him with oil, and wash him. . . . The priests afterwards conduct him to two fountains which stand near each other. He drinks of the first, which is called the fountain Lethe, that he may forget the past. He then drinks the waters of the fountain Mnemosyne, that he may be able to recollect what he has seen. After having offered up his prayers before the statue of the god, which is shown only to those who come to consult him, he is clothed in a tunic of linen ornamented with a band, and puts on shoes of the fashion of the country. . . . You first descend by a ladder down a very narrow opening, and thence into a cave, the opening to which is not very large. To enter, you must lie down on the ground, and take honey-cakes in each hand. You go feet foremost, and immediately feel yourself hurried along with force and rapidity. You come out of the cave feet foremost. . . . On coming out, the inquirer is placed on the seat of Mnemosyne, and is asked what he has seen and heard; he is afterwards taken back to the chapel of Fortune and the good Genii, where he is some time in recovering himself; for on coming out of the cave, he is generally so agitated, that he appears to have lost his senses."

The priests<sup>6</sup> would not at first permit Apollonius of Tyana to enter this cave. As they were aware that this cheat knew as much as themselves, they feared that he would discover their impostures. But having afterwards concerted with him, they admitted him; and he came out in a surprising manner, well calculated to impose on the superstitious.

At Lebadea<sup>7</sup> certain festivals, called Trophonia<sup>8</sup>, were celebrated in honour of Trophonius. Royal festivals were also celebrated at this city in honour of Love. These were called *Ἐρώτεια βασιλεια*, as we see in the quotation from Philemon.

141. *Ἐς Ἀβας. To the oracle of Abæ.* Apollo delivered his oracles in this city, which was consecrated to him. The Persians, when they entered Greece<sup>9</sup>, burned his temple. A body of Phocians having taken refuge there during the sacred war, the Thebans set it on fire, and completed its destruction. This oracle was in great repute, and was one of those consulted by Croesus<sup>1</sup>.

142. *Ἔστι δὲ ἱεροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι. There it is the custom*

<sup>5</sup> He was the brother of Trophonius.

ad Olymp. VII. 153, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Philostr. Vit. Apollonii, VIII. xix. p. 363.

<sup>8</sup> Jul. Polluc. Onomast. I. i. § xxxvii. p. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Philemon inedit. vid. Apollonii Lex. p. 856, col. 2, lin. penult.; Schol. Pind.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. X. xxxv. pp. 887, 888.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. I. xlvi.

to learn the answer from the victims. I prefer the correction of M. Valckenaer (ἐμπύρῳσι for ἰποῖσι), because it is certain that at Thebes Ismenian Apollo was consulted by the flame<sup>2</sup> which consumed the entrails of the victims, and it is not certain that the god was consulted in any other manner. We know likewise, that at Olympia the god was consulted by the flame, though not by that method only<sup>3</sup>. Ὀλυμπία . . . ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες ἐμπύρῳσι τεκμαιρόμενοι. 'Olympia, where the diviners discover the future by the flame of the victims.'

When the fire which consumed the victim emitted a clear flame, it portended good, but if it sent forth a thick smoke, evil. At least, I conjecture so from the following verses of Sophocles. Tiresias, addressing Creon, communicates to him the terrible omens he has observed: "Frightened" (to hear the birds lacerating each other), I immediately had recourse to divination by the victims which were burning on the lighted altars. The flame was not bright, the thick vapour arising from the thighs, which were consuming on the cinders, obscured it; the gall evaporated, and the thighs, deprived of their fat, rolled off from the wood of the sacrifice."

143. *Ξεινόν τινα πείσας. Inducing some stranger.* M. Wesseling says, in a note on this passage, that this foreigner, who, being gained over by money, went to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraüs, was a Lydian; and he then cites Plutarch, whom he afterwards considers as contradicting himself. 1. It appears from his note, that this critic supposed that it was the stranger himself who slept in the temple of Amphiaraüs, whereas Herodotus says clearly, at least with the slight alteration proposed by M. Valckenaer<sup>4</sup>, that it was the envoy of Mardonius. 2. Plutarch likewise says that it was the<sup>5</sup> deputy of Mardonius who went to sleep in the temple; and he adds that he was a Lydian, as he who went to consult the oracle of Trophonius was a Carian. Plutarch speaks of two envoys, Herodotus but of one. 3. Plutarch does not contradict himself by saying in another place that it was a slave who slept<sup>7</sup> in this temple.

144. *Ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. In the temple of Amphiaraüs.* This temple was at Oroe in Attica. I may add to what I have said in that note, that Eriphyle, bribed by a gold necklace given to her by Polynices, having persuaded Amphiaraüs to join the expedition against Thebes, where he knew that he would perish, charged his son Alcmaeon to avenge his death upon his mother. The son had no sooner heard of the death of his father, than he murdered his mother. He was himself killed afterwards by Temenus and Axion, sons of Phegeus, who consecrated this celebrated necklace in the temple of Apollo. This necklace was a gift

<sup>2</sup> Soph. Œd. Tyr. 21, et ibi Schol.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar. Olymp. VIII. 3. See also the Scholiast on this verse.

<sup>4</sup> Sophocl. Antigon. 1017, &c. or 1005, &c. edit. Brunck.

<sup>5</sup> This critic reads κατεκοίμῃσε, in-

stead of κατεκοίμισε. We know that the modern Greeks pronounce the 'eta' as an 'iota;' which may have occasioned the error of the copyists.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Aristid. p. 330, c.

<sup>7</sup> Id. de Oraculorum defectu, p. 412, A.

from Venus herself<sup>8</sup> to Hermione, the wife of Cadmus. It was stolen in the sacred war, and the wife of a Phocian general having decorated herself with it, her eldest son, agitated by the Furies, set fire to her house and burned it, as is related by Diodorus Siculus<sup>9</sup>. It is thus, adds he, that the gods punished those who had dared to despise them.

Herodotus does not say by what dream Amphiaraüs warned Mardonius of the evil destiny that awaited him. Plutarch supplies this deficiency<sup>1</sup>. "The slave, whom Mardonius had sent to consult the oracle of Amphiaraüs, having fallen asleep, saw in his dream the servant of the god, who at first endeavoured to bar his access to the temple, telling him the god was not there, and pushing him with his hands; at length, finding that he would not go, the same servant took up a large stone, and struck him a blow on the head. This was in some measure a type of what was to happen; for Mardonius was conquered, not by a king, but by the guardian and lieutenant of the king of Macedon, who commanded the army of the Greeks; he was killed likewise by a blow from a stone, as the Lydian in his dream fancied he had been."

CXXXV. 145. Τοῦ Πρώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. *The demesne of Apollo surnamed Ptoüs.* "A wild<sup>2</sup> boar suddenly presented itself at this place to the view of Latona; she was alarmed at it. Hence the name<sup>3</sup> which was given to her son, to the temple which was dedicated to him, and to the adjacent mountain." It seems from Plutarch, that this mountain was near to that of Delos<sup>4</sup>. This oracle<sup>5</sup> was of great antiquity and renown. It is said, observes Plutarch, that a monstrous serpent rendered it desert, and hindered it from being visited. It appears to me, continues that judicious writer, that the reverse was the case, and that the solitude of the place attracted the animal thither, instead of his presence causing it to be deserted.

When Greece became depopulated, the oracle was abandoned, and in the time of Plutarch nothing was to be seen in the neighbourhood but a man who led his flock there to pasture.

Ptoüs<sup>6</sup> was, according to Pausanias, the son of Athamas and Themisto: he gave his name to the mountain, and to Apollo the surname of Ptoüs.

146. Καρὶν μιν γλώσση χρᾶν. *She uttered the oracles in Carian.* Plutarch is mistaken in saying<sup>7</sup> that the prophet answered in Æolian. Herodotus affirms that it was in a barbarous language; whereas the Æolian was a dialect of the Greek. Pausanias informs us that Mys<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxv. p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Id. XVI. lxiv. vol. II. p. 132. Vid. et Georg. Gemist. Pleth. de iis quæ post pugnam Mantin. Græcis acciderunt, II. xvii. pp. 128, 129.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. de Orac. defectu. p. 412, A, B.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopid. p. 286, c.

<sup>3</sup> Ptoüs comes from πτώσσω, 'pertereor.'

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopid. p. 286, B.

<sup>5</sup> Id. de defectu Orac. p. 414, A, B.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. xxiii. p. 755.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. de defectu Orac. p. 414, A.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. IX. xxiii. pp. 755, 756.

interrogated the god in his own language, but that the god answered in a barbarous tongue.

CXXXVI. 147. Ἐπεμψε ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον. *Sent Alexander as envoy to Athens.* Herodotus speaks of this prince honourably, ἄγγελον, envoy; and the orator Lycurgus still more so, as he calls him<sup>9</sup> τὸν παρὰ Ξέρξου πρεσβευτὴν, the ambassador of Xerxes. But Demosthenes, who wished to bring Philip into contempt, terms Alexander<sup>1</sup> κήρυξ, a herald.

CXXXVII. 148. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἑβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστί. *The seventh ancestor of this Alexander was Perdiccas.* Macedonia, according to Pliny (IV. x.), was anciently called Æmathia. It comprehended Pieria. "Pierus, who was one of the aborigines, reigned in Æmathia; he had nine daughters, who were so bold as to oppose their chorus to that of the nine Muses, whom Jupiter had begotten from Mnemosyne in Pieria."

Phidon and Caranus were brothers; they were Heraclidæ, i. e. descendants of Hercules, the son of Alcmena, according to the genealogy traced by Syncellus: 1. Hercules, 2. Hyllus, 3. Cleodates (Cleodæus), 4. Aristomachus, 5. Timenes (Temenus), 6. Cissius, 7. Theostus, 8. Merops, 9. Aristodamidas, 10. Caranus. Hercules was therefore the ninth ancestor of Phidon and Caranus. Timenes (Temenus) was one of those Heraclidæ who, eighty years after the taking of Troy, re-entered the Peloponnesus to take possession of various kingdoms conquered by Hercules, and which that hero had left to some princes his contemporaries, on condition that they should restore them to his descendants, when these should demand it. Six generations after this return, Phidon became king of Argos. Caranus his brother also wished to have a kingdom. Having obtained some troops from the king of Argos and other cities of the Peloponnesus, he joined the king of a certain people near Epirus and the Acroceraunian mountains, named Orestidæ: they conquered several countries, of which Macedonia was one, and it fell to the share of Caranus.

	Years.
1. Caranus reigned . . . . .	30
2. Coenus . . . . .	28
3. Tyrimnas . . . . .	45
4. Perdiccas I. . . . .	48
5. Argeus I. . . . .	34
6. Philip I. . . . .	37
7. Æropus . . . . .	23
8. Alcetas . . . . .	28
9. Amyntas I. . . . .	42

<sup>9</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. ex ed. H. Stephani, part ii. p. 156, lin. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. Philipp. II. p. 45, lin. 13.



	Years.
10. Alexander I. reigned . . . . .	44
11. Perdiccas II. . . . .	23
12. Archelaüs I. . . . .	14
13. Orestes . . . . .	4
14. Archelaüs II. . . . .	4
15. Amyntas II. . . . .	1
16. Pausanias . . . . .	1
17. Amyntas III. . . . .	5
18. Argeus II. . . . .	2
19. Amyntas IV. . . . .	12
20. Alexander II. . . . .	1
21. Ptolemy I. . . . .	3
22. Perdiccas III. . . . .	6
23. Philip II. . . . .	23
24. Alexander III. (the Great) . . . . .	12
25. Philip III. (Aridæus) . . . . .	7
26. Cassander . . . . .	19
27. Antigonus and Alexander . . . . .	3
28. Demetrius Poliorcetes . . . . .	6
29. Pyrrhus, seven months.	
30. Lysimachus . . . . .	3
31. Ptolemy II. (son of Lagus) . . . . .	1
32. Meleager, two months.	
33. Antipater, forty-five days.	
34. Sosthenes . . . . .	2
Interregnum . . . . .	2
35. Antigonus Gonatas . . . . .	44
36. Demetrius, son of Antigonus . . . . .	10
37. Antigonus Physcus . . . . .	12
38. Philip IV. . . . .	42
39. Perseus . . . . .	10
40. Pseudo-Philippus . . . . .	1

Thus this kingdom subsisted 632 years and a little more than eight months and a half, and was destroyed by the Romans 168 years B.C.—  
**BELLANGER.**

I should add that this genealogy does not agree with Eusebius as to the duration of the reign of each of these princes. Phidon was the elder brother of Caranus. He invented scales and measures, 895 years before our era. He might then be about twenty-eight years old. He drove out the Agonothetæ of the Eleans, in the 8th Olympiad of Iphitus, that is to say, the year 856 before our era. He was dethroned two years afterwards by the Lacedæmonians. From this prince to Hercules there were fourteen generations.

Herodotus does not mention the first three Macedonian princes, Ca-

ranus, Coenus, and Tyrimnas, because their dominion was not firmly established.

149. Τημενοῦ. *Of Temenus.* Temenus was descended from Hercules by Aristomachus<sup>2</sup>. Having cast lots<sup>3</sup> with Procles, Eurysthenes, and Cresphontes, for three kingdoms of the Peloponnesus, Argos fell to him, Lacedæmon to Procles and Eurysthenes, sons of Aristodemus, and Messena to Cresphontes. The descendants of Temenus were called Temenidæ. Gavanês, Æropus, and Perdiccas, were of this family. They subdued Macedonia, and their posterity reigned over it for several centuries, till the time of Philip, who lost a battle he fought with the Romans. Pausanias mentions the prediction of a sybil, conceived in these terms<sup>4</sup>: "Macedonians, who boast of a race of kings, originally of Argos, two Philips will constitute both your good and your ill fortune. The first shall give kings to cities and to nations; the second, overcome by nations from the west and the east, shall load you with all sorts of ignominy."

150. Τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην. *Upper Macedonia.* Upper Macedonia is that furthest inland<sup>5</sup>, and Lower Macedonia that which stretches along the Ægean sea<sup>6</sup>. "Upper Macedonia comprised the Lyncestæ, the Helimiotæ, and other nations above these, which form particular kingdoms, though subject to Macedonia or in alliance with it. The Temenidæ, originally of Argos, first took possession of Lower or Maritime Macedonia. They drove out the Pierii, who have since inhabited the city of Phagres, and other towns at the foot of Mount Pangæus, beyond the Strymon; whence, to the present day, the country which extends from the foot of Pangæus to the sea is called the Pieric gulf. They also drove from Bottiæa the Bottiæi, who now live near the Chalcidians of Thrace: they likewise took possession of a part of Pæonia, viz. that narrow tract which borders upon the river Axius, extending on one side to the sea, and on the other as far as Pella. They possess moreover, beyond the Axius, Mygdonia, as far as the Strymon, from which last country they expelled the Edones; they also drove out the Eordæ, and the Almopii. These Macedonians, who inhabited the maritime country, also seized on some other countries, which they still possess; viz. Anthemus, Crestonia, Bisaltia, and a great part of Macedonia properly so called (Upper Macedonia). The whole is called Macedonia."

151. Ἀσθενέες χρήμασι. *Not rich in money.* "At the time of the siege of Troy, the use of money was unknown to the Greeks. Neither Homer nor Hesiod speak of gold or silver money; they express the value of things, by a certain number of sheep or oxen; they indicate the wealth of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of the

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. II. xviii. p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodor. II. viii. § iv. p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. VII. viii. p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Thucyd. ad lib. II. xcix. No. lxxv.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. II. xcix. p. 163.

country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. In the camp before Troy, trade was carried on in kind, and not in money; the wines of Lemnos were bought with copper, iron, skins, oxen, slaves<sup>7</sup>, &c.

“Lucan<sup>8</sup> attributes the invention of money to Itonus, king of Thes-saly, and son of Deucalion; whilst others ascribe it to Erichthonius, king of Athens, who was said to be the son of Vulcan, and who was brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes<sup>9</sup> attributes the glory of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The most common opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first brought money into use in the island of Ægina, to afford to the Æginetæ the facility of subsisting by commerce, their island being remarkably barren<sup>1</sup>. We have at the present day<sup>2</sup> some coins of this prince, which represent on one side the species of buckler called by the Latins ‘ancile,’ and on the other a small pitcher with a bunch of grapes, with the word ΦΙΔΟ. Plutarch (in *Lycurgo*) informs us, that Lycurgus, with a totally opposite design, and to alienate the Lacedæmonians from any commerce with strangers, caused to be manufactured a coarse heavy coin, of iron, steeped in vinegar whilst red-hot, in order to render it unfit for any other use. He wished, says Justin<sup>3</sup>, that traffic should be carried on, not with money, but by an exchange of merchandize; ‘emi singula, non pecuniâ, sed compensationem mercium jussit.’ According to Athenæus<sup>4</sup>, neither gold nor silver was suffered at Lacedæmon. The form of the small money of the Greeks was very remarkable. According to Plutarch (in *Lysandro*, p. 442), they were small rods or pieces of iron or copper, called ‘obeli’ (spits), whence the word ‘obolus;’ and the name of ‘dragma’ (handful) was given to a piece of money of the value of six oboli, because six of these little rods or bars made a handful<sup>5</sup>.

“Herodotus (I. xciv.) says that the Lydians were the first who struck coins of gold and silver, and used them in commerce; Xenophanes<sup>6</sup> says the same thing. But neither the one nor the other mentions at what precise period this occurred.

“It does not appear that in the time of Croesus the Lydians had any regular stamped coin. The treasures of that prince contained only gold and silver in the mass, either dust or ingots<sup>7</sup>; for Herodotus says (VI. cxxv.) that Alcmaeon, in his ample dress, large shoes, and even in his hair, carried away from the treasury of Croesus, by permission of that prince, a complete load of gold-dust.

<sup>7</sup> See the *Iliad*, VII. 473—475.

<sup>8</sup> *Pharsal*. VI. 402.

<sup>9</sup> *Jul. Pollux*, IX. vi. § lxxxiii. pp. 1063, 1064.

<sup>1</sup> *Strabo*, VIII. p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> See what I have said of them in the *Mem. Acad. of Belles-Lett.* vol. XLVI. pp. 34, 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.* III. ii. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Deipnos*. VI. iv.

<sup>5</sup> See *Eustathius*, in *Iliad*. p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> In *Julius Pollux*, IX. vi.

<sup>7</sup> This does not amount to any proof. Because these princes struck money only as it was needed, and kept their stock of gold in bullion; witness what he says, a few lines lower down, of Darius.

"Neither does it appear that before the time of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, money was in use among the Persians. Darius regulated the tribute which he required of his subjects, and the weight in gold and silver which he chose they should pay him. He had this gold and silver separately melted in earthen pots; the pots were broken afterwards, and the metal cut from the mass as it was wanted. Subsequently, however, this prince caused coins to be struck of the purest gold, which were called Darics. We do not learn that any king had done so before him. Xerxes, according to Herodotus (IX. xl.), left a considerable quantity of gold and silver, both in bars and in money, with Mardonius, whom he had commissioned to carry on the war in Greece; so that from the time of Darius, a vast number of Darics, pieces of money which bore the figure of an archer on the reverse, were seen in that country, as we find from Plutarch, in his *Apophthegmata Laconica*.

"No ancient coins either of the Lydians or the Persians are now extant. The most ancient medals found in the cabinets of collectors are Greek; and among the Greek coins, the oldest are of the time of Amyntas, father of Philip, king of Macedonia, and grandfather of Alexander the Great.

"We must not therefore be surprised that Herodotus should say (VIII. cxxxvii.), that neither the people nor even the kings were rich in money in those ancient times, but that their riches consisted in herds, &c. Gold and silver were formerly exceedingly scarce, both in Greece and the adjacent countries. Athenæus (VI. v.) cites Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who says it was only on account of the scarcity of gold, that the golden necklace of Eriphyle became so famous in Greece, and that at that time a silver cup excited much admiration, as being a remarkable novelty. The same Athenæus informs us, that Philip, king of Macedonia, whenever he retired to rest, put under his pillow a small gold cup that he had, and which he highly esteemed on account of the scarcity of that metal."—BELLANGER.

152. Τὴν καπνοδόκην. *The opening of the chimney.* The chimneys of the ancients were not constructed like ours. There was no flue or channel to carry off the smoke: the fire was made in the middle of the room, the roof of which gradually contracted so as to have the appearance of an inverted funnel. I recollect to have seen, some sixty years ago (1740), similar chimneys in some villages of Lorraine.

CXXXVIII. 153. Ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκαστον ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα. *Roses having each sixty petals.* 'The roses of Miletus', says Pliny, have no more than twelve petals: the rose called *Spineola* has many, but they are small. The least leafy roses have five petals; and there is a species, called 'centifolia,' which has a hundred petals; these are found in Campania, and in Greece not far from Philippi<sup>9</sup>. The territory of that

<sup>8</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XXI. iv. vol. II. p. 236.

<sup>9</sup> Now called Philippopoli, in Romania.

city does not produce them ; the shrubs are brought from Mount Pangaëus, and, being replanted in a rich soil, produce roses larger than those that grow on the mountain itself.' Hardouin, in a note on this passage of Pliny, observes that he had seen, in the king's garden at Paris, roses with three hundred petals.

154. Ὁ Σιληνός. *The Silenus*. Plutarch relates<sup>1</sup> after Aristotle, that "Midas having captured the Silenus in the chace, asked him what was best for man. The Silenus was at first silent, and would not answer ; but Midas having compelled him to speak : 'Ephemeral race,' answered he, 'condemned to toil and trouble, why would you force me to reveal things of which you had better remain ignorant? . . . . The greatest good which you may procure for yourselves, is to die quickly.'"

This thought, arising out of the misfortunes incidental to human life, is, as we see, very ancient. Theognis has since expressed it in verse :

Ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,  
μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου·  
φύνται δ', ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,  
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γαῖαν ἐφεισάμενον<sup>2</sup>.

'The most advantageous circumstance to men would be, not to be born at all, and not to see the brilliant light of the sun ; but when one is born, to enter as speedily as possible into the palace of Pluto, and to be covered safely under ground.'

Many authors report this of a satyr. Some of the ancients confounded the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called a Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was this difference, however, that only the satyrs of an advanced age were called Sileni<sup>3</sup>. "Sileni<sup>4</sup> priusquam senescant, Satiri sũnt." The scholiast of Aristophanes<sup>5</sup> informs us, that their excessive lasciviousness had obtained them this name ; σίνος being the 'pudendum virile.'

CXLII. 155. Φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It now bears upon all Greece*. This mode of expression, which is very common with Herodotus, is also familiar to the Ionian and Athenian writers. We often find it in Euripides.

Τροφαί θ' αἱ παιδευόμεναι  
Μέγα φέρουσ' εἰς ἀρετάν<sup>6</sup>.

'Good education contributes greatly to virtue.' In Sophocles<sup>7</sup>, εἰς βλάβην φέρον, 'which occasions harm : ' and in those authors who have imitated the Attics. Plutarch, in his life of Lucullus<sup>8</sup>, says, τὴν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. de Consol. p. 115, D, E.

<sup>2</sup> Theognidis Sent. 417. Conf. not. Brunckii.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. I. xxiii. p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Servius ad Virgil. Eclog. VI. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Aristoph. ad Nubes, 1066.

<sup>6</sup> Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. 562.

<sup>7</sup> Sophocl. Œdipus Tyrann. 525. vel 517, ex edit. Brunck.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Lucullo, p. 506, E.

ὄψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅτι φέροι. 'He could not guess what was the purport of this vision.'

156. Οἰκοφθόρησθε. *Your homes have been made desolate.* Οἰκοφθόρῳ is said, in a general way, of the loss of property or patrimony. It has been taken in this sense by Plato<sup>9</sup>: οὔτε οἰκοφθορίαν τε καὶ πενίαν φοβούμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοχρήματοι. 'They fear neither the loss of property, nor poverty, as do the vulgar, and those who are attached to money.' Herodotus always uses it in this sense. In after times, the word was applied to men who corrupted women. We do not find that signification attached to it in Stephens' Thesaurus; but we do in Hesychius, and in the glosses of Philoxenus. The Fathers of the Church have often used it. I will give an example from St. Ignatius, Epist. ad Ephes. xvi. Οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν: 'Fornicators shall not inherit the kingdom of God.' And another from the Excerpta of Antonius and Maximus, printed with Stobæus<sup>1</sup>: Ξάνθος ὁ σοφὸς θεασάμενος ἐπὶ θύραις εὐπρεποῦς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα οἰκοφθόρον. 'The philosopher Xanthus having seen at the door of a handsome woman, a man who was endeavouring to corrupt her.'

157. Καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα. *All the useless persons that your families contain.* That is to say, children, old men, women, and slaves; in a word, all those who were unfit for war. Under the word οἰκέται were comprehended not only the servants, but also the wife, children, and the whole family. We may remark this turn of expression, τὰ . . . ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα, for οἱ ἄχρηστοι οἰκέται. We have before seen, (I. cxv.) τὰ τῶν ὄνειράτων ἐχόμενα for τὰ ὄνειράτα, and cxci., καρπῶν ἐχόμενα for καρποί<sup>2</sup>. M. Wesseling has pointed out this particular turn of expression, and I have thought proper to do so too, as the dictionaries either do not explain it at all, or give very imperfect explanations of it.

CXLIII. 158. 'Ονειδίζειν. *To exaggerate.* 'Ονειδίζω signifies 'effero,' 'amplifico oratione.' Καὶ<sup>3</sup> μὴν ὅτι φύσει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, οὐχ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸ ἐξονειδίζει, θεάσασθε; 'Do you not, therefore, perceive that things are such by their nature, and that I do not exaggerate them?' I have discovered, since my first edition, that this remark has been already made by Musgrave. See his note on verse 4. of the Orestes of Euripides.

159. Οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν. *To meet with any thing unpleasant.* This expression conveys a very serious threat<sup>4</sup>: in fact, Alexander had a narrow escape of being stoned. "Our ancestors so loved their country," says Lycurgus<sup>5</sup>, "that they were very near stoning Alexander,

<sup>9</sup> Plato in Phædone, vol. I. p. 82, c.

Κόσμος, vol. II. p. 354.

<sup>1</sup> Stob. Excerpta ex Antonio et Maximo. Serm. LXIV. p. 106, lin. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Chrysost. Orat. xxxi. p. 321, d.

<sup>4</sup> See bk. VIII. note 13.

<sup>3</sup> See also Theocritum Wartonii, vol. I. p. 66; and Ælian apud Suidam, voc.

<sup>5</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. part II. p. 156, lin. 42, 43.

ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he demanded of them earth and water." It appears from Herodotus, that Xerxes did not require earth and water of the Athenians, and this is confirmed by Aristides. "Instead of earth and water," says that orator<sup>6</sup>, "which he had formerly demanded of them, he offered them magnificent donations. He restored to them their city and all its territory. To this he added the whole of Greece as a free gift, together with riches beyond what all Greece contained." But to return to Alexander, the same Aristides adds<sup>7</sup>, that his quality of guest of the Athenians saved his life, although they did not send him away very comfortably; as they ordered him, on pain of death, to quit their territory before the setting of the sun.

160. Ἡθεὰ τε ὁμότροπα. *The customs are the same.* There was a great diversity in the customs, manners, religion, and even in the language, of the different nations of Greece; though there was a fundamental resemblance in them all. Theophrastus also says, in the commencement of his Treatise on Characters, that the mode of education was the same throughout Greece. It was very different however at Lacedæmon from what it was at Athens; but Theophrastus and Herodotus, in speaking of the uniformity of the manners and customs of the Greeks, speak of them as contrasted with those of the Barbarians. M. Coray saw clearly that Theophrastus intended to contrast the manners of the Greeks with those of the Barbarians. "But<sup>8</sup>," he says, "even in this sense, Theophrastus has not been very exact, in stating the education of the Greeks to be the same in all parts. . . . Neither is it true that all Greece is placed under the same climate. Without referring to the different nature and elevation of the soil, which may change the atmosphere within a very trifling distance, (as witness the heaviness of that of Bœotia compared with that of Attica,) we know that that part of Greece bordering on Thrace is very different from the Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands."

This difference is not so material as M. Coray imagines. He would probably not have expressed himself so, had he read the Travels of Tournefort. That writer was much surprised, on arriving at Constantinople, to find the tulip and ranunculus in blossom in the fields in December. These expressions are to be understood generally, and not criticised with geometrical precision. Herodotus and Theophrastus wished to contrast the manners and the climate of Greece, properly so called, with those of the barbarous nations; and the distinction was sufficiently striking.

<sup>6</sup> Aristid. in Panathen. p. 13, lin. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. p. 13, lin. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Les Caractères de Théophraste, traduction nouvelle, p. 64.



## CALLIOPE. BOOK IX.

I. 1. "Οκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. *At each place that he came to, he enlisted the people.* He means such as were fit for war. "Independently of the troops<sup>1</sup> which Xerxes had given to Mardonius, that general had assembled more than 200,000 men from Thrace, Macedonia, and other allied countries. He had in all<sup>2</sup> about 500,000."

2. Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος. *Thorax of Larissa.* This Thorax<sup>3</sup> was the son of Aleuas. He was very much attached to Xerxes, as were his two brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydeius.

II. 3. Οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον, καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ. *The Thebans tried to check Mardonius and counselled him.* This general was advancing by forced marches on Attica. The Thebans, who knew that that country was not favourable for the evolutions of cavalry, endeavoured to persuade him not to carry the war thither, but rather to fix his camp on their plains. Such is the meaning of the expression, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον Μαρδόνιον. The force of the imperfect tense is very evident in this passage; for the Thebans did not actually repress the mad eagerness of Mardonius, as his presumption rendered him deaf to their counsels, and he continued to advance with the same ardour.

III. 4. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο. *He did not hearken to them.* Diodorus Siculus however relates, that whilst<sup>4</sup> Mardonius was with his army in Boeotia, he sent money to the principal cities of the Peloponnesus, for the purpose of separating them from the league. This seems to confirm what is said by Demosthenes and Plutarch, of Arthmius of Zelia<sup>5</sup> in Asia, who having brought money from the king, with the object of corrupting the principal persons in the cities, was, together with his whole family, declared by the Athenians<sup>6</sup> infamous, an enemy of Greece, and the decree was engraved on a brazen column in the citadel, near the bronze statue of Minerva. A commentator of Demosthenes, on the third Philippic, remarks<sup>7</sup>, that this Arthmius was sent by

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxviii. vol. I. p. 427. in Themistocle, p. 114, F.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. xxx. p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. IX. lvii.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxviii. vol. I. p. 426.

<sup>5</sup> Demosth. in Philipp. III. p. 91, c, d. Æschin. contr. Ctes. p. 469, E. Plutarch.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. p. 91, c, d; de falsa Legat. p. 336, D.

<sup>7</sup> Orationes Philippicæ. Dublini, 1754, 8vo. vol. II. p. 111.

Artaxerxes Longimanus with money, to induce the Peloponnesians to declare war against the Athenians. But on what authority he asserts this I am not aware. It would appear that it was Xerxes who sent him <sup>8</sup>.

5. Πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων. *By torch beacons throughout the islands.* Whatever happened was communicated by men posted at certain distances from each other. The first who wished to communicate any thing <sup>9</sup>, did so by holding up one or more lighted torches. The second held up as many as he had seen, and this was repeated along the whole line. By this species of communication, intelligence of any particular fact was conveyed with great rapidity.

6. Ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρησις ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. *The capture by the king preceded the second capture.* Literally, 'the capture of the king,' or rather 'the capture of the city by the king, was in the tenth month before the subsequent expedition of Mardonius.' Every one knows that ὑστεραῖος is for ὕστερος: but perhaps every one does not know, that ὕστερος is a correlative term to πρότερος, expressed or understood. Πρότερος is said of 'two;' and its correlative ὕστερος signifies 'the second.' Ammonius is precise on the subject: πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν πρότερος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο· καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν ὁ ὕστατος· τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ ὕστερος <sup>1</sup>.

V. 7. Κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες. *They stoned him.* It should seem that it is to this circumstance that Lycurgus alludes <sup>2</sup>, when, addressing the judges, he says, "The decree made as to him who perished at Salamis, merits your attention. He endeavoured only by his discourse to betray the republic; and yet the senate took from him his crown <sup>3</sup>, and sentenced him to death; a noble decree, and worthy of our ancestors. They had exalted souls, and were anxious to punish the guilty."

A certain <sup>4</sup> Cyrsilus had, ten months before, experienced a like fate, for having attempted to persuade the people to remain in the city and receive Xerxes. The women of Athens stoned his wife likewise. Cicero, who relates the same anecdote, probably after the Athenian orator, adds this reflection: "Atque ille utilitatem sequi videbatur: sed ea nulla erat repugnante honestate <sup>5</sup>."

VI. 8. Ἀγγέλους. *A deputation.* Idomeneus relates <sup>6</sup> that it was Aristides who was deputed, and he names no other. Yet Plutarch <sup>7</sup> affirms that the name of Aristides does not appear in the decree made on this occasion, but those of Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch, in vitâ Themist. p. 114, F. such, wore a crown whilst he was sitting.

<sup>9</sup> Onosand. Strategicus, xxv. p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Ammon. de Differentiis Voc. Græc. p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Lycurg. advers. Leocr. p. 165, lin. 6. A, B.

et p. 237, ex edit. Taylor.

<sup>3</sup> This traitor was a senator, and, as

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. pro Coronâ, p. 507, D.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. de Offic. III. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Aristid. p. 324, F; 325,

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid.

VII. 9. Δία τε Ἑλληνιον. *Jupiter Hellenius*. The same with Jupiter Panhellenius. Greece<sup>8</sup> being afflicted by a drought, the Pythia made answer to the deputies who consulted her, that Jupiter must be appeased, and for this end the mediation of Æacus employed. Deputies were sent to this prince from all the cities, by whom sacrifices and prayers were offered to Jupiter Panhellenius, (or common to all Greece,) and rain was procured. The mountain on which this temple was placed was also called the Mountain of Jupiter Panhellenius<sup>9</sup>.

X. 10. Πανσανίη. *To Pausanias*. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> was not king, but guardian of Plistarchus.

11. Πλειστάρχου. *Plistarchus*. This prince died at the commencement of his reign. Plistoanax, son of Pausanias, mentioned in the preceding note, succeeded him<sup>2</sup>.

12. Ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. *The sun was darkened in the heavens*. This eclipse, if we believe Father Petavius<sup>3</sup>, occurred in the same year as the battle of Salamis, on the 2nd of October, at 1 h. 24 min. p. m. At Athens it was 7 digits 1-8th, and lasted two hours. Such is the opinion of Petavius. But having consulted M. Pingré, of the Academy of Sciences, that astronomer informed me that there was an eclipse of from 6 to 7 digits, on the 2nd of October, in the year 479 before the vulgar era. It is the same that Herodotus mentions, differing only in this, that he dates it before the battle of Platæa, whereas it did not occur till after that battle.

XI. 13. Ὑακίνθια. *The festival of Hyacinthus*. Hyacinthus, the son of Amyclas, was beloved by Apollo. That god was playing with him at quoits, when Hyacinthus going hastily to take up the quoit that had been thrown by Apollo, it bounded, struck him in the face, and killed him<sup>4</sup>.

The Lacedæmonians kept a festival in honour of him<sup>5</sup>, in the month Hecatombæon. "Polycrates<sup>6</sup>, in his History of Laconia, relates that the Lacedæmonians offer sacrifices to Hyacinthus for the space of three days, and that from grief for the loss of him, they wear no crowns during the repast, and serve no loaves, but cakes instead. They sing no pæan in honour of the god, do nothing that is usual in other festivals, but, after having modestly supped, retire. The second day is appropriated to various spectacles, at which all the most distinguished persons are present. The young girls attend this festival, some on elegant wooden cars, others on war-chariots. All the city is joyous.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. II. xxix. p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. XXX. p. 181.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. III. iv. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. V. p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Petavius de Doctrinâ temp. X. xxv. vol. II. p. 109, col. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid. Metamorph. X. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Hesychius, voc. Ἑκατομβεῖος μήν. This month commences July 14th, and ends August 11th.

<sup>6</sup> Athen. Deipnos. IV. vii. p. 139, D.

On this day a number of victims are sacrificed. All the citizens regale their friends and their slaves. They all assist at the sacrifices, during which time the city is deserted." Polycrates says that the city is deserted, because the festival was celebrated at Amyclæ.

14. *Ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους.* *They called the Barbarians strangers.* It appears that it was not to all the Barbarians indiscriminately that the Lacedæmonians gave this name, but only to their enemies. *Ξένοι, οἱ πολέμιοι*, says Hesychius: *ξένοι*, 'the enemies.' Amongst the ancient Latins, 'Hostis' originally signified a stranger, though it was afterwards used to indicate an enemy. "Hostis" apud antiquos peregrinus dicebatur, et qui nunc hostis perduellis."

"Multa verba aliud nunc ostendunt, aliud ante significabant, ut Hostis. Nam tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum, qui suis legibus uteretur: nunc dicunt eum quem tum dicebant perduellem<sup>7</sup>." "Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is Hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante: Hostis enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus. Indicant duodecim tabulæ, *aut status dies cum hoste*: itemque, *adversus hostem æterna auctoritas*. Quid ad hanc mansuetudinem addi potest? Eum, quicum bella geras, tam molli nomine appellari? Quamquam id nomen durius jam effecit vetustas: a peregrino enim recessit, et proprie in eo, qui arma contra ferret, remansit<sup>8</sup>."

XIV. 15. *Μεγαρίδα.* *Megaris.* The Megarians were not held in high estimation; witness the oracle which was pronounced to them, and which is quoted by Suidas<sup>1</sup>, the scholiast of Theocritus<sup>2</sup>, and Tzetzes<sup>3</sup>.

Ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι, οὔτε τέταρτοι,  
Οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

'Megarians, you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor the twelfth; no account is taken of you, and you occupy no rank whatever.'

This oracle passed into a proverb; and we find it in an epigram of Callimachus, on a certain Callignotus, who had forsaken his mistress:

Νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἄλλης δὴ θέρεται πυρὶ, τῆς δὲ ταλαίνης  
Νύμφης, ὥς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος, οὔτ' ἀριθμός<sup>4</sup>.

'He now burns with another fire, and pays no more regard to his unhappy wife, than we do to the Megarians.'

Some maintain, however, that this oracle was spoken of the inhabitants of Ægium.

<sup>7</sup> Sext. Pompeius Festus, voc. 'Hostis,' p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> Varro, de Ling. Lat. IV. p. 6, ex edit. H. Stephani.

<sup>9</sup> Cic. de Officiis, I. xii.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, voc. Ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μεγαρεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Theocr. ad Idyll. XIV. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Tzetzes, Chil. IX. § ccxci. 890, 891.

<sup>4</sup> Callimach. Epigr. xxvi. 5 et 6, vol. I. p. 296.

XV. 16. Παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς. *Near Hysiaë.* Dacier<sup>5</sup> here writes Hyria instead of Hysiaë, because the latter place was on this side the Asopus, towards Cithæron, and Mardonius was on the opposite side, towards Thebes. But if from this reason we infer Hysiaë to be a corruption, we must think the same of Erythræ and Plataea, which are also on this side the Asopus. However, if we should admit Hysiaë to be corrupt, we cannot substitute Hyria, a small place near Aulis, as Strabo<sup>6</sup> says, and consequently too far distant from the camp of Mardonius. In fact, we must make no alteration at all. Herodotus meant to convey an idea of the extent of the camp of Mardonius, and not finding on the other side of the Asopus any place which could fix the attention of his readers, he has indicated it by towns situated on this side the Asopus, opposite to the place where Mardonius was encamped.

17. Οὐ μέντοι τὸ τεῖχος τοσοῦτον ἐποιέετο. *He did not make the wall of equal extent.* This<sup>7</sup> camp, of a square form, defended by a wall of ten stadia on each side, was intended for the baggage and all the valuables.

18. Ὁ Φρύνωνος. *Son of Phryno.* Phryno was probably a Theban, as his son Attaginus was of the city of Thebes. We must not mistake him for an Athenian of the same name, who lived a long time before him, and who obtained the prize<sup>8</sup> at the Olympic games, and was killed by Pittacus of Mitylene, one of the seven wise men of Greece.

19. Παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως. *Made preparations for a great feast.* This banquet, if we may rely on Athenæus<sup>9</sup>, consisted of Thrions<sup>1</sup>, of Hepsetæ<sup>2</sup>, Aphyæ, Encrasicholæ, puddings, hams, and vegetable soups. On which he makes the following jesting remark: that if all the Persians had been regaled in like manner, they would have died of hunger before the battle of Plataea, and the Greeks would have had no opportunity of signalizing themselves.

Athenæus appears to have enumerated the viands of this banquet only in ridicule of the avarice of the Thebans. How, in fact, can we imagine that the richest citizen of an opulent city, and where they were used to good cheer, should have offered so poor a repast to the general of the Persian army, whom he knew to be accustomed to the most luxurious banquets?

XVI. 20. Διαπινόντων. *As they were drinking one against another.* The Persians, on the first establishment of their monarchy, were a very sober people, and were accustomed to drink only water. But when

<sup>5</sup> Vies des Hommes Illustres de Plutarque, tom. III. p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, IX. p. 620, A.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 325, c.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, XIII. p. 895, B, C; 896, A.

<sup>9</sup> Athen. Deipnos. IV. xii. p. 148, E, F.

<sup>1</sup> The Thrio was made with flour, lard, and milk, cooked in fig-leaves.

<sup>2</sup> The Hepsetæ were little fish, of

what species I know not. See what M. Camus says of them in his translation of Aristotle, vol. II. p. 681. The Aphyæ were a small fish, very common at Athens, and formed the nourishment of the poorer classes. The Encrasicholæ were probably anchovies. See M. Camus, vol. II. p. 101.

they had conquered the greater part of Asia, they adopted the manners of the subdued nations, and drank intemperately. The Persian noblemen deputed to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, mutually excited each other to drink, at the festival given to them by that prince. Even when they intended to deliberate on matters of great importance, they would first drink to excess.

XIX. 21. Ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν. *At the Isthmus.* "When<sup>3</sup> the Greeks were assembled at the Isthmus, they resolved to take an oath which should cement their union, and which should bind them to meet their dangers courageously. It was conceived in the following terms:— I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my generals, either alive or dead; I will give burial to such of the allies as shall fall in battle: after having conquered the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which shall have contributed to their defeat; I will not build up again any of the temples which they shall have burned or overthrown; but I will leave them in the state in which they are, to serve as a monument to prosperity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Lycurgus mentions the same oath, in his oration against Leocrates<sup>4</sup>; if it be real, the account of Lycurgus, who affirms that it was taken by all the Greeks assembled at Plataea, is more probable than that of Diodorus Siculus, who supposes that it was taken at the Isthmus, by the Peloponnesians only. Indeed, how could these people, whose temples were untouched, take an oath never to rebuild the temples burned by the Persians?

Lycurgus, as I have just observed, quotes the same oath, but with some variation. I find this clause added in that author: "I will decimate all those which have taken part with the enemy."

Although Theopompus, as quoted in M. Wesseling's note on the passage of Diodorus Siculus, contends that this oath is purely imaginary, the authority of Lycurgus, which appears to me of great weight, may be cited in opposition to him.

XX. 22. Ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον. *As they did not descend into the plain, &c.* Plutarch relates some particulars, antecedent to these events, which perhaps the reader will not be displeased that I should here advert to.

Whilst<sup>5</sup> Greece was in a most critical conjuncture, some citizens of Athens, of the first families in that city, having been ruined by the war, and considering that with their wealth they had lost also their credit and authority, held secret assemblies, and resolved to destroy the popular government in Athens; and, in case of the failure of their project, to ruin the state, and deliver up Greece to the Barbarians.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxix. vol. I. p. 427. lin. 1. et p. 206, edit. Taylor.

<sup>4</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocratem, p. 158, <sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 326, c.

This conspiracy had made considerable progress, when it came to the knowledge of Aristides. At first he felt alarmed, on account of the circumstances in which the country was involved; but as he was not informed how many were concerned in it, whilst he thought it right to give his attention to the subject, he determined that the investigation should not be too rigid, in order that the door might be left open for repentance. He contented himself with arresting eight of the conspirators, amongst whom were two that were deeply implicated. A process was instituted against them, but during its progress they escaped. Aristides afforded to the others an opportunity of repenting, and, on releasing them, told them that the field of battle would be the tribunal where they might justify themselves, and prove that they had never adopted any counsels but such as were just and to the advantage of their country.

XXII. 23. Παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. *Struck him in the eye.* Plutarch says that it was through the visor of the helmet<sup>6</sup>.

XXIV. 24. Κείροντες τοὺς ἵππους. *Cutting the manes of their horses.* We might suspect that this custom was confined to the Barbarians; but it had in fact been practised by the Greeks from the most remote periods. When Admetus<sup>7</sup> heard of the death of Alcestes, he commanded that the manes should be cut off from the horses throughout Thessaly. The same custom was observed on the death of Pelopidas<sup>8</sup>, and Alexander the Great revived it on the death of Hephæstion; but probably he did so from a desire to imitate the Persians.

XXV. 25. Τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους τοῦ ἥρωος. *The hero Androcrates.* Androcrates<sup>9</sup> had been in ancient times a leader of the Plataeans. Aristides<sup>1</sup> having sent to consult the oracle of Delphi, the god answered that the Athenians would obtain the victory, if they made vows to Jupiter, to the Juno adored on mount Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides, and also offered sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polyidus, who had been chiefs of the Plataeans. The temple<sup>2</sup> of Androcrates was surrounded by a very thick wood. It was on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes<sup>3</sup>.

XXVI. 26. Ἐχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας. *To command either wing.* The Lacedæmonians, by right, commanded whichever wing they chose. Ἐχειν, which is here used by Herodotus, is explained, a few lines lower down, by ἡγεμονεύειν.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 327, c.

<sup>7</sup> Euripid. Alcest. 429.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarch. in Pelopidâ, p. 296, c, f.

<sup>9</sup> Id. in Aristide, p. 325, d.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. c, d.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ibid. f.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. III. xxiv.



27. Ἡρακλεῖδαι. ἐπειρῶντο. *The Heraclidæ endeavoured.* The Heraclidæ<sup>4</sup> retired, after the death of Hercules, to the court of Ceyx, in Trachinia, to avoid the anger of Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ. The latter urged that prince to drive them from his dominions, together with the Arcadians who had accompanied Hercules in his expeditions, and threatened him with war in case of refusal. The Athenians having afforded them a refuge at Tricorythus, a village of Attica in the Tetrapolis, Eurystheus marched at the head of a numerous army against them; but was defeated and slain, together with all his sons. The Heraclidæ re-entered the Peloponnesus; but the plague having ravaged the country, the oracle declared that it was because the Heraclidæ had returned before the time prescribed by the fates. Atreus succeeded Eurystheus. It was under his reign that Hyllus presented himself with his troops, and was killed in a single combat by Echemus, king of the Tegeatæ. One of the conditions of this combat was, (according to Diodorus Siculus, from whom I borrow this account of the transaction,) that if Hyllus should be killed, the Heraclidæ should not enter the Peloponnesus for 'fifty' years. This is an error which has escaped that author, as it is certain, from Herodotus, that we must read 'a hundred' years. Thucydides<sup>5</sup> says that the Heraclidæ returned eighty years after the taking of Troy. The second return of the Heraclidæ happened<sup>6</sup> twenty years before the taking of Troy, and their last return eighty years after that event, that is, according to the calculation of Herodotus, that their second return was in the year 3424 of the Julian period, 1290 years before our era, and the last in the year 3524 of the Julian period, 1190 years before our era.

28. Ἐχεμος. *Echemus.* Under the reign of Echemus<sup>7</sup>, the son of Aëropus, grandson of Cepheus, and great-grandson of Aleus, the Achæans obtained a great victory, near the Isthmus of Corinth, over Hyllus, the son of Hercules, who at the head of a numerous army of Dorians attempted to enter the Peloponnesus. Echemus, challenged by Hyllus to a single combat, killed him. Such is the opinion of many historians, and I think it more probable than that of others, who say that Orestes was king of the Achæans at the time when Hyllus attempted to re-enter the Peloponnesus. In fact, Orestes was not born till after Hyllus was killed. Echemus<sup>8</sup> married Timandra, daughter of Tyndarus, and sister of Clytemnestra. He was succeeded by Agapenor<sup>9</sup>, son of Ancaeus, and grandson of Lycurgus. This Agapenor<sup>1</sup> commanded the Arcadians at the siege of Troy.

In the time of Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, that is, nearly 1400 years afterwards, the tomb of that prince, with a column on which his combat with Hyllus was engraved, was still to be seen at Tegea.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lvii. lviii. pp. 301, 302.

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. I. xii. p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Petavius de Doctrinâ Temp. IX. xxxii. vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. VIII. v. p. 607.

<sup>8</sup> Apollodor. III. x. § vi. p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. VIII. v.

<sup>1</sup> Homer. Iliad. II. 609. Pausan. loco laudato.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. VIII. liii. p. 708.

29. Δίκαιον. *It is just.* We must understand μάλλον with δίκαιον, by a sort of ellipsis very common with the Greeks, and even with the Latins. 'Εγὼ γοῦν δεξαίμην ἂν πάσας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐρρίφέναι, ἢ τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ τὸν πατέρα<sup>3</sup>. 'I would rather have cast on the ground all the bucklers in the world, than have entertained such a thought of my father.'

Eo tacent, quia tacita bona 'st mulier semper quam loquens<sup>4</sup>.

XXVII. 30. Ἀργείους. *The Argians, &c.* Polynices having been expelled from Thebes by his brother Eteocles, took refuge at Argos<sup>5</sup>, and came with Adrastus and other Argians to besiege Thebes<sup>6</sup>. Eteocles and Polynices<sup>7</sup> killed each other; and the greater part of the Argians having fallen before the walls of the city, Creon, who was become<sup>8</sup> king or rather regent of Thebes, forbade them the rites of sepulture. Adrastus went to implore the protection of the Athenians; Theseus laid siege to Thebes, took it, brought away the dead bodies, and delivered them to their relatives for interment.

Plutarch, who has thought fit to contradict Herodotus, asserts<sup>9</sup> that it was not by force that Theseus recovered the bodies of the Argians, but by persuasion, and by a treaty. Euripides, in his Supplikes, is of the same opinion as Herodotus. He says that Theseus, after beating the Thebans in a pitched battle, carried off the bodies of the Argians, and performed the last offices to them at Eleusis. See that tragedy, from verse 634 to the end of the piece. Isocrates expressed a similar opinion in his Panegyricus<sup>1</sup>; but an opposite one in the Panathenaicus<sup>2</sup>, in which he says, that the Thebans listened to the persuasions of the ambassadors of Theseus, and permitted them to carry away the bodies of the Argians. In his eulogium on Helen, however, he returns to his former opinion<sup>3</sup>. Τῷ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Καδμείαν τελευτήσαντας, βίᾳ Θηβαίων, θάψαι παρέδωκε. 'Theseus, in spite of the Thebans, committed to Adrastus the bodies of the Argians who fell before the walls of Thebes, for the purpose of their being buried.'

We might suppose this variation to arise from the circumstance, that when Isocrates composed the Panathenaicus, the Athenians were the allies of the Thebans, and that he did not choose to publish a fact which would be the more likely to displease them, as they declared that<sup>4</sup> they had voluntarily surrendered the bodies of the Argians, and had never fought a battle on that occasion. The variation in question did not escape Isocrates himself; for in the Panathenaicus he admits that the two accounts are in contradiction; but he asserts that he

<sup>3</sup> Lysias contra Theomn. I. p. 118, lin. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Plaut. Rudens. Act. iv. Sc. iv. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodor. III. vi. § i. p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. § iii. vi. pp. 174. 176.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. § viii. p. 179.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ibid. VII. § i. pp. 180, 181.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. vit. Parallel. in Theseo, p. 14, A.

<sup>1</sup> Isocrat. vol. I. p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Id. in Panathenaico, vol. II. p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Isocrat. in Helenæ Encomio, vol. II. p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxxix. p. 94.

himself wrote with good faith, and conformably to the interests of the republic: which is declaring candidly enough, that a writer is less bound to consult truth, than to flatter the vanity of his countrymen.

31. 'Εν 'Ελευσίνι. *At Eleusis.* Pausanias, as well as Herodotus, says that these bodies were buried in the territory of Eleusis. "On the road<sup>5</sup> from Eleusis to Megara there is a well, at some distance from which are the chapel of Megarina, and the tombs of those who were killed before Thebes." Herodotus has τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν 'Ελευσίνι, 'in Eleusis of our country;' in order to distinguish that city from those in other countries which bore the same name. Lysias has used a similar specification in his funeral oration on the Athenians, who perished in the third year of the 96th Olympiad under Iphicrates, in giving assistance to the Corinthians, ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν 'Ελευσίνι<sup>6</sup>, 'They (our ancestors) have buried them in our Eleusis:' that is to say, Eleusis a city belonging to us. In this passage he is speaking of the very Argians to whom the Thebans had refused burial, and whom the Athenians interred at Eleusis.

32. 'Ες 'Αμαζονίδας. *Against the Amazons.* Plutarch, after speaking of the cause of the war of the Amazons, says that it was a war<sup>7</sup> of importance, and not a war of women: for would the Amazons have penetrated into the city, and given battle in the vicinity of the Pnyx and of the Museum, if, after having subdued the neighbouring country, they had not fearlessly approached the walls of the citadel itself? It is difficult to believe, with Hellanicus, that they came by land, and passed the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the ice: but that they encamped in Athens itself, is confirmed by the names of the places, and by the tombs of those Amazons who fell in the battle. When the two armies were in sight of each other, they hesitated for some time before they gave the signal to engage; but at length Theseus having sacrificed to Fear, commenced the attack, in order to fulfil an oracle. The battle was fought in the month Boëdromion, on the day on which the festival called Boëdromia is still celebrated. The historian Clidemus, who has been anxious to omit no particular of this day, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to the place now called Amazonium, that their right reached to the Pnyx, at the spot where the golden statue of Victory now stands: that the right wing of the Athenians, which was formed near the Museum, was opposed to the left wing of the Amazons, as appears by the tombs of those who fell on the occasion; . . . . that the Athenians gave way on that point, and were driven back as far as the temple of the Eumenides; but that their left wing, which occupied the Palladium, Ardetta, and the Lyceum, advanced on the right wing of the Amazons, and drove them back to their camp with great slaughter: and that in the fourth month, a treaty was concluded by

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. I. xxxix. p. 94.      <sup>6</sup> Lysias, Epitaph. Logos, p. 191, lin. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 12, ε.

means of Hippolyta; for that author calls the Amazon who was with Theseus, Hippolyta, and not Antiope. What is beyond a doubt is, that this war was terminated by a treaty of peace; and this we know, not only from the name of the place where this treaty was sworn to, thence called 'Horcomosion' (asseveration by oath), which is opposite to the temple of Theseus, but also from the ancient sacrifice annually made to the Amazons on the eve of the festival of that hero. The Athenian orators took particular delight in celebrating this exploit. Lysias, in his funeral oration for the Athenians who died in assisting the Corinthians, pronounces a high eulogium<sup>8</sup> on these Amazons, and hence takes occasion to exalt the merit of those who defeated them.

Cimon<sup>9</sup> has described this battle with the same precision that has been employed in detailing the battles of the Athenians against the Persians.

33. Τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος. *The Amazons from the Thermodon.* M. Coray proposes a very ingenious correction of this passage. Instead of ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀποθήκας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, he corrects ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θρηϊκῆς τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, and he appeals to the authority of the following verses from Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 659 :

Quales Threïciæ, cum flumina Thermodontis  
Pulsant, et pictis bellantur Amazones armis.

But I do not approve this conjecture. 1. By the Amazons of Thrace, Virgil can have meant no other than those of Asiatic Thrace, for there never were any in European Thrace. 2. Asiatic Thrace being no other than Bithynia, Virgil must have assigned to it an extent much greater than it ever possessed, for he places the Thermodon in it, which was in Cappadocia. An historian, and especially Herodotus, is more exact. I have therefore preferred the correction of Gronovius, who reads τὰς ἀποθήκας, which we find also in Hesychius and in Lycophron. I have before observed, that M. Toup approved this conjecture. Some may prefer that of Mr. Taylor<sup>1</sup>, who reads: ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμίσκυρας τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

34. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *From the achievement at Marathon.* This battle was the perpetual theme of exultation to the Athenians, because they there stood alone, and at that time the name of the Persians made all Greece tremble. Thus the orator Lycurgus<sup>2</sup>: "It is by listening to these verses, it is by imitating such actions, that your ancestors conducted themselves so valiantly, that not only they were ready to die for their own country, but for all Greece, as for a common country. Thus at Marathon, they conquered in a pitched

<sup>8</sup> Lysias, Epitaph. Logos, p. 190, lin. 33, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Taylor in Lect. Lysiac. p. 687.

<sup>9</sup> Arriani Exped. Alex. VII. xiii. lin. 9. p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> Lycurg. contra Leocr. pars ii. p. 162,

battle the combined forces of Asia, and by their peculiar dangers established the security of Greece in general."

XXIX. 35. Πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι. *Thirty-four thousand five hundred men.* The whole of the heavy-armed troops amounted to 38,700 men. From these we must deduct 5000 Spartans, and there will then remain 33,700 men; but as these were supported by 34,500 men lightly armed, some of the combatants must necessarily have had more than one light-armed soldier. Ὡς signifies sometimes 'nearly.' I doubt whether it has this signification here; and am rather inclined to believe that there is an error in the figures somewhere, and that the contingent of some nation should be augmented.

36. Σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παροῦσι. *Together with the Thespians who were present.* There remained very few of the Thespians after their defeat<sup>3</sup> at the pass of Thermopylæ. Their city having been burned by the<sup>4</sup> Barbarians, they had retired to the Peloponnesus. They afterwards<sup>5</sup> endeavoured to re-establish themselves, by admitting other Greeks to the right of citizenship. Themistocles took advantage of this opportunity to procure the rights of a citizen of Thespiæ for Sicinnus, the tutor of his children.

XXXII. 37. Οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιεσ καλεόμενοι. *Who are called Hermotybies.* Several intelligent persons have been mistaken, and have thought that these Egyptians were called 'Machærophori,' or 'sword-bearers,' as if all the Egyptian warriors did not carry the kind of sword called Machæra.

XXXIII. 38. Τισαμενός. *Tisamenus.* Tisamenus<sup>6</sup> had a son called Agelochus, and a grandson named Agias, who foretold to Lysander that he would obtain possession of the Athenian fleet, which was at Ægos Potamos, with the exception of ten triremes; which happened<sup>7</sup> in the fourth year of the 93rd Olympiad.

39. Κλυτιάδην. *Clytiades.* It appears<sup>8</sup> that the Clytidæ, the Iamidæ, and the Telliadei, were three different families of soothsayers. Cicero likewise distinguishes the Clytidæ from the Iamidæ: "Elis<sup>9</sup> in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram Clytidarum, haruspicinæ nobilitate præstantes." The text of Herodotus appears to me to have been altered; but as we have no certain means of information as to these ancient families, I have thought it best to leave it as it stands in all the editions. This family was descended<sup>1</sup> from Clytius, the son of Alcmæon, and from the daughter of Phegeus.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. VII. cccxii.

<sup>4</sup> Id. VIII. l.

<sup>5</sup> Id. VIII. lxxv.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. III. xi. p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic. XIII. cvi. vol. I. p. 628.

<sup>8</sup> Philostr. Vit. Apollonii, V. xxv. p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero de Divinat. I. xli.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. VI. xvii. p. 494.

He retired to Elis to avoid living in the same house with his maternal uncles, whom he knew to have plotted the assassination of Alcmaeon. His genealogy is as follows<sup>2</sup>: Prometheus, Deucalion, Hellen, Æolus, Cretheus, Amythaon<sup>3</sup>, Melampus, Mantius, Oicles, Amphiaraüs, Alcmaeon, and Clytius.

40. Ἰαμιδίων. *Iamidæ*. To what I have said on Iamus<sup>4</sup>, the founder of this family, may be added, that his mother having been privately delivered of him, concealed him amongst rushes and violets<sup>5</sup>, and that hence she gave him the name of Iamus, ἰόν signifying a violet.

Theoclus, who performed the office of a soothsayer amongst the Lacedæmonians, in their war against the Messenians, in the year 4032 of the Julian period, 682 years before our era, was descended from<sup>6</sup> Eumantis of Elea, of the family of the Iamidæ.

41. Ἐν πάλαισμα. *In wrestling*. Herodotus positively asserts, as we have just read, that Tisamenus was overcome in wrestling. I cannot conceive, therefore, why the learned Father Corsini should appeal to the authority of our historian, to prove<sup>7</sup> that he was victorious in this exercise. Pausanias agrees with and confirms Herodotus. Tisamenus<sup>8</sup>, says he, had the advantage over Hieronymus of Andros, in running and in leaping; but he was mastered at wrestling. See the Ionian Lexicon of Æmilius Portus, at the words παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικῶν ὀλυμπιάδα: and also the excellent notes of MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer.

42. Καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἥγλην. *And his brother Hegias*. What must we think then of Plutarch's saying<sup>9</sup> that Tyrtæus was admitted a citizen of Sparta? Meursius<sup>1</sup>, it is true, asserts that Tyrtæus was only permitted to live at Sparta, a privilege generally refused to foreigners; but that he enjoyed no other; and in proof of this he cites the Apophthegm of Pausanias quoted by Plutarch. Now, as this is the very passage cited by me, he must be in error.

XXXIV. 43. Μελάμπους. *Melampus*. The daughters of Proetus, king of Argos, having gone mad<sup>2</sup>, Melampus restored them to their senses, on condition of receiving two-thirds of the kingdom, one of which he gave to his brother Bias. Thus was this state divided into three parts, governed by the Proetides, the Melampodidæ, and Biantidæ. Melampus had previously given a strong proof of his affection for his brother Bias. The latter was desperately enamoured of Pero, the daughter of Neleus. That prince<sup>3</sup> would not bestow her in marriage on any

<sup>2</sup> Apollodor. I. vii. § ii. pp. 22, 23, 24; § iii. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ut supra.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. V. xliv.

<sup>5</sup> Pindar. Olymp. Ode, vi. 90, &c. p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IV. xv. p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> Fast. Attic. vol. III. p. 159.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. III. xi. p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. Lacon. Apophth. p. 230, D.

<sup>1</sup> Miscellan. Laconic. IV. x.

<sup>2</sup> Pindari Schol. ad Nem. Ode, ix. 30, p. 401, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Theocrit. ad Idyll. iii. 43.

man but him who should bring him from Phylace the oxen of Iphiclus<sup>4</sup>. To bring these off was an exploit of extreme danger. The friendship of Melampus for his brother, however, induced him to brave it. Having been discovered in the attempt by those who guarded the cattle, he was put in prison. As he was a soothsayer, he knew that this prison was on the point of falling down, and consequently he gave warning of it. Iphiclus, greatly astonished, released him, and inquired of him what means he should employ to have children. He was, however, prevented from having any by the following circumstance. His father Phylacus wishing to cut down a tree, and the young Iphiclus being near him, instead of hitting the tree with the axe, he struck his son on the organs of generation. Melampus sent for the axe, ordered Iphiclus to scrape off the rust, and drink it. Iphiclus, by way of recompense, gave him his oxen. Melampus presented them to Neleus, who then granted his daughter Pero in marriage to Bias<sup>5</sup>.

In Argolis<sup>6</sup> there was a mountain called Acri, Ἄκρι, on which Melampus caused a temple to be built to Diana, after having cured the Proetides, or daughters of Proetus. For I read in Hesychius καθήρας τὰς Προτιδὰς, and I consider what follows as belonging to another gloss.

Melampus cured the Proetides, by causing them to bathe in the fountain Clitorius. Every one who after that time drank of this fountain conceived an aversion for wine. At least so says Ovid<sup>7</sup>, as well as a Greek epigram<sup>8</sup>, quoted by Vitruvius.

XXXV. 44. Ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους. *At Tanagra, against the Athenians and the Argians.* This battle was fought in the third year of the 80th Olympiad, that is to say, the year 4256 of the Julian period, 458 years B. C., and twenty-two years after the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Thucydides<sup>9</sup> speaks of this battle, and, with Herodotus, affirms, that the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. Diodorus Siculus says that the result was doubtful. "The Athenians," observes this latter historian<sup>1</sup>, "marched against the Lacedæmonians, with the Argians and the Thessalians. They had fifty vessels and 14,000 men. They took possession of the passes in the neighbourhood of Geranea; but upon this intelligence the Lacedæmonians proceeded to Tanagra in Bœotia. The Athenians having also marched thither with great rapidity, arranged themselves in order of battle, and attacked them. Although the Thessalians went over to the enemy, the Athenians and the Argians fought with the greatest courage. Many fell on both sides; but night coming on, the two armies sepa-

<sup>4</sup> Iphiclus was king of Phylace in Thessaly. Thessaly was famed for the excellence of its horses and other cattle.

<sup>5</sup> See Homer, *Odyss.* xi. 286; xv. 226.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Hesych. voc. Ἀκρονήσι.

<sup>7</sup> Ovid. *Metamorph.* XV. 322.

<sup>8</sup> Vitruv. de *Architecturâ*, VIII. iii. p. 164.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. I. cviii.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. lxxx. vol. I. p. 465.



rated. A short time after, and in the course of this very night, the Thessalians attacked a convoy of provisions which was coming to the Athenians. As the party in care of the provisions considered the Thessalians to be friends, they at first received them as such; but when the latter fell on them sword in hand, the convoy was thrown into confusion. The Athenians who were in their camp, on hearing of this attack of the Thessalians, hastened to the assistance of their friends; and having broke through the Thessalians at the first onset, they made a great slaughter of them. The Lacedæmonians, on their side, marched to the support of the Thessalians, a general engagement ensued, and there was great carnage on both sides. The issue being doubtful, and the Lacedæmonians disputing the victory with the Athenians, they mutually sent ambassadors, and a truce of four months was concluded."

XXXVII. 45. Τὸν ταρσόν. *The tarsus.* This is the widest part of the foot, next the joint of the great and little toe. Οὗ (ποδός)<sup>2</sup> τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μετὰ τοὺς δακτύλους, ταρσός. 'The fore part of the foot, next the toes, is called the tarsus.' The middle part is the narrowest; so that when fastened in irons, the foot cannot be withdrawn. The irons or fetters which confined Hegesistratus were fastened to the middle of his foot.

XXXVIII. 46. Τιμηγενίδης. *Timegenidas.* Herodotus calls him 'Timegenides,' in the Ionian style. Pausanias says<sup>3</sup> that Timegenidas and Attaginus, the most distinguished citizens of Thebes, betrayed their country. The reader will see, in lxxxvi. and lxxxvii., the miserable though merited fate of this traitor.

XLI. 47. Νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους. *But to abide by the customs of the Persians.* In the Greek, τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἑγησιστράτου ἔῃν χαίρειν, μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν. We must understand with βιάζεσθαι the word νόμους which follows. Βιάζεσθαι νόμους signifies 'to violate the laws.' Mardonius, by principle attached to the customs of his country, wished that they should not violate them, and that they should cease to consult the Greek auspices. Sophocles has employed the same expression in his *Antigone* (663, edit. Brunck), ὅστις δ' ὑπερβὰς ἢ νόμους βιάζεται, 'whoever violates the laws.'

XLIII. 48. Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχέλεων στρατόν. *But the Illyrians and the army of the Encheleans.* Pausanias, who describes the antiquities of Greece with so much accuracy, does not mention (in the *Phocica*) either this pillage of the temple of Delphi, or the calamities of the nations who took part in it. Appian says that<sup>4</sup> the Autarians, who

<sup>2</sup> Jul. Polluc. Onomast. II. iv. segm. 197, vol. I. p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. VII. x. p. 546.

<sup>4</sup> Appianus de Bellis Illyricis, p. 1196.

were an Illyrian nation, pillaged that temple, and that they perished by the plague; but we are the less entitled to presume that this was the event contemplated by the oracle, as Appian associates with the Autarians in this expedition those of the Celtæ who were called Cimbri. We find something clearer in Euripides<sup>5</sup>. Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which foretells him that when he shall have retired amongst the Illyrians and the Encheleans, he shall reign over those people; that they shall destroy a great number of cities; but that after having pillaged the temple of Delphi (of Loxias, i. e. of Apollo), they shall experience a reverse of fortune. If we could see the oracle itself, we should be better able to judge how Mardonius applied it to the Persians.

XLIV. 49. Τοὺς στρατηγοὺς. *The generals.* Plutarch, who speaks also of this interview, names only Aristides. A man on horseback, says he<sup>6</sup>, softly approached the camp of the Greeks, and addressing the sentinels, he told them to bring to him the Athenian Aristides, who immediately joined them.

XLV. 50. Πανσανίην. *Pausanias.* This account is much more probable than that of Plutarch<sup>7</sup>, who makes Alexander entreat Aristides to tell the secret to no one.

XLVI. 51. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. *We are inexperienced, and have no knowledge of these men.* Can Pausanias have forgotten, asks M. Wesseling, the brave defence of Thermopylæ by the 300 Spartans; or had their glorious death rendered the Persians still more terrible? To this it may be answered, that the whole of those 300 Spartans having been killed, there was not in the army of Pausanias a single man who had encountered the Persians, or who was aware of their mode of fighting.

An Englishman of merit has reproached me with having forgotten, that there was in the army of Pausanias a Spartan who had been at the battle of Thermopylæ. Had there been such a one, it would have been difficult for that individual to have conveyed to the army of his countrymen an idea of the Persian mode of fighting. But I may retort on the author of this objection, that it is himself who has not perfectly recollected the text of our historian. He alludes to Aristodemus, who distinguished himself at Platæa; but who received no honours after his death, as he died in an attempt to remove the disgrace which he had previously incurred<sup>8</sup>. Now what was this disgrace? Herodotus himself informs us, VII. ccxxix. Some say that he was detained at Alpenus by a disorder in his eyes, and that under this pretext he

<sup>5</sup> Euripid. Bacch. 1333.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 327, D.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. F.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. IX. lxx.

repaired to Lacedæmon; whilst others relate, that having been deputed by the army, it was in his power to return in time for the action, had he been so disposed; but that not desiring this, he tarried on the road. On his arrival at Lacedæmon, he was loaded with obloquy and disgrace.

But perhaps the critic in question may allude to Pantites<sup>9</sup>, who was one of the three hundred; but of him Herodotus remarks, that having been deputed to Thessaly before the battle, on his return he strangled himself.

It is therefore certain, from the account of Herodotus, that neither Pantites nor Aristodemus was present at the battle of Thermopylæ, and that there was not in the army of Pausanias any Spartan who was acquainted with the Persian mode of fighting.

52. Καὶ ἀντροῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. *It seemed to ourselves in the first instance.* The general officers<sup>1</sup> of the Athenians, if we may believe Plutarch, considered this conduct of Pausanias very arbitrary: they thought that by thus making them change their post at his pleasure, that prince treated them as slaves; but the remonstrances of Aristides induced them to change this opinion.

LI. 53. Ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. *To go into the island.* The island of Ceroë was, no doubt, known at that time under this denomination, without any addition to distinguish it from other islands; the same as at Paris, when we say, 'the island,' we mean the Island of St. Louis. As to what our author adds, that the island is ten stadia distant from the Asopus, we must understand from that part of the Asopus near which the Grecian army was then encamped. The expression would otherwise be ridiculous.

54. Θυγατέρα δὲ Ἀσωποῦ. *Daughter of Asopus.* "Diodorus Siculus<sup>2</sup>, who mentions twelve daughters of Asopus, and Apollodorus<sup>3</sup>, who names twenty, do not speak of this Ceroë."—WESSELING.

They both speak of Ægina, and the latter of them remarks that Ægina is the same as CEnona. Perhaps there is an error in the text of Herodotus, and we should read CEnona. This passage was not to be found in an Oxford MS., and on this ground M. Heyne has suppressed it in his edition. That critic thinks that Ægius<sup>4</sup>, the first editor of Apollodorus, introduced it into the text of that author from the scholia of Lycophron on verse 175. But I do not see any thing in these scholia to authorise this opinion.

After having maturely reflected on this point, I do not consider the opinion at all tenable. The solution of the difficulty may be found in Pausanias, and I am astonished that no one should before this have given their attention to it. The river of which Herodotus speaks is the

<sup>9</sup> Herod. VII. cccxxii.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 228, A.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. IV. lxxii. vol. I. p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodor. III. xi. § vi. p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> In notis ad Apollodor. p. 769.

Asopus; it descends from mount Cithæron, and separates into two branches a little above Platea: these two branches reunite a little below the same city. The island formed by these branches is called Ceroë. Now let us hear what Pausanias<sup>5</sup> says: "On the road from Platea to Thebes, we find the river Peroë. They say that Peroë is the daughter of Asopus." Now it is pretty clear that the Ceroë of Herodotus and the Peroë of Pausanias are the same; and I am inclined to think that Peroë in the latter writer is an error of the copyists, and that we should read Ceroë; for as there was not on the road from Platea to Thebes any other river than the Asopus, it is manifest that Pausanias gives to that river the name of Peroë. That granted, I suppose that the Asopus took, at its source, at the foot of mount Cithæron, the name of Ceroë; that a little above Platea, it separated into two branches, which united a little below that city. These two branches formed, by their circuit, the isle of Ceroë. Ten stadia below the junction of these two branches, the river changed its name, and took that of Asopus, till it discharged itself into the Eubœan sea, near Delphinium. We may then very easily understand that the island of Ceroë was ten stadia distant from the Asopus, that is to say, from the spot where the river first took that name. As this river flows through a great extent of country under the name of Asopus, and a very trifling distance under that of Ceroë, it is not surprising that the second name should have been lost in the first. The same is the case with respect to the Danube and the Ister; that river being now known only by the first name.

LII. 55. Ἐθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. *They pitched their camp.* The Greek expression signifies three things, as has been very properly remarked by the commentators. First, that they put on their armour and took up their arms; next, that they laid down their arms; and thirdly, that they pitched their camp. The notes of MM. Valckenaer and Wesseling give examples of all these significations<sup>6</sup>.

This word is here taken in the last acceptation, derivatively, as I think, from the second. When the Greeks were about to encamp any where, they placed their arms in a certain part of the camp, whence they did not remove them till there was occasion to use them. Hence, in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, 'to lay down arms,' often signifies 'to encamp.' It would be easy to prove, from the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, that when the Greeks were about to encamp, they placed their arms in a certain place, which was thence called τὰ ὅπλα: but I have not now time to search out the passages to establish this.

LIII. 56. Τοῦ Πιτανηγέων λόχου. *The division of the Pitanaæ.* Pitane was a village of Laconia upon the Eurotas; but the corps here

<sup>5</sup> Pausan. IX. iv. p. 718.

Paul Leopard, Emendat. XI. xx. pp.

<sup>6</sup> Add also Wesseling's note 45 on 230, 231; and Henri de Valois on Harpocration, under the word Θέμενος, p. 89.

mentioned, it is probable, did not derive its name from that place. It is possible, however, that when the inhabitants of Laconia were transferred to the capital, those of Pitane retained their name. What is very certain, is, that a quarter of Lacedæmon was so called, as we see in Plutarch<sup>7</sup>: "All the Athenians do not dwell in the Colyttus, nor the Corinthians in the Craneum, nor the Lacedæmonians in Pitane." The Colyttus being a district of Athens, and the Craneum of Corinth, it should follow that Pitane is a district of Lacedæmon. But the following passage of Pausanias, in my opinion, removes all doubt. "There is<sup>8</sup> a quarter of Sparta, called Theomelidæ, in which are seen the tombs of the kings of the family of the Agidæ. Near it is the place where the Crotani assemble. The Crotani are the body of troops called the Pitanatæ." This passage serves to prove the existence of such a corps, and the following confirms it. Antoninus<sup>9</sup> sent for young people from Sparta, of whom he formed a company, called Lacedæmonian or Pitanatan. Had there not formerly been a body of troops which bore this name at Sparta, why should that prince have given such a name to the company of Spartans which he had formed?

Yet Thucydides positively asserts<sup>1</sup>, that there never was a company called the Pitanatæ at Lacedæmon. This historian, jealous of Herodotus, and who never omits an opportunity of contradicting him, "perhaps quibbles here," observes M. Bellanger<sup>2</sup>, "because he has called by the name of its nation or tribe, the company of the Pitanatæ, instead of the company of the Crotani (see Pausanias, as above cited), which was properly its military name, a quibble upon words which Hesychius has probably copied from Thucydides."

LIV. 57. Ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. *How they thought one thing and said another.* The deceitfulness of their character was always a subject of reproach against the Lacedæmonians. Andromache, addressing Menelaus, thus expresses herself<sup>3</sup>: "Inhabitants of Sparta, you are the most odious of mortals; in your councils you plot perfidy, you are manufacturers of lies and of mischief; your varying thoughts have nothing sound in them, and are made up of evasions."

LVII. 58. Ἰθείῃ τέχνῃ. *Openly.* I have followed the explanation of ἰθείῃ τέχνῃ, given by M. Hoogeveen in his notes on the Idioms of Vigerus, p. 149, of the third edition. M. Wesseling interprets this passage, 'from the knowledge which he had of the military art;' but I greatly doubt the propriety of this interpretation. It was not necessary that Amopharetus should have a great knowledge of the art, to discover that he was abandoned.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. de Exilio, p. 601, B.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. III. xiv. p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Herodian. IV. xiv. p. 155.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. xx. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Essais de Critique, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Euripid. Andromach. 445, ex edit. Brunck.

59. Δέκα στάδια. *Ten stadia.* The island of Œroë, to which Pausanias repaired, was only ten stadia distant from the camp, as we have seen at l. ; but by taking the way over the heights, to avoid the Persian army, this prince greatly lengthened his road.

LVIII. 60. Βοῇ τε καὶ ὀμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν. *They advanced with shout and clamour.* It was needless to remark, that the Persians observed no order, as Herodotus had just said so. This induces M. Valckenaer to suspect, that we should read καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπήϊσαν. A correction which I think proper, and have therefore adopted. He supports it by a passage of Plutarch, to which he refers in his note.

LXI. 61. Τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον. *The engagement.* Πρόσκειμαι signifies, I attach myself to any one, I attack him continually, I press him unceasingly. Hence τὸ προσκείμενον, where we must understand τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος.

62. Οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι· Τεγεῆται δὲ, τρισχίλιοι. *The former (Lacedæmonians), fifty thousand; the Tegeans, three thousand.*

Spartans . . . . .	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan . . . . .	35,000
Lacedæmonians . . . . .	5,000
A light-armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian . . . . .	5,000
Tegeatæ . . . . .	1,500
Light troops of the Tegeatæ . . . . .	1,500
<hr/>	
Total . . . . .	53,000

63. Ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν πολλοί. *Many of them fell.* Plutarch gives a very detailed account of this, which my readers will, I dare say, allow me to quote.

As the sacrifices<sup>4</sup> were not favourable, Pausanias ordered the Lacedæmonians to lay their bucklers at their feet, to sit down quietly, and to think only of him, without attending to the enemy. He continued sacrificing victims, whilst the enemy's cavalry were rapidly advancing. It was already within bow-shot, and many Spartans had been wounded; among them Callicrates, the finest, and, as it was said, the tallest man in the army. Being struck by an arrow, he exclaimed, as he fell, that he was not sorry to die, as he had left his home with the intention of devoting his life for the safety of Greece, but that he regretted dying without having signalized himself.

64. Φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι. *The Persians having joined their shields in close order.* "I understand by the expression φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα, that they made a rampart of their bucklers, taken off from their arms and ranged before them. This is a military manœuvre not very familiar to us; but Herodotus shows that this is his meaning:

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 329, B, C.

1. By stating that the combat was at first near this kind of rampart formed by the Persians with their bucklers, *παρὲν τὰ γέρρα*, *ixi.*, and that these bucklers were overthrown by the Greeks, *ὡς τὰυτα ἐπεπτώκεε*.  
 2. He limits it to this meaning, by another expression, in *xcviii.*, *συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφι*. 'They carried their bucklers, and placed them one on another so as to form a sort of rampart.' (This is in speaking of the battle of Mycale. And by another, in *ci.*, where he says that the Persians defended themselves, and yielded not an inch to the Greeks, whilst their bucklers remained fixed, but that the Greeks threw down this rampart of bucklers, &c."—BELLANGER.

These bucklers of the Persians were made of osier, and covered with skins. See Taylor on Demosthenes<sup>5</sup>.

LXII. 65. *Ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο*. *At length it happened*. The Latin version is not accurate. *Χρόνῳ* does not here signify, 'aliquanto post,' but 'tandem,' as in the following verse of the *Vespæ* of Aristophanes<sup>6</sup>:

*ἄρ' ἐμέλλομέν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσαθῆσιν τῷ χρόνῳ,*

which M. Brunck has correctly translated, 'Eramus ergo vos abacturi tandem.'

66. *Ἀνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες*. *Being lightly armed*. I have remarked, in a note on *xxix.*, that *ὄπλα* were the arms of the heavy-armed soldiers, and that hence came the term *ὀπλίτης*, to designate a soldier so armed. It follows from this, that *ἄνοπλος* must mean a man without these arms, i. e. one lightly armed. I am aware that *ἄνοπλος* signifies likewise a man without arms; but we can hardly imagine that the Persians came into action without arms. If we hear of their seizing on the lances of their enemies, it is because their own arms were much shorter. Herodotus, moreover, explains this word in the following paragraph, by *γυμνήτες*: *πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνήτες, ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο*.

LXIII. 67. *Πλεῖστον γὰρ σφειας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς*. *Their dress much incumbered them*. Herodotus, when thus speaking in disparagement of the Persian garments, alludes to their length. We are not exactly acquainted with the costume of the ancient Persians; but we know that when they had conquered the Medes, Cyrus, who had observed that the dress of the latter was more graceful than that of his own nation, adopted it, and persuaded his nobles<sup>7</sup> to imitate him, because the dress concealed the defects of figure, added grace, and gave height<sup>8</sup>. This was less, however, a national costume of the Medes, than that which Semiramis had fancied<sup>9</sup>. It was a flowing garment, as we learn from Justin<sup>1</sup>, "*vestis perlucida ac fluida*." This is confirmed

<sup>5</sup> Demosth. in *Næeram*, vol. III. p. 620, ex ed. Taylor.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph. *Vesp.* 460.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. I. cxxxv.; VII. lxii. Xen. *Cyropæd.* VIII. i.

<sup>8</sup> Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* VIII. i. §. xiv. p. 475.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. II. vi.

<sup>1</sup> Justin. Hist. Philippic. XLI. ii. p. 481.



by Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>2</sup>: "Indumentis plerique eorum ita operiuntur lumine colorum fulgentibus vario, ut licet simus lateraque dissuta relinquunt flatibus agitari ventorum, inter calceos tamen et verticem nihil videatur intectum." This dress was afterwards adopted<sup>3</sup> by the Parthians. In fact, they wished to pass for Persians.

We may easily conceive that a robe floating in the wind must be peculiarly inconvenient either for fighting or for travelling. If the dress of the Greeks was long, it was not loose, and as they took it up as high as their knees, and fastened it with a girdle, they were not inconvenienced by it either in travelling or in fighting. The chlamys and the sagum were as yet unknown to them. It is therefore not surprising that the Greeks should have had a considerable advantage from the style of their dress. That which they derived from their arms was still more material.

LXIV. 68. Κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον. *As the oracle had foretold.* This does not appear to have been one of the oracles reported by Mys, as Mardonius did not communicate it to any one. If Herodotus here refers to what he said, VIII. exiv., it was rather a presage than an oracle; but perhaps he alludes to the vision which the slave sent by Mardonius had in the temple of Amphiaraüs<sup>4</sup>.

69. Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι. *Against all the Messenians.* It was in the third Messenian war, which lasted ten years; having begun fourteen years after the battle of Platea, in the year 465 before our era, and ended in the year 455.

LXV. 70. Τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνακτόριον. *The temple at Eleusis.* M. Valckenaer clearly perceived that τὸ ἱρὸν was a gloss which the copyists had transferred from the margin to the text. The same critic has also very justly remarked, that Ἀνάκτορον is said of the temples of most of the gods. To which I may add that it is strictly proper, when applied to the temple of Ceres Eleusina.

Τίνων γόων ἤκουσα, καὶ στέρνων κτύπον,  
νεκρῶν τε θρήνους, τῶν δ' ἀνακτόρων ἄπο  
ἤχους ἰούσης<sup>5</sup>;

'What groans, what blows, what funereal lamentations have I not heard proceed from this temple?'

Meaning the temple of Ceres at Eleusis.

[The reading of the Sancroft MS., τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνακτόριον, is not liable to the objection here urged.]

LXX. 71. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα . . . ὅσα περ ἔλαβον. *The rest of the booty.*

<sup>2</sup> Amm. Marcell. XXIII. vi. p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. de Defectu Oracul. p. 412,

<sup>3</sup> Juliani Imp. Orat. de rebus gestis Constantii Imp. p. 63, A.

A, B.

<sup>5</sup> Euripid. Supplic. 87.

The seat of Mardonius, the feet of which were of silver, together with his scimitar, which was worth 300 darics, (about 300*l.*) fell to the lot of the Athenians, who placed them in the citadel as a monument of their victory. Glaucetes, the quæstor<sup>6</sup> or guardian of the national treasury, afterwards took them away<sup>7</sup>.

72. Τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. *Not three thousand of them escaped.* It is not very probable that so small a proportion of the enemy only escaped. However this may be, Perdiccas<sup>8</sup> cut to pieces all that remained of the Barbarians. Demosthenes adds, that this prince reigned at that time in Macedonia. But he is mistaken. It was Alexander; Perdiccas did not succeed him till long afterwards.

The Greeks<sup>9</sup> lost, in all, 1360 men.

73. Ἀθηναίων δέ. *The Athenians.* They were all<sup>1</sup>, according to Clidemus, of the tribe Aiantis, which fought with the greatest courage. This tribe, according to the orders of Apollo, offered up sacrifices, at the public expense, to the nymphs Sphragitides<sup>2</sup>.

74. Δύο καὶ πενήκοντα. *Fifty-two.* Plutarch censures Herodotus for this passage. It is astonishing, he says<sup>3</sup>, that Herodotus should assert that those were the only Greeks who were actually engaged with the enemy, and that no others fought. The number of the dead, and the monuments erected to their memory, attest that the victory was common to all Greece. But if only these three nations (Spartans, Tegeans, and Athenians) had fought, and the others had been tranquil spectators of the battle, this inscription would never have been placed upon the altar: "This is the altar of Jupiter Eleutherius, common to all Greece, which the Greeks have erected, after having repulsed the Persians, and gained a signal victory over them."

Herodotus, who was nearly contemporary with the event, appears to me more entitled to credit than Plutarch, who lived many centuries after. Moreover, he gives very good reasons for the absence of the rest of the Greeks. Some were not in the battle, because, when the army broke up to proceed to Platea, the troops<sup>4</sup> dispersed, with the exception of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Tegeatæ, who were attacked on their march; the others could not come to their assistance, and perhaps even were not apprised of the attack. The Corinthians and the Megarians never knew of it till after the defeat of the Persians<sup>5</sup>. They advanced to take part in it, but were intercepted by the Theban cavalry, who, after killing many of them, compelled the rest to retire. In regard to the tombs seen at Platea, the Plateans may have erected

<sup>6</sup> The Greek appellation is Ταμίης, which I have avoided, as less likely to be understood.

<sup>7</sup> Demosth. contra Timocr. p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Idem, De Vectig. p. 100, lin. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 330, ε.

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> These nymphs formerly delivered

oracles in a cavern of Mount Cithæron, called Sphragidium, which cave was consecrated to them. Pausan. IX. iii. sub finem.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 330, ε.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. IX. li.

<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid. lxviii.

them long afterwards, in order to flatter those who felt shame at not having been in the battle. The inscription on the altar of Jupiter is by no means a proof in favour of the opinion of Plutarch; that the battle of Platea secured the liberty of Greece, is all that can be understood from it.

LXXII. 75. Κάλλιστος. *The finest man.* This word must be construed strictly, and not figuratively. Plutarch calls him<sup>6</sup> ἰδέα κάλλιστον Ἑλλήνων, 'the handsomest man among the Greeks.'

76. Καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα. *And he said to Arimnestus of Platea.* Arimnestus was the commander of the Plateans; at least Plutarch, in his life of Aristides<sup>7</sup>, positively asserts it. In the temple of Minerva<sup>8</sup> Ἀρεία, or warlike, at Platea, was a statue of that goddess by Phidias; and at the foot of the statue, a portrait of Arimnestus. He commanded the Plateans, not only at the battle of Platea, but likewise in that of Marathon. Lacon, his son, who was the Proxenus of the Lacedæmonians<sup>9</sup>, that is to say, their chargé-d'affaires at Platea, was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, when they took possession of that city. All the copies of Thucydides say that he was the son of Aïmnestus; but I have no doubt that we ought to read the son of Arimnestus, τὸν Ἀριμνήστου.

LXXIII. 77. Τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν. *Anciently for the recovery of Helen.* Helen, as is well known, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux. She was carried off by Theseus, who was then, according to Hellanicus<sup>1</sup>, fifty years old. She had not yet attained the marriageable age, οὐ καθ' ὥραν. She might be about ten years old. This abduction therefore took place long before her marriage with Menelaus, and her being carried off by Paris. The Greeks were ten years assembling the troops for the siege of Troy, and the siege lasted ten years: "This is the twentieth year since my arrival at Troy<sup>2</sup>," says Helen in the tenth year of the siege. Helen must then have been about thirty-six. She was still eminently beautiful: "The Trojans and the Greeks are not wrong in fighting for so fine a woman," say the old men assembled about Priam; "she resembles the immortal goddesses<sup>3</sup>."

78. Ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφιδνας. *At Aphydnæ.* Aphydnus then reigned at Aphydnæ; he wounded<sup>4</sup> Castor in the right thigh. The Dioscuri not finding Theseus in this hamlet, pillaged it. I write Aphydnus and Aphydnæ with the *y*, on the authority of Pseudo-Didymus.

Plutarch is here at variance with Herodotus. He says<sup>5</sup>, that it

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 329, c.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. p. 325, κ.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. IX. iv. p. 718.

<sup>9</sup> Thucyd. III. lii. sub finem.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 14, κ.

<sup>2</sup> Homer. Iliad. XXIV. 765.

<sup>3</sup> Id. III. 156—158.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Didym. ad Hom. Il. iii. 242.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Theseo, p. 15, δ.

having by some means or other come to the knowledge of Academus, that Helen was concealed at Aphydnæ, he apprised the Dioscuri of it; that in recompense for this service, Castor and Pollux rendered him great honours during his life, and after his death, the Lacedæmonians, having made frequent incursions into Attica, and having entirely ravaged it, spared the Academy, from respect for Academus. The same Plutarch adds, that Dicæarchus relates, that in the army of the Tyndaridæ there were two Arcadians; the one Echedemus, who gave the name of Echedemia to the place now called 'Academia;' the other, Marathus, from whom the hamlet of Marathon took its name, in commemoration of his having voluntarily offered himself to be sacrificed at the head of the troops, in fulfilment of a certain oracle.

The Athenians<sup>6</sup>, alarmed at the fall of Aphydnæ, endeavoured to conciliate the Dioscuri, who did not oppose any very great difficulty. They demanded only to be initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. As none but Athenians were then admitted to these mysteries, Aphydnus adopted them for his sons, and they were initiated at Agræ, a place in the vicinity of Athens and near the Lyceum.

79. Τιτακός. *Titacus*. There was a village in Attica called Titacidæ<sup>7</sup>, which, no doubt, took its name from Titacns.

80. Πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι. *Many years*. The battle of Platea was fought 479 years before the vulgar era, in the second year of the 75th Olympiad; and the Peloponnesian war began in the spring of the year 431 before our era, the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is to say, nearly forty-eight years after the battle of Platea.

81. Δεκελῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. *Spared Decelea*. This must be understood of the first year of the Peloponnesian war, in which Archidamus<sup>8</sup> ravaged Attica, that is to say, of the second year of the 87th Olympiad, that war having begun in the preceding spring, that is to say, at the close of the first year of the same Olympiad. Those who refer this to the time when Agis, the son of Archidamus, took possession of Decelea, and fortified it, are in error; there being a wide difference between sparing a city, and fortifying it for a garrison town.

LXXV. 82. Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον. *Eurybates of Argos*. It was at Nemea<sup>9</sup> that he obtained the victory in the Pentathlon. Pausanias gives a similar account of his death. We must not mistake this Eurybates for the Eurybates who betrayed Croesus, and whose name became proverbial to signify a traitor. This latter was of Ephesus; the former of Argos.

83. Χρόνῳ ὕστερον. *Some time afterwards*. It must have been under the archontate of Lysicrates; that is to say, in the fourth year of the

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch. in *Theseo*, p. 15, F; 16, A.

<sup>7</sup> Suidas, voc. Τιτακίδαι.

<sup>8</sup> Thuoyd. II. xix. p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. I. xix. p. 71.

81st Olympiad, 453 years before our era, if we may depend on a fragment of a scholiast on Æschines, quoted by Dodwell<sup>1</sup>, who changes the word *Λεωγόρου* employed by the scholiast to *Λεάγρου*. If this correction be right, as it seems to be, Father Corsini is wrong<sup>2</sup> in dating his death in the 75th Olympiad. It is very likely that when he wrote his dissertation on the four principal games of Greece, he had not read the work of the learned Dodwell.

84. *Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος. Leagrus, son of Glaucan.* This Leagrus had a son<sup>3</sup> named after his father. Pausanias says<sup>4</sup> that Leagrus was the first in command over the troops who were cut to pieces by the Edonians. This battle took place in the year 4261 of the Julian period, 453 years before our era<sup>5</sup>.

His monument, as well as that of Sophanes of Decelea, stood near the road which led to the Academy.

LXXVI. 85. *Ὁ βασιλεὺς Σπάρτης. King of Sparta.* Cleomenes<sup>6</sup> having left no male children, the kingdom fell to Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Dorieus. Leonidas was killed at Thermopylae. After him, Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, governed in the capacity of guardian of Ristarchus, son of Leonidas. This woman styles him king, because he fulfilled the functions of royalty<sup>7</sup>.

LXXVIII. 86. *Λάμπων. Lampon.* This Lampon was of a family not less illustrious for the number of prizes they had obtained at the Isthmian and Nemean games, than for their descent. He was the son of Pytheas, who had obtained the prize of the Pancratiun at the Nemean games. There is an ode of Pindar in celebration of him; the fifth of the Nemean odes.

This Pytheas was son of another Lampon, and eldest brother<sup>8</sup> of Phylacides, who had distinguished himself at the Isthmian and Nemean games. Phylacides had obtained the prize<sup>9</sup> of the Pancratiun at the Nemean games<sup>10</sup>, and twice at the Isthmian games. The fifth and sixth Isthmics of Pindar are addressed to him.

Pytheas<sup>11</sup> was the grandson of Cleonicus. Euthymenes, his maternal uncle, had obtained several victories in the Pugilistic contest<sup>12</sup>. Themistius<sup>13</sup>, his maternal grandfather, had also distinguished himself at various games<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> De Cyclis, p. 742.

<sup>2</sup> Corsini Dissert. iv. Agonisticæ, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. I. lii. p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. I. xxix. p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Dodwell de Cyclis, p. 742.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. III. iv. pp. 213, 214.

<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. p. 214.

<sup>8</sup> Pindar. Isthm. vi. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Pindar. Isthm. v. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Id. ibid. 21.

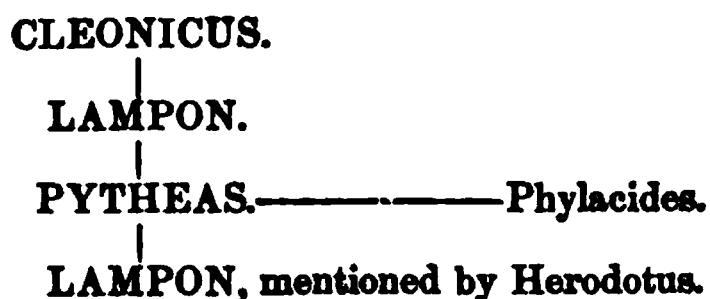
<sup>11</sup> Id. ibid. 71.

<sup>12</sup> Id. Nem. v. 75, &c. Isthm. vi. 85, 89, &c.

<sup>13</sup> Schol. Pindari ad Nem. v. 91.

<sup>14</sup> Pindar. Nem. v. 91, &c. Isthm. vi. 95.

Their genealogy is as follows :



LXXIX. 87. *Μήτε προσέλθης ἔμοιγε. Come no more near me.* Pausanias entirely altered his conduct in the sequel. He gave way to pomp and luxury, became proud, choleric, aspired to the tyranny, and wished to impose fetters on his country. This was the true cause of his death, and not that which has been assigned by a modern author<sup>6</sup>.

LXXX. 88. *Ἄτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν. As if it had been so much copper.* It is generally known that after the battle of Granson, the Swiss took the silver plate of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, for tin ; and the diamond of that prince, one of the finest which was then in Europe, was sold for a florin<sup>7</sup>.

LXXXI. 89. *Τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος. The golden tripod.* The chiefs<sup>8</sup> of the Phocians made use of it in the sacred war ; but the brazen serpent remained till the time of Pausanias. Gronovius, in his edition of Herodotus, gives an engraving of a serpent, which does not at all resemble the description given by that author. The Father of History describes it as a serpent with three heads. In Gronovius, we see three serpents twisted round each other. On the tripod was engraved the following inscription : " The saviours of Greece<sup>9</sup> have consecrated this tripod, after having delivered its cities from an odious slavery."

90. *Δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία. A Jupiter of bronze, ten cubits in height.* " This statue looked towards the east<sup>1</sup>. It was dedicated by all the nations of Greece who fought at Platea against the Persians commanded by Mardonius. In front of the pedestal, to the right, are engraved the names of the cities who took part in the action. The Lacedæmonians stand first, then the Athenians, then the Corinthians, afterwards the Sicyonians, and fifthly the Æginetæ. After the Æginetæ come the Megarians and the Epidaurians ; among the Arcadians, the Tegeans and the Orchomenians. After these are the Phliasii, the people of Trœzen, and of Hermione, &c."

91. *Ἐδόθη. Was given.* I shall here add some particulars, which I find in Plutarch.

" This battle<sup>2</sup> was fought on the 4th of the month Boëdromion

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. I. cxxviii. &c.

<sup>7</sup> Memoirs of Philippe de Comines, V. ii.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. X. xiii. p. 830.

<sup>9</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxxiii. vol. I. p. 430.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. V. xxiii. p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 330, F. The same author, in his life of Camillus,

(14th Sept.), according to the Athenian calendar, which answers to the 27th of the month Panemus of the Bœotians. On this day a general assembly of all Greece is held at Platea, and sacrifices are offered to Jupiter Eleutherius . . . . The Athenians, after the battle, would not yield the prize of valour to the Lacedæmonians, nor permit them to erect a trophy. These disputes having arisen whilst they had still their arms in their hands, were near occasioning the ruin of Greece, and doubtless would have done so, had not Aristides, by his remonstrances and advice, curbed the ardour of his colleagues, and especially that of Leocrates and of Myronides, persuading them at the same time to refer the decision to the Greeks. In the council held by the Greeks on this subject, Theogiton of Megaræ was for adjudging the prize of valour to some other city, as the only means of averting a civil war. Upon which, Theocritus of Corinth rose, and it was thought he was about to claim the prize for his countrymen, as Corinth occupied the next rank to Sparta and Athens; but he spoke in a very admirable manner, and so as to give universal satisfaction, in favour of the Plateans, and advised that the dispute should be terminated by adjudging to them the prize, considering that such decision could give umbrage to neither of the contending parties. Aristides was the first to approve this counsel on behalf of the Athenians, and after him Pausanias for the Lacedæmonians. When they had agreed, eighty talents<sup>3</sup> were set apart for the Plateans, with which they built the temple of Minerva, and adorned it with a statue of that goddess<sup>4</sup>, and with pictures that still preserve their freshness. The Lacedæmonians erected a trophy for themselves; and the Athenians another. As to the sacrifices, they interrogated the god of Delphi, who enjoined them to erect an altar to Jupiter Eleutherius, but not to sacrifice on it, till they had extinguished the fire throughout the country, because it had been polluted by the Barbarians, and till they should have kindled one more pure, which they were to take from Delphi, from the common fire-place. The Greek generals traversed the country, forcing every one to put out his fire, and Eucidas departed from Platea for Delphi, under a promise of returning with the sacred fire with all possible diligence. He first purified himself, sprinkled himself with holy water, crowned himself with laurel, took the sacred fire from the altar, and set off with the utmost expedition for Platea, where he arrived before sunset the same day, after having performed a journey of 1000 stadia. He saluted his fellow-citizens on presenting them with the fire, then instantly fell down, and expired. The Plateans took him up, and buried him in the temple of Diana

p. 138, B, and in his *Treatise de Gloria Atheniensium*, p. 349, F, says that this battle was fought on the third. It therefore becomes difficult to ascertain the true date; but the variation is slight and of little importance.

<sup>3</sup> About 18,000*l.* sterling.

<sup>4</sup> More than 550 years afterwards. For the battle of Platea was fought in the second year of the 75th Olympiad, that is to say, in 479, and Plutarch flourished about the end of the 1st century of our era.



Eucleia (of good fame), placing on his tomb the following inscription :  
 'Euchidas ran to Delphi, and returned hither the same day.'

"In regard to Eucleia, most people consider her to be Diana, and give this name to the goddess; but others think that she was the daughter of Hercules and of Myrto, daughter of Menætius and sister of Patroclus; and that having died a virgin, she was honoured by the Bœotians and the Locrians: for in all the public places (i. e. in the public place, or square, of each city of Greece) a statue and an altar have been erected to her, at which all persons who are about to be married previously offer sacrifice.

"In the general assembly of Greece, which was afterwards held, Aristides proposed and carried a decree: That there should be annually sent to Platea, from all Greece, deputies and Theori to deliberate together, and that every five years Eleutherian games should be celebrated there; that throughout Greece, there should be levied 10,000 infantry and 1000 horse, and that 100 vessels should be equipped for the war against the Barbarians; that the Plateans should be deemed inviolable and consecrated to the god, and should offer sacrifices for all Greece.

"This decree having been approved, the Plateans undertook annually to make sacrifices in honour of the Greeks killed in this battle. This custom still subsists, and is observed in the following manner. On the 16th of the month Mæmacterion (24th November), which answers to the month Alalcomenius of the Bœotians, at day-break, a procession takes place, preceded by a trumpet, sounding warlike notes. This trumpet is followed by chariots, loaded with crowns and branches of myrtle. After the chariots comes a black bull, and then the young people of free condition; for slaves are not permitted to take part at this festival, in honour of those who died in defence of liberty. These young people carry pitchers of wine and of milk for the libations, and phials of oil and perfumes. The procession is closed by the archon of the Plateans, who at no other time is permitted to touch iron, or to wear any other than a white robe; but at this ceremony he is clothed in purple, carries a sword in his girdle, and holds in his hands a vase taken from the public treasury, with which he traverses the city on his way to the tombs. He then fills the vase with water from a fountain, washes the columns that support the tombs, rubs them with perfumed oil, kills the bull upon the pile; and after having invoked Jupiter and Mercurius Infernus, he invites to this blood, and to this funeral repast, those brave men who died for Greece. He then mixes wine in a cup, and pours it on the ground, saying: I offer these libations to those valiant men who have shed their blood for the liberty of Greece. The Plateans still observe this ceremony."

Platea experienced great calamities. It was destroyed 52 years after this battle, 93 years after it had placed<sup>5</sup> itself under the protection of

<sup>5</sup> Thucyd. III. lxxviii.; Pausan. IX. i. p. 712.

the Athenians; in the 5th year of the Peloponnesian war, the second of the 88th Olympiad, 427 years before our era. It was restored.<sup>6</sup> at the peace of Antalcidas, in the 98th Olympiad, and again destroyed<sup>7</sup> in the third year of the 101st Olympiad; but Pausanias dates this unhappy event in the year following; under the archontate of Asteius, three years before the battle of Leuctra. Philip rebuilt it<sup>8</sup> after the battle of Chæronea, if we may rely on Pausanias. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander<sup>9</sup>, relates, that that prince wrote particularly to the Plateans to rebuild their city, because their ancestors had given up their country to the Greeks, that they might there fight for their liberty.

LXXXIII. 92. Οὐκ ἔχουσα ραφήν ἀνδεμίνην. *Without sutures.* "Aratus<sup>1</sup>, somewhere in his books on medicine, says: I have seen heads of this sort, on the top of which there was but a single line; and there are a great many without any suture." The bones of the sutures of the human skull are dentellated like combs, and close one into the other. "Ossa<sup>2</sup> . . . . serratis pectinatim structa compagibus." Hardouin, in a note on this passage of Pliny, relates, that the head of Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, surnamed the Achilles of Germany, born in 1414, had no sutures.

93. Ἐξ ἐνὸς ὀστέου. *Were of a single bone.* Pyrrhus<sup>3</sup>, king of Epirus, had also his teeth of one entire bone, though very distinct: it was the same with Euryphytes of Cyrene, and many others. "Prusiæ<sup>4</sup>, regis Bithyniæ, filius eodem nomine quo pater, pro superiori ordine dentium unum os æqualiter extentum habuit, nec ad speciem deforme, neque ad usum ullâ ex parte incommodum."

LXXXIV. 94: Διονυσόφανης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος. *Dionysophanes of Ephesus.* Pausanias partly agrees with Herodotus: "At the foot of Mount Cithæron<sup>5</sup>, in the territory of Platea," says he, "near the high road from Eleuthæræ to Platea, is seen a monument, which is said to be that of Mardonius. Every body is agreed that his body disappeared after the battle, but not so as to the name of the individual who granted him sepulture. It appears, however, that Artontes, son of Mardonius, made rich presents to Dionysophanes of Ephesus, and to some other Ionians, because they had performed the rites of burial for his father."

95. Ἐθαπτον τοὺς ἐωνιῶν, χωρὶς ἕκαστος. *Buried their dead, each nation their own people.* The Lacedæmonians and the Athenians had each a burial-place, the other Greeks one in common<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. i. p. 712.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 713; Diod. Sic. XV. xlv. p. 615. vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. ibid. p. 714.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch. in Alexand. p. 685, c.

<sup>1</sup> Jul. Pol. Onomast. II. iv. § xxxviii. vol. I. p. 171. Of Aratus; see Fabricius Biblioth. Græc. vol. XIII. p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XI. xxxvii. vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 615.

<sup>4</sup> Jul. Pol. Onomast. II. iv. § xciv. vol. I. p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> Valer. Maxim. I. viii. Extern. XII.

pp. 112, 113.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. IX. ii. p. 714.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 715.

LXXXV. 96. Ἱρένας. *The Irenes.* All the editions of Herodotus, and all the MSS. have τοὺς ἱρέας, 'the priests.' The Lacedæmonians, as well as the other Greeks, had in their army a soothsayer whose office it was to consult the entrails of the victims; but we do not find in any other passage of history, that the priests were found among the combatants, partaking the dangers inseparable from battles. M. Valckenaer has substituted for this word, which here had no meaning, Ἱρένας or Εἰρένας; a happy conjecture, as this word is found in the lexicon of the words used by Herodotus, as being in the ninth book of that author. Now there is certainly no other place where it could possibly be introduced: "The Lacedæmonians give the name of Irenes to those who have quitted the class of children two years, and that of Mellirenes to the oldest of the children. When the Iren (Εἶρην) has attained twenty years, he commands his cohort in the field'."

M. Valckenaer adds in his note, that some would perhaps prefer reading τοὺς ἱππείας, 'the horsemen,' or rather the knights, who composed a body of 300 chosen Spartans. But it does not appear that either Amopharetus<sup>7</sup>, who commanded the cohort of the Pitanaetæ, or Callicrates<sup>8</sup>, were of that order. Besides, the authority of the Lexicon of Herodotus, the author of which had certainly read Εἶρην in the ninth book, is of considerable weight.

LXXXVII. 97. Μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ. *Lest he should fill the measure of retribution.* We find, VI. xii. in the same sense, τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες, τὰδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν; 'what god have we offended, that we endure such sufferings?' See the Lexicon of Æmilius Portus, at the word ἀναπιμπλάναι. Pausanias has imitated this turn of expression, when he says, ἐν ᾧδου κακὰ ἀναπίμπλησι<sup>1</sup>, 'he suffers the pains of hell.'

LXXXVIII. 98. Παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. *The youths were not participators in the crime.* It would be a signal injustice to make children responsible for the crimes of their fathers. "Ferret<sup>2</sup> ne civitas ulla latorem istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquisset?"

This was a wise law, and was derived from the divine injunction. God says, in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 16). "The fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor the children for their fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin." Ezekiel likewise, xviii. 20. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. in Lycurgo, p. 50, κ.

<sup>8</sup> Herod. IX. lii.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. lxxi.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. X. xxviii. p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero de Nat. Deor. III. xxxviii.

LXXXIX. 99. Μακεδονίης. *Macedonia*. Demosthenes<sup>3</sup> attributes this defeat to the Macedonians. Had he then some means of information as to the events of that time, which were inaccessible to our historian? I am the more inclined to think that he is in error in this particular, as he says that Perdiccas was then king. Now it is certain that at this epoch Alexander was king of Macedonia.

XCI. 100. Εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίην, Θεοῦ ποιεῦντος. *Either by a stroke of fortune, which God directed*. This expression proves clearly, that our historian believed in Providence, and that in his time the Greeks had not erected altars to Fortune. That superstition originated in the East; all the nations were infected with it, and it had even crept in among the Hebrews. It is spoken of in Genesis, xxx. 11, under the name of Gad. A table was set out with different viands, in honour of this divinity, and libations were poured on it. "Et vos . . . qui ponitis Fortunæ mensam et libatis super eam," says Isaiah, lxxv. 11<sup>4</sup>. On this passage, see St. Jerome, who informs us that this custom was still observed in all the cities, and especially at Alexandria in Egypt. The Romans, who adopted the gods of the people they conquered, had not forgotten this blind divinity. We know the honours that were rendered to her at Antium, and at Præneste, where she had a magnificent temple.

101. Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον. *I accept the presage, the Hegesistratus*. This name signifies the conductor, or general of an army.

102. Δοῦς πίστιν . . . ἡ μὲν. *Giving the assurance that*. Ἡ μὴν, μὴ μὴν, is the formula usual in oaths, which either affirm or deny any thing; and I have therefore added the words, 'with an oath,' for the purpose of expressing the force of ἡ μὴν. The Ionians, according to the remark of Gregory of Corinth in his treatise on the Dialects, said ἡ μὲν, and μὴ μὲν, instead.

XCV. 103. Ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα. *He was an undertaker of oracles all over Greece*. The translators have not understood this passage, as has been very justly remarked by MM. Wesseling and Valckenaer. The ancients used to say of him who gave a work to any one to do, or who farmed or let a property to any one for money<sup>5</sup> ἐκδιδόναι or ἐργοδοτεῖν, and of him who undertook an employment for money, or who took any thing to farm, ἐργολαβεῖν. Φατέον<sup>6</sup>, δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐκδιδόντος ἔργον ὀτιοῦν, τὸ ἐργοδοτεῖν ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐργαζομένου, τὸ ἐργολαβεῖν. They also separate the words, as Herodotus has done; or even ἐκλαμβάνειν, taken absolutely, means the same thing.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. de Republ. ordinandâ, p. 120, E. ing unto that number."]

<sup>4</sup> [This is rendered in our version, "Ye are they . . . that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish a drink-offer-

<sup>5</sup> Jul. Poll. Onomast. VII. xxxiii. § clxxxii. vol. II. pp. 820, 821.

<sup>6</sup> Id. ibid. § cc. vol. II. p. 838.

Though this expression is not common, examples of it are to be found in various authors. M. Wesseling cites two from Plutarch, to which may be added the following from St. Basil': 'Ἀμπελῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶρηται, ὡς ὁ Κύριος παρέστησε διὰ τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβόντων μὲν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς μὴ ἀποδιδόντων. 'The kingdom of God is said to be a vine, as our Lord has observed in the parable of the labourers, who had taken a vineyard on hire, but had not paid the tribute.'

XCVI. 104. Πρὸς Καλάμοισι. *At Calami.* M. Wesseling, who perhaps had more important calls on his attention at the time, has left it to others to discover what this place was, which has been mentioned by no geographer. Alexis<sup>7</sup> of Samos relates, that there was in this island a temple of Venus, which was called by some 'Venus in the reeds,' ἐν Καλάμοις, and by others, 'Venus in the marshes:' τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἑλειατικοῖς. This passage attests beyond a doubt, that there was at Samos a place called Κάλαμοι, 'the reeds,' and consequently that we must substitute Καλάμοισι for Καλαμίσοισι, which is a very slight alteration.

XCVII. 105. Νείλεω τῷ Κόδρου. *Neleus the son of Codrus.* It is generally known that this prince, who devoted<sup>8</sup> himself for the salvation of his country, was the last king of Athens. A statue was erected to him<sup>1</sup> after the battle of Marathon, which was consecrated in the temple of Delphi. It was the work of Phidias. The Athenians, on his death, abolished the title of king; but the honours and authority pertaining to it were transferred to perpetual magistrates, denominated archons, the first of whom was Medon, son of Codrus. This dignity descended to his offspring, who were called Medontidæ. The last of these perpetual archons, a list of whom is given by Eusebius, was Alcmaeon. The people of Athens, who were daily increasing in power, would now be governed only by decennial archons, the first of whom was Charops, the son of Æschylus, the last perpetual archon but one. The fourth of these decennial archons was named Hippomenes, and was of the family of Codrus. Æschines, in his oration against Timarchus, applauds the barbarous manner in which this Hippomenes punished his daughter, who had been led into indiscretions by her partiality for a young man. "Our ancestors," says he<sup>2</sup>, "had such an abhorrence of infamy, and were so jealous of the morals of their children, that a citizen, finding that his daughter had suffered herself to be seduced, and had not preserved her virginity till her marriage, shut her up in an empty house with a horse, which, pressed by hunger, would naturally devour her. The site of this house is still seen in our city,

<sup>7</sup> Sancti Basil. Opera, vol. I. p. 612, D.

<sup>8</sup> Athen. Deipnos. XIII. iv. p. 572, F.

<sup>9</sup> Pausan. VII. xxv. p. 588.

<sup>1</sup> Id. X. x. p. 821.

<sup>2</sup> Æschines in Timarch. p. 288, E, F.

and is called the place of the horse and the girl." Suidas<sup>3</sup> informs us that this citizen, whose name is not mentioned by Æschines, was Hippomenes, of the family of Codrus. It should seem, however, that the people of Athens formed a more correct judgment of this action than Æschines. Disgusted at the cruelty of Hippomenes, they deposed him, if we may believe the account given by Suidas, under the word Ἰππομένης.

XCVIII. 106. Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀποβάθρας. *Having disposed the ladders.* This was a species of bridge, made with cordage, which was lowered down to the shore, for the purpose of getting out of the ship; it was used likewise for embarking. When all the passengers were on board, it was drawn into the ship. Julius Pollux, speaking of the different parts of the tackle of a ship, has not omitted it<sup>4</sup>: ἀποβάθρα, καὶ διαβάθρα, ἦν σκάλαν καλοῦσιν. Σκάλα is a Latin term, many of which are to be found in the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux.

C. 107. Τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων. *That which happens by God's permission.* It is almost superfluous here to point out the superstition of the writer. Diodorus Siculus shows much more sense when he says<sup>5</sup> that Leotychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Platea, but devised this stratagem to encourage their troops. Polyænus<sup>6</sup> also considers it as a *ruse de guerre*.

CI. 108. Περὶ δειλὴν. *The afternoon.* This does not mean the evening, as the Latin translator has rendered it, but the afternoon. Hesychius very justly says<sup>7</sup>, Δειλὴν ὀψίαν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μέχρι δύσεως. Δειλὴ signifies the time from noon till sun-set.

CII. 109. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι . . . μέχρι κοῦ τῶν ἡμισίων. *The Athenians . . . who constituted one half of the army.* They were commanded<sup>8</sup> by Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, archon Eponymus. Leotychides, king of the Lacedæmonians, of the second branch, supported him in the battle of Mycale. Mycale is a mountain of Caria, and the name of a province full of woods and hedges, celebrated for the important victory obtained by the Greeks over the Persians.

CV. 110. Ἑρμόλυκος. *Hermolycus.* A statue<sup>9</sup> was erected to him in the citadel at Athens.

111. Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι. *Between the Athenians and the Carystians.* Thucydides<sup>1</sup> briefly mentions this war. "The

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, voc. Πάριππον καὶ Κόρη.

<sup>4</sup> Jul. Pollucis Onomast. I. xciii. p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. XI. xxxv. vol. I. p. 431.

<sup>6</sup> Strategem. I. xxiii. p. 60.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. voc. Δειλὴν ὀψίαν, vol. I.

p. 997. post. Δίλαξ.

<sup>8</sup> Pausan. III. vii. p. 221.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. I. xxiii. p. 56.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. I. xcvi. p. 64.

Athenians had also a war with the Carystians, in which the rest of Eubœa took no part. It was finally terminated by a treaty." This historian dates that war after the taking of Eion on the Strymon, and of the island of Scyros, and before the reduction of the island of Naxos. From these data, Dodwell<sup>2</sup> fixes it in the second year of the 78th Olympiad, under the archontate of Lysistratus, which answers to the year 467 before our era, and the year 4247 of the Julian period.

CVIII. 112. Οἱ προσπέμποντι. *He caused her to be solicited.* This verb is applied to those whom a man sends to a woman to solicit her in favour of his passion. See the Lexicon of Phavorinus, at the word ἐπιπέμπειν, p. 209, and M. Hemsterhuis on the Ephesiacs of Xenophon of Ephesus<sup>3</sup>.

CIX. 113. Ἀμηστρίς. *Amestris.* Many critics, and among them Scaliger<sup>4</sup>, contend that this princess and queen Esther are the same. A mere conformity of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives several examples, and the severe though just manner in which Esther treated the ten children of Haman and the enemies of the Jews, have given rise to this conjecture. But Esther was of Jewish descent, and Amestris was of a Persian family. The father of the latter was a satrap, and according to Ctesias<sup>5</sup> was named Onophas, and according to Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, Otanes. If a mere similarity of name could decide the point, Esther might as well be said to be the same with Atossa, the wife of Darius; for she was likewise called Haadassa. But it does not appear to me that we should thence conclude that Darius is the same with Ahasuerus.

114. Τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἄλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. *Which no one should command but herself.* Evelthon, king of Cyprus, was wiser. He granted Pheretima any thing in the world rather than an army. See IV. clxii.

CX. 115. Ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. *On the king's birth-day.* Ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς is an expression parallel to the following of our historian<sup>7</sup>: Ἡμέρην . . . . μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμῶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκάστος ἐγένετο. 'Every one has a custom of particularly celebrating his birth-day.' M. Bellanger also adduces this passage from Plato<sup>8</sup>: Βασιλέως γενέθλια πᾶσα θύει καὶ ἐορτάζει ἢ Ἀσία. 'All Asia celebrates with sacrifices and banquets the day of the king's birth.'

The banquet given by the king of Persia to the grandees of his kingdom, was called in the Persian language 'Tycta.' This word [Tukht], according to Scaliger<sup>9</sup>, signifies the throne. Hence, we may readily

<sup>2</sup> Annal. Thucyd. pp. 74, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Miscell. Observ. Novis. vol. III. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Emendat. Temp. VI.

<sup>5</sup> Ctesias in Persicis, vid. Phot. Cod. lxxii. p. 116, lin. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. VII. xi.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. I. cxxxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Plat. Alcibiad. I. vol. II. p. 121, g.

<sup>9</sup> Scalig. Canon. Isagog. III. p. 260.



conjecture that this festival was celebrated on the anniversary of his accession. Such was the opinion of the learned Reland, as we gather from M. Wesseling. But the passages above quoted prove, in my opinion, that it took place on the anniversary of the prince's birth, and this was M. Wesseling's own opinion. However, it is possible that there were two royal festivals in which the king refused no boon that was asked, the one on his birth-day, the other on the anniversary of his accession, and that both these festivals were called by the same name.

CXI. 116. Σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ, πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος. *Do me no violence, as nothing constrains you to it.* In the Greek, 'Do me no violence, as if it were necessary you should do such a thing;' that is to say, as if it were necessary that I should put away my wife, and marry your daughter.

CXVI. 117. Ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σήν. *On your own territory.* The Persians looked upon Asia, not only as belonging to them, but as having always belonged to them; perhaps because they considered themselves to have succeeded to the rights of the princes whom they conquered. We have seen, VII. xi. Xerxes assert, that Pelops the Phrygian had been the slave of his ancestors, though Phrygia was not under the dominion of the Medes when the Persians conquered Media; nor had it ever been so previously: at least such is the opinion of Herodotus.

If we may rely on Plato<sup>1</sup>, however, the whole of Asia had been subject to the Assyrians. The Medes succeeded the Assyrians, and the Persians the Medes. Hence the pretensions of the Persians. So infatuated were they on this point, that Artaxerxes, who conquered the Parthians in three pitched battles, and restored the empire of Persia in the east, in the year 233 of our era, "made incursions into Mesopotamia, threatened Syria, and wished to recover to the Persian empire all the continent opposite to Europe, and which is separated from it by the Ægean sea and the strait of the Propontis, indeed, the whole of Asia, as being the patrimony of his ancestors, which he was entitled to possess<sup>2</sup>."

CXIX. 118. Πλειστῶρψ θεῶ. *The god Plistorus.* This divinity, as barbarous as the people who adored him, is utterly unknown. The sacrifices offered to him induce me to believe that he was the god of war, whom the Thracians represented under the form of a sword<sup>3</sup>. The Scythians slaughtered the hundredth part of their prisoners over a vase, and sprinkled this sword with the blood. The same custom obtained with the Huns. "Nec<sup>4</sup> templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum . . . . sed

<sup>1</sup> Plato de Legibus, III. vol. II. p. 685, D.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian. VI. vi. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. IV. lxii.

<sup>4</sup> Amm. Marcell. XXXI. ii. p. 478.

gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem . . . . . colunt." The Cilicians offered to the god of war a worship equally barbarous. They suspended<sup>5</sup> the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and from a certain distance killed it, by throwing darts at it. When they struck the victim, they considered that the god accepted the sacrifice.

CXX. 119. Ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον. *They leaped and palpitated.* The good<sup>6</sup> archbishop of Thessalonica, in his commentaries on Homer, relates this story with the view of supporting another which Ulysses tells the Phæacians, as if one fable could justify another.

120. Τῷ Πρωτεσίλει τιμωρόντες. *Avenging Protesilaus.* This hero was the son of Iphiclus. He reigned in Phthiotis, near Thebes, over the people of Phylace<sup>7</sup>, of Antron, of Pteleum, of Pyrrhasus, and of Iton. On the arrival of the Greeks at Troy, he was the first that landed: and was immediately killed by a Dardanian. He was buried at Eleontum in the Chersonesus, opposite the city of Troy. A chapel was afterwards erected to this hero on the place of his interment. "Sunt<sup>8</sup> Protesilai ossa consecrata delubro." There was likewise, near this chapel, a grove of trees consecrated to him. From the time of Protesilaus to that of Pliny, as soon as the branches of these trees reached such a height that the city of Troy could be seen from them, they withered and budded afresh, alternately. "Sunt<sup>9</sup> hodie ex adverso Iliensium urbis juxta Hellespontum in Protesilai sepulchro arbores, quæ omnibus ex eo ævis cum in tantum accrevire ut Ilium adspiciant, inarescunt, rursusque adolescent." Thus Salmasius<sup>1</sup> corrected this passage; and Vossius<sup>2</sup> found it so written in a MS. I see no reason why Father Hardouin should suppress 'ex eo,' as he was acquainted not only with the correction of Salmasius, but was aware that it was so written in the MS. of Vossius. We find the same idea conveyed in an epigram of Philip of Thessalonica, who lived under Augustus<sup>3</sup>: "Illustrious Protesilaus, thou first taughtest Troy to feel the weight of Grecian arms, and the trees which grow around thy tomb shoot forth anger against Ilium: for no sooner can it be perceived over their branches, than these branches wither and lose the ornament of their foliage. Great must have been thy wrath against Troy, since even thy trees are still irritated at the sight of it."

121. Καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ νόος ἔφερε. *And the inclination of the general leaned the same way.* Let men deplore as deeply as they will the fatal effects of superstition; let them dilate on the

<sup>5</sup> Xenoph. Ephes. de Amoribus Anthæ et Abrocomæ, II. pp. 35, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Eustath. Comment. ad Odyss. XII. vol. III. p. 1728, lin. 34, et s.

<sup>7</sup> Homeri Iliad. II. 695, et s.

<sup>8</sup> Pompon. Mela. II. ii. p. 144; Plin. Hist. Nat. IV. xi. vol. I. p. 207, lin. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. XVI. x. vol. II. p. 40, lin. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Plinianæ Exerc. in Solinum, p. 610, col. 2, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Pomp. Mela, vol. II. p. 684.

<sup>3</sup> Analect. Vet. Poet. Græc. vol. II. p. 233.

injustice, the atrocities to which the paroxysms of this disorder have incited men the most upright and humane, and I will coincide with them : but I must at the same time profess my conviction, that temples and other monuments raised by the piety of nations in honour of the Deity should be respected ; and that Artayctes must have been a monster, thus outrageously to scoff at the received religion of the country.

CXXII. 122. Φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι. *Soft climates generally produce soft men.* The father of medicine confirms the statement of Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate part of Asia possesses over Greece, he adds, that the men of that country<sup>4</sup> are not naturally bold or courageous, and that they do not voluntarily endure fatigue or labour. This opinion moreover is confirmed by experience. Greece conquered Asia, the Romans overcame both Greece and Asia ; and though they subdued likewise the Gauls, the Germans, and other northern nations, it was because those people were undisciplined and ignorant of the art of war. When they attained this science, they in their turn became masters of the world, and dismembered the Roman empire. The Franks conquered the Gauls, the Lombards Italy, and the Visigoths Spain. In a word, the inhabitants of the north have always overcome those of the south.

This is a truth which has been more or less developed by some of the most illustrious writers of antiquity. See the notes of Wesseling and Valckenaer on this passage of Herodotus, and especially Gataker ad Marcum Antoninum (IV. xxxix. p. 123), where, among other curious passages, he cites one from Polybius, which strikingly confirms this observation. That judicious historian, attempting to account for the inflexible character of the Arcadians, thus expresses himself<sup>5</sup>: "The cold and gloomy climate of the greater part of the Arcadian provinces gives to its inhabitants a severe character, because it is natural that we should resemble the climate in which we dwell. For such is the cause, and we need seek for no other, of the variety we observe in different nations ; so that those who are most remote from each other, generally differ most widely in their manners, form, colour, and political institutions."

The President Montesquieu, who had deeply reflected on the nature of man and his institutions, and who had convinced himself in his travels, both by observation and reading, of the influence of climate on national character, was so deeply impressed with the truth of this maxim, that he has devoted several books of his ' *Esprit des Loix* ' to prove it.

<sup>4</sup> Hippocr. de Aeribus, &c. xxxiii. vol. I. p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. Hister. IV. xxxi.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

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II. cvi. Notes 284, 285. Several Egyptian monuments commemorating the expedition of Sesostris have in fact been discovered in Syria. The sculptured rock at Nahr el Kelb was first made known a few years ago by Mr. Bonomi. It has been more recently visited by Count de Bertou, who also found some similar monuments at Adelún, about three hours north of Tyre. This traveller says<sup>1</sup>; "I remembered that it was on the rocks of the Necropolis of Adelún they had been seen, and I rode thither with the hope of finding both these emblems and some monuments of Egyptian workmanship, which might attest their origin: at 4 o'clock in the afternoon I arrived at the monument described by Herodotus. I visited the whole of the Necropolis with great care, without finding any other sculptures than that alluded to. I may remark that the frame of this monument differs entirely from those of Nahr el Kelb, and does not bear, as they do, the emblem of a winged globe. Although the inscription on the above monument is very indistinct, I can affirm that it is written hieroglyphics<sup>2</sup> . . . . . I sought in vain for the allegorical images seen by Herodotus (*αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς*<sup>3</sup>), but I have just learned that those of which I had been informed, exist at a small distance (towards the south) beyond the place where I discovered the Egyptian Stele, and that they cover the sides of a small temple cut in the rock, and in which is still seen an altar and an inscription, in Greek characters, probably the dedication of the temple to Venus."

The monument situate between Sardis and Smyrna was seen some years back by the Rev. G. C. Renouard<sup>4</sup>, but so intense was the heat on the bare mountain at the time, the sun's rays being reflected from perpendicular cliffs, that a minute examination of the sculpture was impossible. He left it with the impression that it was not Egyptian. It has been recently visited and described by Professor Welcker<sup>5</sup>. It is cut in low relief on the smooth surface of a perpendicular wall of

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc. 1839, vol. IX. p. 293. The name of Sesostris has been read on one of these sculptures. Annali del Instit. di Corresp. Archæol. vol. X. p. 12. 1838.

<sup>2</sup> By "written hieroglyphics" we are probably to understand the Hieratic character.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. II. cii.

<sup>4</sup> Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Art. Natolia, p. 435, Note.

<sup>5</sup> Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, &c. II. p. 430. The Classical Museum, No. 2, contains an interesting discussion respecting the origin of this monument.

rock on the road side. The warrior represented holds a lance in his left hand (not in the right as Herodotus says), and in his right a bow. The height of the figure is 2·30 mètres or 7 feet 8 inches, which differs not above an inch from the measure of four cubits and a half assigned by Herodotus, supposing the cubit understood to be the royal or Babylonian cubit, which nearly coincides with that of Egypt. The details of the figure have been effaced by time, and no trace remains of an inscription. The monument which, according to Herodotus, was on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, remains still to be discovered.

II. cxlix. While the preceding pages were in the press, some discoveries made in Egypt have thrown a new and unexpected light on a very obscure passage of our author. The description which Herodotus gives of Lake Moëris has been hitherto inexplicable. He tells us that Lake Moëris was a most wonderful work of art; more admirable even than the pyramids; that it had a circumference of 3600 stades; that it was connected with the Nile by a canal, the water flowing into it one half of the year, and flowing out the other half; that its general direction was north and south, yet that it made an angle towards the west, and extended behind the mountain which was above Memphis. From all this it is evident that Lake Moëris was constructed with a view to utility, receiving the redundant waters of the Nile, and thus moderating the inundation during the floods, and then again affording a large supply for irrigation when the river subsided.

Larcher's hypothesis, that by Lake Moëris we must understand the Bahr Yusef or Canal of Joseph, is obviously untenable. Why should we suppose the historian to give the denomination of lake to a canal fifty yards wide, and to state its circumference instead of its length? How could he say that the canal of Joseph turned westward into the interior, and was supposed to flow through Libya into the Syrtis? Besides, Herodotus states that the *lake* was filled by a *canal* (διώρυξ), from the Nile. He likewise mentions that Crocodilopolis stood on its shore, and that in the midst of it (that is, completely surrounded by its waters) were two pyramids,—circumstances quite inapplicable to the Canal of Joseph.

Again, the opinion of Pococke, which has been embraced by Belzoni and many recent travellers, that the Birket el Keïrún must be considered as the lake of Moëris, is in like manner open to decisive objections. For the Birket el Keïrún is situate far from the ruins of Crocodilopolis and the Labyrinth; it does not extend from south to north, but from west by south to east by north; it is not artificial, and could never have served for the purposes ascribed by Herodotus to the lake of Moëris.

This last point has been fully established by M. Linant de Bellefonds, in a Memoir presented by him to the Egyptian Society, and recently

printed in Alexandria<sup>6</sup>. That gentleman, who fills, as an engineer, a high post, in the service of the Pasha of Egypt, has had the amplest opportunities of examining that country. His surveys of Fayúm soon convinced him, that the Birket el Keírún could not have been the lake of Moëris, and that the site of this latter lake ought to be looked for in the highest part of the valley. But he discerned the true nature of the problem involved in this investigation long before he arrived at its solution.

The province of Fayúm (Ph-ïom, the water or sea, in Coptic) is situate within the Libyan hills, the opening to it on the east being about six miles from the Nile. It is watered by the Bahr Yusef or canal of Joseph, the elevation of which, where it receives its waters from the Nile, 180 miles distant, is forty-six mètres (150 English feet) above its level at Awarat el Macta, at the entrance to Fayúm, where its channel is cut in the rock. Fayúm presents three terraces of different elevations. The first and highest occupies the eastern portion of the valley, and receives the Bahr Yusef. The second terrace, seven mètres lower, encompasses the first on the west and north, and beyond this terrace is the hollow, in the deepest part of which, towards the north-west, lies the Birket el Keírún. The surface of this lake is twenty mètres below the second terrace. If we suppose the Birket el Keírún, therefore, to have formerly extended to the limits of the second terrace, so as to cover three times its present area, and to have a depth of twenty-four mètres instead of four, it still could not have flowed out by the Bahr Yusef, the level of which, at Awarat el Macta, where it is cut through the rock, cannot have undergone any change. In order that the Birket el Keírún might flow into the Nile, it would require to be raised twenty-seven mètres (88 feet), or to the level of the first terrace. But the supposition that it has ever stood at that height, is wholly inadmissible. The second terrace offers, in soil and superficial configuration, no symptom of its having been ever covered with water. The first or highest terrace, on the other hand, has evidently been formed by the deposition of sediment on a portion of the second terrace. The character of the ground being thus explained, we shall give M. Linant's account of his discovery of the site of the lake of Moëris in his own words.

"I had often travelled," he says, "from Fayúm to Zawiet el Masloub, on the banks of the Nile, my head being filled with the idea that Lake Moëris ought to be looked for in the highest part of Fayúm, and yet could never arrive at a satisfactory conception of the matter, when at last a circumstance almost purely accidental gave precision and fixedness to a thought which had long floated vaguely in my mind.

"I chanced to stop in the ravine of the Bahr bela Ma, near Sellé, and was enjoying the pleasure, in those countries so rare, of being

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoire sur le Lac Moëris, par Linant de Bellefonds, &c. &c. Alexandrie, 1843.*



seated on fresh turf at the margin of a flowing stream. I was looking round at the sloping banks of the Bahr bela Ma. At the top of these steep slopes I perceived, above the layers of stone and clay, the transverse section of a mound, and this on both sides of the ravine. These two sections were at right angles with the direction of the road, and I recollected that the road led to a height which fell deeper on the north side than on the south. To confirm this, I immediately climbed the slope of the ravine, and found myself in effect on an elevated tract where the road was. I then saw distinctly, that it was an immense dyke, made by men's hands, and continuing in a very straight line from El Edona to a point a little east of the ruins which are met with on the banks of the ancient canal of Warden. The dimensions of this dyke, its condition, its materials, in which there is little earth but a great deal of flint and gravel, awakened in me the suspicion that it was a very ancient work, and belonged probably to Lake Moëris. Being desirous of verifying this supposition, I recommenced tracing the dyke from its eastern extremity. It lay in a tolerably straight line as far as El Edona, and from that point to El Ellam. The ground on the south was two mètres lower than the dyke, and on the north, eight or nine mètres, this difference of level being attributable to the deposition of mud in the interior where the dyke served to confine the water. The breadth of the dyke cannot be measured with accuracy, owing to its very easy slope towards the interior, but it may be estimated at sixty mètres.

“At the village of El Ellam this remarkable structure disappears, having been probably washed away at this point by the waters breaking through it. Similar gaps are found at other points also, yet the frequent traces of this great work are seen in so many places, that there is no difficulty in conceiving them joined so as to form a continuous line. Thus, I met with it in the neighbourhood of Biamo, towards the north-west, and on the west of the two stone structures which have been taken for the pedestals of statues. Thence, going towards the south-west, between the village of Zawiet and the ruins of Crocodiopolis, I perceived the remains of some portions of the dyke extending towards the ruins. I saw it again south-east of Medinet, and suppose that it must have passed by Ebgig, and thence to Attamné. After that I found it constructed of good masonry near Miniet el Heït, where it crossed the Bahr Neslet, and so on to Chidimo; thence to Lake Garac, where it terminates in the desert. In this latter part it was not of masonry. According to the traditions of the country this dyke was the work of the Pharaohs.

“Let a line be now drawn, starting from the beginning of the dyke south-east of Sellé, continuing as I have just pointed out as far as the lake of Garac, thence returning northward along the desert by Sheik Ahmed, an important point, because we there see on the edge of the desert the line of level of the waters at a height which it never attains nowadays. Let this line be continued so as to pass by Calamchâ,



Deir, turning to Dimishquine upon the right, following the dyke of Pillawan, and passing on to Awarat Equilan; thence proceeding to the bridge of Illahún, going north-westward by the dyke of Guedalla, returning to the west by Awarat el Macta, and from that point regaining by Demo its point of departure at Sellé. The whole extent of country inclosed by this line is, in my opinion, the site of Lake Moëris.

“The area of this tract, which is about 405,479,000 square mètres (156 square miles), falls short of the dimensions assigned to the lake by Herodotus. But since the position of Lake Moëris, as I give it, satisfies every other condition, particularly the object of utility, we need not stop for the purpose of seeking, in regard to its dimensions, an exactness which we never find in measurements transmitted by the ancients.”

M. Linant having thus established, in a very satisfactory manner, the site of Lake Moëris, proceeds to show that in its proximity to the ruins of Crocodilopolis, and to the Labyrinth, it accords with the account given of it by Herodotus. He also demonstrates perfectly that the two structures, hitherto supposed to have been the pedestals of statues, are in reality the remains of pyramids,—the very pyramids which Herodotus describes as standing in the lake. In respect of measures, indeed, the Greek historian exaggerates enormously. He did not see probably the northern boundary of the lake, and thus was at liberty to imagine it to be co-extensive with the Lybian hills, the eastern face of which he had seen in his journey from Memphis. In conclusion we may remark, that the cause of the great fertility of Fayúm is now fully explained; its soil is the fine sediment deposited by Lake Moëris. When in consequence of neglect and dilapidation, the dykes gave way and the waters were drained off, the Egyptians naturally gave to the cultivable land thus acquired the appellation of Ph-iom, or the Lake.

It is not yet too late to offer a suggestion respecting the difficult passage in I. 1. in which Herodotus describes the hemiplinths of gold made by order of Croesus. In the additional remarks on that passage (note 86) it has been argued that Valckenaer, in venturing to amend the text, escaped from one absurdity only to fall into another. Subsequent meditation, however, has led to a hypothesis, which, while it confirms that great man's conjecture, seems to go far towards removing all difficulty. The hemiplinths of Herodotus seem to have been considered by all his commentators as being rectangular solids. Why then were they not called at once plinths or bricks? Now if we suppose them to have been the wedge-shaped *halves* of the plinths, of which the historian gives the three dimensions, so as to have resembled in form our ingots, we recognize at once the propriety of their denomination, and we reduce them to the weight of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  talents; which, allowance being made for the inaccuracy of round numbers, both as relates to size and weight, and also for some impurity in the gold, is not wholly irreconcilable with the statement of our historian as amended by Valckenaer.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	B. C.
THEOCRACY established in Egypt.	
The High Priests of the eight most ancient Deities govern the country. It is unknown when they began to reign.	
The High Priests of the twelve succeeding Deities possess themselves of the chief power about . . . . .	17570
The High Priests of the Deities of the third order succeed them. That of Osiris begins to reign about . . . . .	15570
That of Orus dispossesses him. Time unknown.	
Theocracy abolished. Menes, 1st king of Egypt, reigns 62 years, according to Eratosthenes, ( <i>Syncelli Chronographia</i> , p. 91.) . . . . .	12356
His son Maneros dies young . . . . .	12340
Three hundred and thirty kings succeed Menes. The last is Mœris. They begin to reign . . . . .	12294
Foundation of Tyre, according to the Tyrians . . . . .	2760
All these events being necessarily posterior to the Deluge, which happened 2328 B. C., we must conclude that the Egyptian priests related to Herodotus fables concerning the antiquity of their nation.	
The Deluge . . . . .	2328
Commencement of the Assyrian Empire, according to Ctesias . . . . .	2107
————— According to Diodorus Sic. II. 28. and Æmilius Sura. ( <i>Vell. Paternulus</i> , VI.) . . . . .	2057
————— According to Castor ( <i>Syncell. Chronograph.</i> p. 205.) . . . . .	2027
Inachus, first king of Argos, born . . . . .	2011
Pelasgus reigns in Arcadia . . . . .	1904
Earthquake which separated Ossa from Olympus, and, by making a passage for the waters, rendered Thessaly habitable	1885
Mycenæ founded . . . . .	1884
Pelasgus, king of the country afterwards called Arcadia, passes into Thessaly . . . . .	1884
The Peloria instituted in Thessaly . . . . .	1882
Argus reigns over Argolis . . . . .	1866
Ninus first king of the Assyrians . . . . .	1817
Ogyges reigns in Attica and Bœotia . . . . .	1796
Rape of Io by the Phœnicians . . . . .	1745
Pelasgus, son of Neptune and Larissa, passes into Thessaly with his brothers Achæus and Phthius, and expels the inhabitants, six generations after Pelasgus, king of Arcadia . . . . .	1727

	B. C.
Birth of Moses . . . . .	1611
Cadmus born . . . . .	1590
Deucalion born . . . . .	1573
Cecrops, first king of Athens . . . . .	1570
The daughters of Danaus institute the Thesmophoria . . . . .	1568
Rape of Europa . . . . .	1552
Thasos and Callistas (afterwards called Thera) colonized . . . . .	1550
Birth of Minos I. king of Crete . . . . .	1548
Deucalion passes into Thessaly, with the Leleges and Curetes, afterwards called Locrians and Ætolians, and expels the Pelasgians. Dion. Hal. I. 17 . . . . .	1541
The greater part of the Pelasgians retire to Dodona. Dion. Hal. I. xviii. . . . .	1540
Some Pelasgians go to Crete, others to Lesbos . . . . .	1540
The Pelasgians who had retired to Dodona, finding themselves a burden to the natives, settle in the country afterwards called Tyrrhenia . . . . .	1539
Iron, its use discovered (Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 401) . . . . .	1537
The Bœotians settle in Thessaly, near Arne and Iolchos . . . . .	1535
Hellen born . . . . .	1523
Amphictyon, third king of Athens . . . . .	1510
Origin of the Scythians, according to their own account . . . . .	1508
Dorus, son of Hellen, born . . . . .	1470
Erechtheus, king of Athens . . . . .	1431
Ion, son of Xuthus, born . . . . .	1427
Mœris, the last of the 330 kings of Egypt, according to Vecchieti . . . . .	1424
Troy founded . . . . .	1423
Institution of the Eleusinian Mysteries . . . . .	1404
Dædalus, grandson of Erechtheus, born . . . . .	1400
Ion goes into Asia and makes some weak settlements . . . . .	1391
Ion returns into Ægialea . . . . .	1388
Sisyphus, son of Æolus, and afterwards king of Corinth, born . . . . .	1385
Hercules, son of Amphitryon, born . . . . .	1384
Orpheus born . . . . .	1382
Archandar and Architeles, sons of Achæus, leave Phthiotis, go to Argos, and each marries a daughter of Danaus . . . . .	1374
Foundation of Zancle by the Siculi . . . . .	1369
Pelops arrives in Greece and gets possession of Pisa and Elis . . . . .	1362
Sesostris, king of Egypt . . . . .	1356
Œdipus ascends the throne of Thebes . . . . .	1354
Origin of the Scythians, according to the Greeks of Pontus . . . . .	1354
The Cretans, under Minos II. lay siege to Camicos in Sicily . . . . .	1351
Expedition of the Argonauts ; Rape of Medea . . . . .	1350
Nestor, son of Æolus, born . . . . .	1346
Theseus, born . . . . .	1346
Cretans colonize the southern point of Italy . . . . .	1346
Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, settles in Italy, and gives his name to the country . . . . .	1344
Musæus the poet . . . . .	1342
Evander leads Arcadians into Italy . . . . .	1330
Apotheosis of Hercules . . . . .	1323

	B. C.
Theseus, king of Athens . . . . .	1322
The Heraclidæ put themselves under the protection of Theseus	1321
Œdipus dies in Athens . . . . .	1317
Pheron, king of Egypt . . . . .	1312
Theseus marches against Eurystheus with Hyllus, son of Hercules. Eurystheus is defeated and slain by Hyllus . . .	1311
Hyllus quits the Peloponnesus on account of a pestilence . .	1310
Helen born . . . . .	1306
Theseus carries off Helen . . . . .	1296
Proteus, king of Egypt . . . . .	1294
Hyllus killed by Echemus of Tegea . . . . .	1290
Rape of Helen by Paris . . . . .	1290
Cimmerjans invade Asia Minor . . . . .	1284
Orestes born . . . . .	1283
Siege of Troy formed by the Greeks . . . . .	1280
Taking of Troy, May 23rd . . . . .	1270
The Assyrians masters of Higher Asia . . . . .	1267
The Areopagus acquit Orestes of matricide . . . . .	1262
Birth of Pan . . . . .	1220
The third attempt of the Heraclidæ to recover the Peloponnesus under Cleodæus, son of Hyllus . . . . .	1245
Rhampsinitus, king of Egypt . . . . .	1244
End of the dynasty of the Atyadæ, kings of Lydia: the commencement is unknown. Commencement of the dynasty of the Heraclidæ. Agron the first of that dynasty . . . .	1220
Birth of Theras, son of Autesion: he was the tenth descendant from Cadmus . . . . .	1214
Æolian emigration under Orestes . . . . .	1210
The fourth attempt of the Heraclidæ under Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus. Aristomachus is slain, and leaves three sons under age, Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes . . .	1210
The Bœotians return into Bœotia. Thucyd. I. 12 . . . .	1210
The Pelasgians who had settled in Tyrrhenia, are expelled by the natives and go to Attica . . . . .	1209
The Pelasgians who had entered Bœotia, join the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians in Attica . . . . .	1207
The Pelasgians build the Pelasgic wall for the Athenians . .	1192
Conquest of the Peloponnesus by Aristodemus, Cresphontes, and Temenus . . . . .	1190
The Achæans, driven by the Heraclidæ, take refuge in Ægialea, afterwards called Achæa, then possessed by the Ionians . .	1189
Second Æolian emigration under Penthilus . . . . .	1189
Death of Aristodemus: he leaves the crown of Lacedæmon to his two infant sons, Procles and Eurysthenes; Theras, son of Autesion, their maternal uncle, is their guardian . . .	1178
Cheops, king of Egypt . . . . .	1178
Third Æolian emigration led by Echelatus . . . . .	1174
The Pelasgians are expelled from Attica by the Athenians, and conquer Lemnos . . . . .	1162
The Minyæ, driven from Lemnos by the Pelasgians, fly to Lacedæmon . . . . .	1160
Aletes, of the Heraclidæ, king of Corinth . . . . .	1160

	B. C.
Codrus, last king of Athens . . . . .	1153
The Pelasgians carry off Athenian women from Brauron . . . . .	1152
Colonization of the island Callista, afterwards called Thera, by Theras and some of the Minyæ . . . . .	1150
Foundation of Leprium, Macistus, Phrixa, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium in Triphylia, by the Minyæ . . . . .	1149
The Pelasgians of Lemnos put to death the children they had by the Athenian women, and also the mothers themselves . . . . .	1139
Self-devotion of Codrus, the last king of Athens . . . . .	1132
Ionic migration, according to Apollodorus and Eratosthenes. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 388, and 402 . . . . .	1130
Chephren, king of Egypt . . . . .	1128
Smyrna founded . . . . .	1102
Homer, born . . . . .	1102
Birth of the first known ancestor of the historian Hecataeus of Miletus . . . . .	1082
Mycerinus, king of Egypt . . . . .	1072
The Siculi drive the Sicanians from Sicily, three ages before the establishment of the Greeks in Sicily. Thucyd. VI. 2 . . . . .	1059
Zancla, afterwards called Messana, founded by the Siculi. Thucydides, VI. 4 . . . . .	1058
Asychis, king of Egypt . . . . .	1052
War between the Lacedæmonians and Argives about Cynuria . . . . .	1032
Anysis, king of Egypt . . . . .	1012
Anysis, driven from his kingdom by an Ethiopian king, takes refuge in the isle of Elbo . . . . .	1011
Sisac, who succeeded the Ethiopian usurper in the sovereignty of Egypt, pillages the temple at Jerusalem. 1 Kings XIV. 25 . . . . .	970
Birth of Homer, according to Velleius Paterculus . . . . .	968
Anysis leaves Elbo after fifty years, and maintains himself on the throne till his death . . . . .	961
Anysis dies . . . . .	954
N. B. There is in this part of Herodotus a hiatus of 241 years, concerning the history of Egypt.	
Hesiod flourished (Marm. Oxon. Ep. XXIX.) . . . . .	944
Lycurgus the legislator, born . . . . .	914
Homer flourished, according to the Parian Marbles . . . . .	907
Phidon, king of Argos, invented weights, measures, &c. . . . .	895
Charillus, son of Polydectes, king of Lacedæmon, of the house of Procles, or the second house : Lycurgus is his guardian . . . . .	888

	B. C.	Olymp. of Iphitus.
The Olympic games instituted by Hercules, Pelops, and Pisus, having been interrupted, are renewed by Lycurgus of Lacedæmon, Iphitus of Elis and Cleosthenes of Pisa, twenty-seven Olympiads before that in which Corœbus of Elis won the prize . . . . .	884	I. 1
Birth of Homer and Hesiod, according to Herodotus, II. 53 . . . . .	884	I. 1
Legislation of Lycurgus . . . . .	866	V. 3
Carthage founded . . . . .	819	
Last year of the Olympiads of Iphitus . . . . .	777	XXVII. 4

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
The victors at the Olympic games were not up to this time enrolled in the public registers. They were so in the following Olympiad. This Olympiad is considered as the first, because it is the one from which the Greeks have always calculated. It is called the Olympiad of Corœbus, because Corœbus of Elis obtained the prize . . . . .	776	I. 1
Birth of Echebrates, descendant of Elatus, king of the Lapithæ, and grandfather of Cypselus, king of Corinth . . . . .	774	3
Eumelus, the poet, flourished . . . . .	766	
Phul, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, king of Assyria . . . . .	765	
— subjected the Israelites (2 Kings XV. 19.)	763	
Sabacos, king of Ethiopia, conquers Egypt . . . . .	763	IV. 2
Foundation of Naxos in Sicily, Thucyd. VI. 3 . . . . .	759	V. 2
Crotona founded by Myscellus . . . . .	759	
Syracuse founded . . . . .	758	
Foundation of Rome, according to Varro, in the spring. Plutarch in Romulo, p. 24 . . . . .	754	VI. 2
The Medes shake off the Assyrian yoke . . . . .	748	VIII. 1
Nabonassar, king of Babylon (his era commenced 26th of February) . . . . .	747	
First Messenian war . . . . .	743	IX. 2
Birth of Eetion, father of Cypselus, king of Corinth . . . . .	742	3
Midas, son of Gordias, king of Phrygia . . . . .	737	X. 4
Semiramis rules Babylon . . . . .	737	
End of the first Messenian war . . . . .	723	XIV. 2
Death of Candaules, last king of Lydia, of the race of the Heraclidæ . . . . .	715	XVI. 1
Numa Pompilius elected king of Rome . . . . .	714	3
Sethos, king of Egypt . . . . .	713	4
Gela founded . . . . .	713	
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, enters Judæa, sends one of his generals to Jerusalem, and passes into Egypt. 2 Kings XVIII. 13 . . . . .	713	4
Sennacherib defeated by the Egyptians . . . . .	712	XVII. 1
Deioces elected king of the Medes . . . . .	709	4
Wrestling introduced into the Olympic games . . . . .	708	
Aminocles of Corinth builds the four first triremes for the Samians. Thucyd. I. 13 . . . . .	704	XIX. 1
Birth of Cypselus, king of Corinth . . . . .	700	XX. 1
Archilochus flourished . . . . .	692	
Boxing introduced into the Olympic games . . . . .	688	
Second Messenian war . . . . .	682	XXIV. 3
Chariot races with four horses introduced into the Olympic games . . . . .	680	
Foundation of Chalcedon . . . . .	675	XXVI. 2
Sethos, king of Egypt, died . . . . .	673	
Twelve kings, among whom is Psammetichus,		

	B. C.	Olym. of Coræbus.
govern Egypt fifteen years with equal authority . . . . .	671	XXVII. 2
End of the second Messenian war . . . . .	668	XXVIII. 1
Tarentum founded . . . . .	666	
Engagement between the Corinthians and Corcy- ræans. Thucyd. I. 13 . . . . .	664	XXIX. 1
The Bacchiadæ expelled from Corinth, where Cypselus seizes the sovereign power . . . . .	663	
Demaratus one of the Bacchiadæ emigrates to Etruria . . . . .	660	
Foundation of Byzantium . . . . .	658	XXX. 3
Phraortes, king of the Medes . . . . .	656	XXXI. 1
Psammetichus expels his colleagues and becomes sole king of Egypt . . . . .	656	1
Foundation of Abdera . . . . .	655	2
Orthagoras, tyrant of Sicyon . . . . .	655	2
Pittacus, tyrant of Mitylene, born . . . . .	652	
Eurycrates II. king of Lacedæmon, of the first family. Herodotus calls him Eurycratides . . . . .	651	XXXII. 2
Horse-racing established in the Olympic games . . . . .	648	
A Samian vessel is driven to Tartessus; the first Greek ship that ever put in there . . . . .	640	XXXIV. 4
Cylon obtains the prize in the double stadium at the Olympic games . . . . .	640	XXXV. 1
Battus colonizes the island Plataea . . . . .	639	2
Birth of Solon . . . . .	638	3
Cyaxares succeeds Phraortes in the kingdom of Media . . . . .	634	XXXVI. 3
Taking of Sardis by the Cimmerians . . . . .	634	
Cyaxares forms the siege of Nineveh; and is attacked and defeated by the Cimmerians . . . . .	633	4
The Scythians invade Upper Asia . . . . .	633	
Thales of Miletus, born . . . . .	633	
Periander succeeds Cypselus of Corinth . . . . .	633	
Battus I. founds Cyrene . . . . .	631	XXXVII. 2
Sadyattes, king of Lydia . . . . .	628	
The Scythians ravage Judæa and take Ascalon: they then proceed towards Egypt, but are di- verted by the presents of Psammetichus . . . . .	628	XXXVIII. 1
Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus . . . . .	625	4
Agasicles, king of Lacedæmon, of the second house . . . . .	624	XXXIX. 1
Nabopolassar II. the same as the Nabuchodono- sor of Scripture, and the Labynetus of Hero- dotus . . . . .	623	2
War between Sadyattes, king of Lydia, and the Milesians . . . . .	622	3
Æsop flourishes . . . . .	621	4
The Lacedæmonians meet with losses in the war with Tegea . . . . .	620	XL. 1
Nechos, king of Egypt. . . . .	617	4
Alyattes, king of Lydia . . . . .	616	XLI. 1



	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
Lucumon, son of Demaratus, elected king by the Romans, and called Tarquin . . . . .	615	XLI. 2
The Cimmerians driven from Asia Minor . . . . .	613	4
Conspiracy of Cylon . . . . .	612	XLII. 1
Sappho born . . . . .	612	
Nechos enters Judæa in his march against the Assyrians. 2 Kings XXIII. 29 . . . . .	611	2
Alcæus, the poet, flourished . . . . .	611	
Anaximander, the philosopher, born . . . . .	610	
End of the war between the Lydians and Milesians . . . . .	610	3
Some Phœnicians sail round Africa . . . . .	609	4
Pythagoras born . . . . .	608	
The Scythians driven from Upper Asia . . . . .	605	XLIII. 4
Cyaxares takes Nineveh . . . . .	603	XLIV. 2
War between Cyaxares and Alyattes . . . . .	602	3
Psammis, king of Egypt . . . . .	601	4
Marseilles founded, according to Solinus . . . . .	600	
Eclipse of the sun on the 9th of July, predicted by Thales . . . . .	597	XLV. 4
Birth of Mandane, daughter of Astyages . . . . .	596	XLVI. 1
Apries, king of Egypt . . . . .	595	
Birth of Crœsus, son of Alyattes, king of Lydia. . . . .	595	2
Astyages, king of the Medes . . . . .	594	3
Legislation of Solon . . . . .	594	3
Anacharsis travels through Greece . . . . .	592	XLVII. 1
Arcesilaus I. king of Cyrene . . . . .	591	2
Theognis born . . . . .	583	
Solon travels . . . . .	582	
Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, espouses Cambyses, a Persian of good family . . . . .	576	LI. 1
Lycophron is banished to Corcyra, by his father Periander, tyrant of Corinth . . . . .	575	2
Birth of Cyrus . . . . .	575	
Battus II. king of Cyrene . . . . .	575	
Ariston, king of Lacedæmon, of the second family, contemporary with Anaxandrides . . . . .	574	3
Crœsus is associated on the throne of Lydia, by his father Alyattes . . . . .	574	3
Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, obtains the prize at the Olympic games . . . . .	572	LII. 1
The Phocæans, alarmed at the conquests of Crœsus, raise their walls by the liberality of Arganthonius, king of Tartessus . . . . .	571	2
Amasis, king of Egypt . . . . .	570	3
Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, espouses Agarista, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon . . . . .	570	
Solon visits Sardis . . . . .	570	
Rhodopis, the celebrated courtesan, flourishes . . . . .	567	LIII. 2
Periander sends 300 boys of the chief families of Corcyra to Alyattes to be castrated . . . . .	565	4
Periander reconciles Hegesistratus, son of Pisis-tratus, to the Mytilenians . . . . .	564	LIV. 1

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
Death of Periander . . . . .	563	LIV. 2
Alalia in Corsica founded by the Phocæans . . . . .	562	3
Pisistratus acquires the sovereign power at Athens for the first time, in January. Marm. Oxon.		
Epoch. 41 . . . . .	561	3
Crœsus loses his eldest son . . . . .	560	4
Æsop put to death . . . . .	560	
Miltiades, son of Cypselus, founds Chersonesus . . . . .	560	
Crœsus ascends the throne of Lydia, at the death of his father, about the end of May . . . . .	559	LV. 1
Cyrus, king of Persia . . . . .	559	
Pisistratus driven from Athens . . . . .	559	
Anacreon born . . . . .	559	
The Samians seize a corslet sent by Amasis to the Lacedæmonians . . . . .	556	LVI. 1
The Samians seize a bowl, which the Lacedæmo- nians had sent to Crœsus . . . . .	555	2
Lycurgus and Megacles, who had united to expel Pisistratus, disagree: Megacles offers to re- establish Pisistratus, if he would marry his daughter . . . . .	555	2
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene . . . . .	554	3
Crœsus makes an alliance with the Lacedæmo- nians . . . . .	554	
Pisistratus expelled a second time . . . . .	553	4
Foundation of Barce in Lybia . . . . .	553	
Apries strangled . . . . .	550	LVII. 3
Birth of Darius . . . . .	550	
Death of Arganthionius, king of Tartessus . . . . .	549	4
Birth of the historian Hecatæus of Miletus . . . . .	549	
Conflagration of the temple of Delphi . . . . .	548	LVIII. 1
The Lacedæmonians recommence war with the Tegeatæ with greater success, and take Tegea . . . . .	546	3
War between the Spartans and Argives, about Thyrea, in the spring . . . . .	545	3
Crœsus dethroned by Cyrus . . . . .	545	4
Engagement between 300 Argives and 300 Spar- tans, &c. . . . .	544	LIX. 1
Arcesilaus II. king of Cyrene, is poisoned. Plu- tarch de Virt. Mul. p. 260. Battus III. suc- ceeds him . . . . .	544	
The Neuri settle in the country of the Budini . . . . .	544	
Advice of Thales to the Ionians. He died the same year at the age of ninety. Diog. Laert. I. 37. . . . .	543	2
The wife of Anaxandrides being barren, he takes a second by the advice of the Ephori . . . . .	542	3
Pisistratus a third time established in the sove- reignty of Athens . . . . .	542	
Taking of Phocæa by Harpagus, one of the gene- rals of Cyrus . . . . .	542	
Abdera founded by the Teians . . . . .	541	

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœb	
Cimon, son of Stesagoras, victorious in the Olympic games in a four-horsed chariot, causes his brother Miltiades to be proclaimed victor	540	LX.	1
Advice of Bias to the Ionians	540		
Cyrus takes Babylon	538		3
The Phocæans defeat the Carthaginians and Tyrhenians	536	LXI.	1
Cimon obtains a second victory at the Olympic games, and causes Pisistratus to be proclaimed in his stead	536		
Birth of Themistocles	536		
Hyela in CEnotria founded by the Phocæans	535		2
Cimon obtains a third victory	533	LXII.	1
Polycrates usurps the tyranny of Samos	532		2
Stesagoras, son of Cimon, succeeds his uncle Miltiades in the Chersonesus	531		2
Death of Cyrus	530		3
Anacreon arrives at the court of Polycrates	530		
Cambyses, king of Persia	529		4
Arcesilaus III. king of Cyrene	529		
Nitetis, daughter of Apries, sent to Cambyses	528	LXIII.	1
Death of Pisistratus, who is succeeded by his eldest son Hippias	528		
Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus	527		2
Cimon assassinated by the sons of Pisistratus	527		
Psammenitus, king of Egypt	526		3
Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses	525		4
The Spartans send troops against Polycrates	525		
Birth of Æschylus. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 49	525		
Foundation of Cydonia in Crete	524	LXIV.	1
The Syracusans found Camarina. Thucyd. VI. v.	523		
Death of Polycrates	523		2
Death of Cambyses	522		2
The Magus Smerdis usurps the throne	522		3
Darius, son of Hystaspes, elected king of Persia.	521		3
Siromus, son of Evelthon, king of Salamis in Cyprus	521		3
Demaratus, son of Ariston, king of Sparta, of the second house	520	LXV.	1
The Plataeans put themselves under the protection of Athens. Thucyd. III. 68	519		1
The Samian exiles, who founded Cydonia, are enslaved by the Æginetæ	518		3
Battus IV. king of Cyrene	518		
Miltiades, son of Cimon and brother of Stesagoras, retires to the Chersonesus	518		
The Barcæans besieged by the Persians in compliance with the request of Pheretima, widow of Battus III. and mother of Arcesilaus III.	518		
Birth of Pindar, in April	517		3
Babylon revolts against Darius	516	LXVI.	1
Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta.	515		2

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
Dorieus, his brother, leads a colony into Libya .	515	LXVI. 2
Chersis, son of Siromus, king of Salamis in Cyprus . . . . .	515	
Stesagoras, prince of the Chersonesus, killed. His brother Miltiades is sent by the Pisistratidæ to govern that country . . . . .	515	
Cleomenes defeats the Argives, and violates the sanctity of the grove of Argos . . . . .	514	3
Hipparchus killed. Hippias succeeds him . . . . .	514	
Darius takes Babylon . . . . .	513	4
Syloson obtains from Darius the tyranny of Samos . . . . .	512	LXVII. 1
The Alcmaeonidæ engage to rebuild the temple of Delphi. Spintharus was the architect. Pausan. X. 5. . . . .	512	
Phrynichus obtains the tragic prize . . . . .	512	
Otanes subdues Lemnos and Imbros . . . . .	511	2
Hippias expelled from Athens . . . . .	510	2
Miltiades sails from the Chersonesus and takes Lemnos . . . . .	510	3
The Crotoniats destroy Sybaris . . . . .	510	
Pythagoras dies . . . . .	510	
Athens split into factions; that of Clisthenes superior. He establishes ten tribes instead of four . . . . .	509	4
Kingly power abolished at Rome . . . . .	509	
Euryleon, the companion of Dorieus, gets possession of Minoa in Sicily, and gives it the name of Heraclea . . . . .	508	4
Cleomenes expels Clisthenes from Athens, but attempting to dissolve the council, he is compelled by the indignant people to evacuate Attica . . . . .	508	LXVIII. 1
Expedition of Darius against the Scythians . . . . .	508	
Cleomenes enters Attica with large forces to restore Hippias, but being abandoned by the Corinthians, and his colleague Demaratus, retires . . . . .	507	2
Invasion of the Chersonesus by the Scythians . . . . .	507	
Miltiades returns to the Chersonesus . . . . .	507	
The Athenians defeat the Bœotians, invade Eubœa, and conquer the Chalcidians . . . . .	506	3
Cleander reigns at Gela . . . . .	505	4
Commencement of disturbances in Ionia . . . . .	504	LXIX. 1
Ionia rises up against Darius. Burning of Sardis .	503	2
Gorgus, son of Chersis, king of Salamis in Cyprus . . . . .	502	3
The Cyprians revolt against the Persians . . . . .	502	
The Cyprians again brought under the yoke . . . . .	501	4
Anaxagoras born . . . . .	500	
Cleander, tyrant of Gela, killed by Sabyllus; Hippocrates succeeds him . . . . .	498	LXX. 3

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
Miletus taken by the Persians . . . . .	498	LXX. 3
Aristagoras, who stirred up Ionia to revolt, is slain by the Thracians, while besieging Novem-Viæ . . . . .	498	
Birth of Sophocles. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 57 . . . . .	498	
Representation of the drama of Phrynichus, entitled the Taking of Miletus . . . . .	497	4
The Samians get possession of Zancle, afterwards called Messana . . . . .	497	
Chios, Tenedos, &c. taken by the Persians. Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, made prisoner with his vessel by the Persians. Miltiades reaches Imbros with four other vessels in safety. Pacification of Ionia . . . . .	497	
Preparations of Darius for a war against Greece. Scythas, tyrant of Zancle, who had been made prisoner by Hippocrates, escapes to Persia . . . . .	496	LXXI. 1
Hellanicus of Mitylene, the historian, born . . . . .	496	
Mardonius sets out for Greece in the spring . . . . .	495	1
Part of the fleet of Mardonius wrecked near Mount Athos. Return of that general into Asia . . . . .	495	2
Birth of Sophocles. Auctor Vit. Sophoclis . . . . .	495	
The Thasians pull down their walls in obedience to the orders of Darius . . . . .	493	4
The heralds of Darius go to Greece and demand earth and water . . . . .	493	
The Æginetæ give earth and water . . . . .	493	
Cleomenes crosses over to Ægina to seize those Æginetæ who were accused of favouring the Persians, but is baffled by the suggestions of Demaratus and forced to depart. At his return to Sparta he procures the banishment of Demaratus. Leotychides, king of Lacedæmon, of the second house . . . . .	492	LXXII. 1
Fresh preparations of the Persians against Greece . . . . .	492	
Cleomenes returns to Ægina accompanied by Leotychides and seizes the guilty . . . . .	491	2
Demaratus goes to the court of Persia . . . . .	491	
Gelon gets possession of Gela. Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. VII. 1. . . . .	491	
Cleomenes, finding his intrigues against Demaratus discovered, goes into Thrace, and from thence into Arcadia, where he endeavours to stir up the people against the Lacedæmonians . . . . .	490	3
He is recalled to Sparta through fear of his intrigues . . . . .	490	
The Persians plunder Naxos, and take the towns of Carystus and Eretria . . . . .	490	
Battle of Marathon gained by Miltiades about the 17th of August . . . . .	490	
Cleomenes kills himself in a fit of madness.		

	B. C.	Olym. of Coræbus.
Leonidas, his brother, succeeds him at the age of 50 years . . . . .	489	LXXII. 4
Miltiades not being successful in the siege of Paros, is brought to trial and dies in prison .	489	
Darius makes fresh preparations against Greece	489	
Zeuxidamus, the son of Leotychides, dies of disease . . . . .	488	LXXIII. 1
Leotychides marries a second wife, Eurydame, by whom he has a daughter named Lampito.	487	2
Egypt revolts against the Persians . . . . .	486	3
Birth of Euripides. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 51 .	485	4
Death of Darius. Xerxes, king of Persia . .	485	
Xerxes subdues Egypt . . . . .	484	LXXIV. 1
Achæmenes, a younger brother of Xerxes, is appointed governor . . . . .	484	
Birth of Herodotus. Aul. Gell. XV. 23 . .	484	
Gelon makes himself master of Syracuse . .	484	
Gelon destroys Camarina, and transports the inhabitants to Syracuse . . . . .	483	2
Gelon transports to Syracuse half the inhabitants of Gela . . . . .	482	2
Victory obtained by the Phocæans over the Thes- salians . . . . .	482	
Aristides, surnamed the Just, banished by Ostra- cism. Plutarch. in Aristide, p. 322. Corn. Nepos in Aristide, cap. 1. . . . .	482	
Demaratus gives the Lacedæmonians information concerning the armament of Xerxes . . .	482	3
Gelon destroys Megara in Sicily . . . . .	482	
Eclipse of the sun on the 19th of April. Pingré, Chronologie des Eclipses. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. 42. Hist. pag. 123 .	481	3
Xerxes leaves Susa about the end of April .	481	
Xerxes reaches Sardis at the beginning of autumn, and passes the winter there . . . . .	481	4
Deputation of the Greeks to Gelon, to solicit his assistance, about the spring . . . . .	480	4
Xerxes leaves Sardis in the spring . . . . .	480	
Battle of Thermopylæ . . . . .	480	LXXV. 1
Plistarchus, yet a minor, succeeds Leonidas. Pau- sanias, the son of Cleombrotus, is his guardian	480	
Aristides is recalled in the third year of his ba- nishment. Plutarch. in Arist. p. 323. Corn. Nepos in Arist. cap. 1. . . . .		
Xerxes takes Athens, and carries off the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Pausan. I. 8.	480	
Battle of Salamis, on the 20th of Boedromion (30th September) . . . . .	480	
Gelon defeats the Carthaginians . . . . .	480	
Eclipse of the sun on the 2nd of October . .	480	
Birth of Euripides. Plutarch. Symp. VIII. 1. Diogen. Laert. II. 45. . . . .	480	

	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
Battle of Plataea won by Pausanias, guardian of Plistarchus . . . . .	479	LXXV. 2
Victory obtained at Mycale by Leotychides on the same day, the 4th of Boedromion (14th of September). . . . .	479	
Death of Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse. His brother Hiero succeeds him . . . . .	478	3
The Athenians rebuild their walls . . . . .	478	
Pausanias sent to expel the Persians from Cyprus, and the cities on the Hellespont, is recalled, tried, and acquitted, but not sent back to the fleet . . . . .	478	3
Pausanias put to death. Plistarchus dies soon after, and is succeeded by Plistoanax . . . . .	477	4
Exile of Themistocles . . . . .	477	
The command of Greece transferred to the Athenians . . . . .	477	
Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium and Zancle, dies . . . . .	476	
Birth of Thucydides, in the spring. Aul. Gell. XV. 23 . . . . .	471	LXXVII. 1
Cimon, son of Miltiades, defeats the Persians . . . . .	470	
A tragedy of Sophocles first acted . . . . .	470	
Socrates born . . . . .	469	
Rebellion of the Helots and Messenians . . . . .	469	
Leotychides marches into Thessaly to punish the Aleuadæ: suffering himself to be bribed, he is deposed. Archidamus II. his grandson, succeeds him . . . . .	469	4
Archidamus espouses Lampito, daughter of Leotychides by a second marriage . . . . .	468	LXXVIII. 1
Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives . . . . .	468	
Simonides died . . . . .	468	
Hermolycus killed at Cynos in the territory of Carystus, in an engagement between the Athenians and Carystians. The rest of Eubœa did not take any share in this war. Thucyd. I. 98. . . . .	467	2
Third Messenian war . . . . .	465	4
Xerxes assassinated . . . . .	465	
Artaxerxes king of Persia . . . . .	464	LXXIX. 1
Arcesilaus IV. king of Cyrene . . . . .	464	
The Egyptians revolt against the Persians, and declare Inarus their king. The Athenians send them assistance . . . . .	463	2
Achæmenes, son of Darius, marches at the head of a formidable army against Egypt, and is defeated and slain. Diod. Sic. XI. 74. . . . .	462	3
Herodotus goes to Egypt . . . . .	460	LXXX. 1
The Egyptians are subdued: the Athenians make a treaty with the Persians. Inarus is betrayed and crucified. Amyrtæus flies to the isle of Elbo about the middle of June. Thucyd. I. 110. Diod. Sic. XI. 77. . . . .	458	2



	B. C.	Olym. of Corœbus.
The Athenians are defeated at Tanagra by the Lacedæmonians. Thucyd. I. 108. Diodorus Siculus says that the victory was doubtful. XI. 80.		
Herodotus returns to Halicarnassus and expels Lygdamus, prince of that city, who had put to death Panyasis his uncle . . . . .	457	LXXX. 4
Reduction of Ithome: end of the third Messenian war. Diod. Sic. XI. 64 . . . . .	456	LXXXI. 1
Herodotus reads part of his history at the Olympic games. Dodwell, Appar. ad Annal. Thucyd. 18. . . . .	456	
Æschylus dies . . . . .	456	
The Romans send three ambassadors to Athens for the laws of Solon. Tit. Liv. III. 31 . . .	454	3
Sophanes and Leagrus, Athenian captains, are killed in Thrace in an engagement with the Edoni. Pausan. I. 29. Anonym. Manusc. apud Dodwell. de Cyclis, p. 742. . . . .	453	4
Cimon defeats the Persians on sea and land . . .	450	
Cimon dies. Artaxerxes makes peace with the Greeks . . . . .	449	
The Lacedæmonians invade Attica . . . . .	447	
The Athenians defeated by the Thebans at Coronea . . .	447	
Herodotus reads part of his history at Athens during the festival of the Panathenæa, on the 12th of Hecatombæon (25th July). Euseb. . .	444	LXXXIV. 1
Foundation of Thurium by the Athenians twelve years before the Peloponnesian war: Herodotus at the age of 40, and Lysias at the age of 15, are among the colonists. Plutarch. in Lys. p. 835. Dion. Hal. in Lysia, p. 130. Plin. Hist. Nat. XII. 4. Diod. Sic. places this event two years earlier, XII. 9. . . . .	444	
The bones of Leonidas carried from Thermopylæ to Sparta. An oration is appointed to be pronounced every year over the place of burial, and games to be celebrated, to which only Spartans are admitted. Pausan. III. 14. . .	440	4
Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, flies to Athens . . .	440	LXXXV. 1
Commencement of the war between the Corinthians and Corcyræans. Diod. Sic. XII. 30. . . .	439	2
Phidias finishes his statue of Minerva . . . .	439	
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